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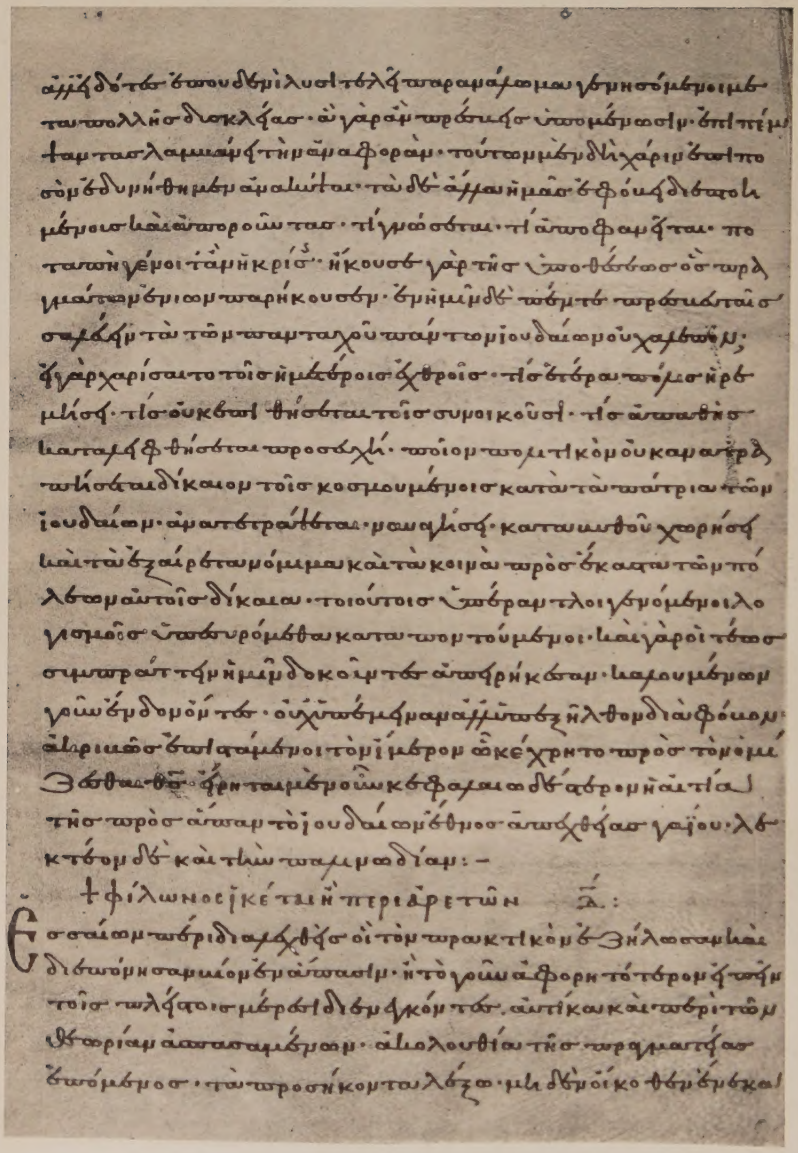

PHILO

ABOUT THE

CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE

OR

THE FOURTH BOOK OF THE TREATISE CONCERNING VIRTUES

CRITICALLY EDITED WITH A DEFENCE OF ITS GENUINENESS

BY

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WITH A FACSIMILE

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PREFACE

THOUGH it is in compass the least, yet, if it be judged by the attention which in all ages it has excited, the treatise of Philo on the Contemplative Life is the most important of all his voluminous works. Eusebius identified the ascetic[1] group defined therein with the earliest Christian Church of Alexandria; and this view, passing unquestioned for twelve centuries, contributed in no small degree to shape the conceptions of primitive Christianity entertained by mediaeval thinkers. In the sixteenth century it was at last challenged, but then only because it was made by the Papal party one of their chief arguments for the antiquity of monkery. For two hundred years a controversy raged on the point between Protestants and Latin Catholics; and was only stilled at the close of the last century by the practically universal acceptance of the critical views first broached by Chemnitius, Scaliger, and the Magdeburg Centuriators.

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[1] I use the term ascetic in its conventional sense. It should however be remarked that by ἄσκησις (in 475. 35) Philo means a diligent study of books, in which sense Dionys. Hal. and other first century writers used the word. It only came to mean mortification of the flesh in the ecclesiastical writers of a later age, Philo's term for that is ἐγκράτεια (476. 35).

In our own generation, however, a kindred view has been proposed by Professor Grätz, of Breslau, and by MM. Nicolas and Lucius, of Strassburg; and has been accepted by Professors A. Harnack, E. Schürer, Ad. Hilgenfeld, E. Zeller, A. Kuenen, Jost, T. K. Cheyne, Robertson-Smith, E. Hatch, Joseph Derenbourg, Dr. James Drummond, R. F. Littledale, and many other, less widely known scholars. The Therapeutae are, according to this view, still Christians, as they were for Eusebius; but no longer of a primitive cast. For the ascription of the work to Philo is declared to be false, and the ascetics described therein to be in reality monks of about the year 300 A. D.; within a few years of which date the treatise is assumed to have been forged.

Any such hypothesis ignores the philological affinities of the piece, as well as all the circumstances of its transmission to us in the manuscripts and in ancient versions. It conflicts with chronology, rests upon wholesale misunderstanding of the text, and presupposes conditions of pseud-epigraphic authorship which never did and never could exist. That it should be rapidly stereotyping itself among scholars is indicative of a prevalent and regrettable ignorance of Philo's writings; and it was in the hope of being able to correct an error which is the inversion of three centuries of religious history, that I undertook six years ago, at the instance of Professor L. Massebieau of Paris, the present edition. If he had kept his health and strength, he would have himself followed up his excellent monograph[1] with a critical edition of the Greek text.

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[1] *Le Traité de la Vie Contemplative*, par L. Massebieau. Paris, Leroux, 1888.

In France the tone of criticism has been more sober than it has been here and in Germany. Besides Professor Massebieau, M. Ferdinand Delaunay has upheld its authenticity with much skill and learning; and M. Renan[1], with admirable caution, laid down rules for a solution of the problem raised by Lucius and Nicolas, which have guided me in making this edition. In Holland the genuineness of the treatise has found an able defender in Dr. B. Tideman, and it is satisfactory to note that, even in Germany, two scholars, so well known for the solidity of their contributions to the study of Philo as Dr. Leopold Cohn, of Breslau, and Dr. Paul Wendland, of Berlin, have both upheld its genuineness.

A few words are needful in explanation of the plan of this edition. I have begun with an essay on the sources of the text. I regret that in writing §§ 18 and 19 of the same, I failed to see as clearly as afterwards (see p. 250) the true significance of the Eusebian text at 483. 42. Both the Armenian text and that of Eusebius had here the same lacuna and are therefore derived from a common archetype, distinct from the other archetype Σ from which all the Greek books with their common lacuna at 483. 18 have flowed. Thus all our textual sources are reducible to two archetypes. That these archetypes however belonged to a very remote antiquity is evident, for on the one hand, the Greek MSS., among which may be ranked the Old Latin version, fall into many widely divergent families, and the Old Latin already reflects a much worn text as early as A. D. 500; on the other hand, the Eusebian text had already undergone some vicissitudes before the

[1] See the Bibliography, for the views of M. Renan and others.

year 315, while the Armenian Version made as early as A. D. 400 reflects a Greek text which had undergone still more. Lastly, the divergences from one another of the archetypes themselves prevent us from supposing that even in them we are close to the original fountain-head of the text, although their bifurcation must have taken place long before 315, when Eusebius wrote.

To this essay succeeds the text itself, illustrated with parallel passages from the rest of Philo. My design in adding these *testimonia* is to furnish those, who have not time to read through Philo, with materials out of which they may form a judgement for themselves as to the Philonean character of the text. Striking parallelisms are accordingly picked out in larger type. In my Index Graecitatis some of the most characteristically Philonean phrases and words are also picked out in the same way; and I have completed what I may call the philological argument in the last sections of the Excursus, where I show how this treatise not only exemplifies all the leading characteristics of Philo's style, but furnishes in its brief compass nearly a score of words for which we seek in vain in any other writer than Philo.

After the Greek text I print the Old Latin and Armenian Versions, and the Eusebian Excerpts. In the notes which follow I have illustrated the text of the treatise from authors more or less contemporary with Philo, and have added not a few confirmations, from writers of the first and second centuries, of Philo's descriptions of the luxury of the Pagan world and of the ascetic ordinances of the Therapeutae. In my Excursus I begin by showing how intimately the institutions described in the D. U. C. cohere with the rest of Philo's writings, and with Judaism

in general; then I trace out the Reformation controversy as to the book, and conclude with a detailed criticism of the views of Lucius and Grätz.

My index of the words of the Old Latin Version will, I hope, interest students of that old and popular Latin, which, being preserved to us in the early Latin versions of the Scriptures and of some of the Greek Fathers, was the true mother of our modern Romance tongues. Lastly, I have added a bibliography, not of former editions of the D. U. C.—for this is the first separate treatment which it has received—but of books, mostly controversial, which refer to it.

Of the many friends who have helped me, my thanks are especially due to Professor Massebieau for giving me his collation of several of the Paris MSS., to Dr. L. Cohn for reading the proofs of the Greek text, to Mr. St. George Stock for reading those of my Commentary, to Mr. Vernon Bartlett, of Mansfield College, for reading those of my Excursus, to the Rev. Dr. Baronian for looking over the proofs of the Armenian; finally, to all of these, and also to Lady Evans and Professor Robinson Ellis, for many valuable suggestions.

Most of all, my thanks are due to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press for undertaking to bear the expense of a work which, savouring of research, is therefore likely to be unremunerative. This is the first work bearing on Philo which the University Press has in this century issued. I venture to hope it may not be the last; but that it may help to stimulate Philonean studies among us. For it is barely credible, and somewhat of a reproach to Oxford as a place of learning, that not a single line of Philo, nor any work bearing specially on him, is recommended to be read by students in our Honour School of

Theology; and that, although this most spiritual of authors is by the admission, tacit or express, of a long line of Catholic teachers, from Eusebius and Ambrose in the fourth century down to Bull and Döllinger in modern times, the father not only of Christian exegesis, but also, to a great extent, of Christian dogmatics.

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SUMMARY OF THE EXCURSUS

1. Drift of Philo's Religious Ethic. Missionary spirit of the Alexandrian Jews.

2. Reaction against life in cities.

3. Jewish Thiasi, an imitation of Greek philosophic recluses.

4. Traces of the Therapeutae in Philo's other works, e. g. in the De Decem Oraculis.

5. Date of this treatise. Passage from the De Septenario.

6. More direct hints in the Uita Abrahami.

7. The Quod omnis Probus liber est, probably refers to the Theraputae.

8. The De Mutatione Nominum and the Quod Deterius Potiori Insidiatur picture such ascetics as the D. U. C. describes, and assure us of their real existence.

9. Affinity of the Levites to Philo's ascetics.

10. The Proselytes often became ascetics.

11. Philo's personal experience of the ascetic and solitary life.

12. In the De Profugis, Philo discourages young men from attempting to lead such a life.

13. They should remain in the world until the age of fifty.

14. And set an example of probity and noble aims to others.

15. The true life of solitude and contemplation the sequel and reward of an active life of service to one's fellow-men.

16. Condemnation of sham ascetics.

17. The young are bidden equally to avoid the society of the wicked, and yet not attempt to live with the perfect, i.e. with the ascetics.

18. Conclusive testimony of the De Profugis to such societies of recluses as the D. U. C. pictures. The 'System,' the 'Novices,' the 'Elders.'

19. Further evidence of the De Profugis as to the ideal of life of the Therapeutae.

20. Summary of what we learn from the rest of Philo's works in regard to the Therapeutae.

21. Date of the De Profugis, probably about A. D. 30, when Philo was fifty-seven years of age.

22. The D. U. C. probably an earlier work of Philo's and antecedent to the De Somniis, and

23. To the Q. O. P. L. But the evidence, while it establishes the Philonean authorship of the D. U. C., is hardly sufficient to fix the date of its composition.

24. Recapitulation.

25. The Therapeutae not Essenes, though the D. U. C. is the sequel to an account of the Essenes.

26. This account was probably that which Eusebius cited from Philo's Apology for the Jews, but

27. Not that which is preserved in the Q. O. P. L.

28. The title *περὶ ἀρετῶν τὸ δ'* prefixed in the codices to the D. U. C. proves that it was the fourth book of Philo's treatise in five books concerning Gaius, and entitled by him *περὶ ἀρετῶν*,

29. And was part of the Apology for the Jews against Apion, which Philo tried to read aloud to Gaius.

30. Attempt to reconstitute the five books *περὶ ἀρετῶν*.

31. The best codices favour the above conjectures.

32. The context of the D. U. C. in the Greek MSS.

33 A. These exhibit much the same order of Philo's works as Eusebius gives in his list, and he probably inherited Pamphilus' copy of Philo.

33 B. The order of Philo's treatises in the Armenian Version. Ancient Scholion given in this version relating to the question, who the Therapeutae were.

34. The D. U. C., if part of an apology to Gaius, must have been written before the history of the embassy. This explains the isolation in some MSS. of the D. U. C.

35. On the diffusion of such ascetics as Philo describes. Alexandria, the origin and focus of the movement.

36. The renunciation of goods.

37. The site of the Therapeutic settlement.

38. On Philo's statement that the Mareotic lake debouched into the sea.

39. The Therapeutae formed a collegium or sodalitas and had legal recognition and status.

40. Analogous guilds elsewhere of Cultores Deorum.

41. Points of resemblance between the Therapeutic colony and that of the Egyptian priests described by Chaeremon the Stoic and by Strabo.

42. Reverence of the Therapeutae for the Jewish sabbath, consistent with the inclusion in their society of many Greek converts, and with Philo's condemnation of those who neglected the sabbath (i. e. of the early Christians).

43. The asceticism of the Therapeutae in accord with the Judaism of Philo. His reverence for the estate of virgins.

44. Jewish mysteries celebrated among the Therapeutae. The dogmas revealed in them included the Trinity in Unity of God, and the doctrine of the marriage of virgins with God.

45. The Feast of the Therapeutae described by Philo was that of Pentecost.

46. Why they eschewed wine at it.

47. The presence of women a matter of course. The joint dancing.

48. The hymns of the Therapeutae. The Great Hallel.

49. The leavened bread. Reverence of the Therapeutae, who were laymen, for the Temple and priesthood of Jerusalem.

50. The phrase *παναγέστατον σιτίον*.

51. The common sanctuary, either a synagogue or a school.

52. The grace before meat. The recumbent position at the feast. The novices. The *πρόεδρος* or master of the feast. The antiphonal singing.

53. Reason why Philo chose the feast of Pentecost rather than any other for detailed description.

54. Inspiring motive of the Therapeutae. Were they making themselves ready for the coming of the Messiah?

55. Comparison of them with Jesus and with Epictetus.

56. The cult of virginity went with an abstract view of the relation of the senses to the reason.

57. Evidence in Philo's writings of such a cult.

58. Literary fortunes of the D. U. C. Clement. Eusebius' hallucination with regard to it.

59. Ignorance of Eusebius as to the early history of Alexandrian Christianity.

60. Jerome followed Eusebius blindly.

61. Epiphanius added invention to error.

62. The controversy between the Reformers and the Latin Catholics. Baronius.

63. Scaliger and Serrarius.

64. Bellarmine. Pamelius. Dallaeus.

65. Beveridge. Preservation of Philo's works probably due to Eusebius' error.

66. Montfaucon's defence of Eusebian view. Bouhier's answer. Muratori. Modern Jesuit opinion.

67. The Encyclopedists used the D. U. C. as a weapon against revealed religion.

68. Opinion in this century adverse to Eusebian view.

69. Lucius' hypothesis that the D. U. C. is a fourth century forgery, rests on a series of false assumptions.

70. That (1) Monachism needed apologists at the beginning of the fourth century.

71. That (2) Philo was, during the third and fourth centuries, an authoritative writer in the eyes of the Christians.

72. That (3) an apology for fourth century monasticism could be interpolated among Philo's writings, and deceive Eusebius as early as A. D. 315. Evidence of MSS. and versions proves the D. U. C. to be far older than that date.

73. Lucius falsely assumes (4) that the D. U. C. was 'written under Philo's name,' whereas there is in it no other clue to its Philonean authorship than its tone and style.

74. (5) The D. U. C. as a defence of monasticism is full of heretical or impossible features, e. g. (*α*) water for wine in the Eucharist; (*β*) recumbent position at Eucharist; (*γ*) anti-Christian Sabbatarianism; (*δ*) presence of women in monasteries.

75. Summary of the absurdities involved in Lucius' theory.

76. Lucius fails to see that the holy banquet was no more than the Pentecostal meal, and

77. Pretends that it was the Christian Eucharist, and celebrated on a Sunday.

78. His mistranslation of *διὰ ἑπτὰ ἑβδομάδων*. Examples of such a use.

79. His discovery of an Eucharist in the D. U. C. rests on a misunderstanding of the entire text. The material preliminaries of the Pentecostal meal.

80. The spiritual preliminaries.

81. Lucius confounds *παναγέστατον* with *πανάγιον*,

82. And perverts the meaning of the passage 484. 21.

83, 84. The passages pronounced by him to be unphilonean may all be paralleled out of Philo.

85. The relation of the D. U. C. to the Q. O. P. L. does not bear out Lucius' argument.

86. Neither is the Judaism of the Therapeutae any other than Philo's Judaism.

87. The picture of Roman luxury in the D. U. C. best agrees with the reign of Augustus, and not at all with the end of the third century.

88. The female Therapeutae. The attitude in prayer.

89. The argument 'a silentio' advanced by Lucius. The silence of Josephus admits of explanation.

90. The silence of Strabo, Pliny, and Porphyry of no import.

91. General worthlessness of arguments 'a silentio.'

92. The views of Professor Grätz.

93. Their flimsiness.

94. The philological affinities of the D. U. C. (1) with the Greek writers of the Roman period.

95. (2) With Philonean diction.

UPON THE SOURCES OF THE TEXT.

§ 1. This recension of the Text of the De Uita Contemplatiua is based upon evidence drawn from these four sources :—

I. The Greek MSS.

II. Excerpts contained in the Historiae Ecclesiasticae of Eusebius.

III. The Ancient Armenian Version.

IV. The Old Latin Version.

§ 2. In this list of the Greek codices collated, the capital letter prefixt to each is the symbol under which in the critical apparatus I refer to it. The letter is added under which Dr. L. Cohn refers to it in his edition of the De Mundi Opificio, Vratislaviae, 1889. Compare also his article on Philonean MSS. in Philologus LI.

A = no. 435 in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. It is thus described in the Catalogus Codicum MSS. Bibliothecae Regiae, Tom. II, Parisiis, 1740:—

Codex 435. Membranaceus, quo continentur:

1°. Philonis Iudaei tractatus inscriptus, uita sapientis per doctrinam perfecti, siue de legibus non scriptis.

2°. Eiusdem uita uiri ciuilis, siue de Iosepho.

3°. Eiusdem, uitae Moysis liber primus, siue de theologia, ac prophetia. Nonnulla desiderantur.

4°. Eiusdem tractatus de charitate.

5°. Idem de resipiscentia.

6°. Idem de nobilitate.

7°. Idem de uirtutibus et legatione ad Caium liber.

8°. Anonymi Paschalion, siue Canon paschalis, recentiore manu scriptus.

Is codex undecimo saeculo exaratus uidetur.

In the above list of contents it will be seen that the D. V. C. is omitted. It actually follows after the De Uirtutibus et Legatione ad Caium, fol. 163 verso—fol. 173 verso. The omission already occurs in the list of contents which was added on the first folio, in the XVIth century, before the codex was removed from Fontainebleau to Paris, and it recurs in every subsequent catalogue.

B = no. 41 of the St. Mark's Library in Venice, written in 4,

foll. 360, on paper, in the XIIIth century. This codex belonged to Bessarion. Dr. L. Cohn's B.

C = no. 40 in the same library. It is written in 4, on paper, foll. 449, in the XIVth century. This also belonged to Bessarion. Owing to a fault in the binding there is wrongly introduced in the middle of the D. V. C., foll. 59–66 of the MS., a quaternion of which the first words are *μητραὶ γὰρ οἱ ἐν τέλει Περσῶν.* This is part of the De Sp. Legg., Mangey's Ed., vol. 2, pp. 301–33. Dr. L. Cohn's H.

D = Codex Oxoniensis Collegii Noui 143. Chartaceus, forma maxima, saec. XVI. The second part, which contains the D. V. C., was written at Padua, A. D. 1533.

E = Codex Parisiensis Coislinianus, no. 43. This codex was written on parchment in the XVIth century. The D. V. C. occupies fol. 219 r.–227 r. Dr. L. Cohn's C. I owe my collation of this MS. to the kindness of Prof. M. L. Massebieau of Paris.

G = no. 433 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, folio, on paper. The Paris Catalogue, A. D. 1740, states as follows: Is Codex manu Sophiani maximam partem exaratus. Three copyists of this name are given in Gardthausen's list, namely: Alex. Trallianus, s. XIV, and Michael and Nicolaus, A. D. 1552. This is Dr. L. Cohn's L.

H = no. 434 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, folio, on paper, of the XVIth century. It was originally at Fontainebleau and numbered 2250. Dr. Cohn in the introduction of his edition of the De Mundi Op. points out that this codex was written early in the XVIth century. I owe my collation of it to Prof. Massebieau. This is Dr. L. Cohn's K.

I = no. 2221 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, written on paper in the XVIth century. Collated by Prof. Massebieau.

K = no. 39 of the Library of St. Mark in Venice, in folio, written on parchment in the XVth century. Foll. 271. In it is written *κτῆμα Βησσαρίωνος, ἐπισκόπου κ.τ.λ.*

L = Codex, no. B. 9. 6, of the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, in large fol., on paper. It seems to have been written in the XVIth century.

O = Codex Uaticano-Palatinus Graecus 248, bombyc., saec. XIV–XV.

M = Codex Monacensis Graecus 459, olim Augustanus, membranaceus, forma quadrata, saec. XIII°, manu elegantissima exaratus.

Specimen scripturae eius dedit Constantinus Tischendorf in tabula altera Philoneis adiecta. I owe my collation of this to the kindness of Dr. Leopold Cohn of Breslau, from whose edition of the De Mundi Opificio I have taken the above description, for I have not seen the MS. itself. Dr. Cohn refers to this MS. under the symbol A.

P = Codex Mediceo-Laurentianus, plut. X, cod. 20, membranaceus, forma quam uocant duodecima, ineunte saeculo XIII°, litteris minutis exaratus. Specimen scripturae huius codicis edidit Constantinus Tischendorf in tabula photographica libro qui inscribitur Philonea (Lips. 1868) adiecta. In pagina tegumenti interiore haec uerba leguntur: *A. Cocchius Mugellanus contuli a°. 1733 cum impresso Turnebi.* Contulit in usum Mangeii. In altera pagina folii alterius haec scripta sunt: *ἡ βίβλος αὕτη τοῦ Φραγκίσκου Φιλέλφου ἐστίν.* I borrow the above description from Dr. Cohn's introduction, p. vii. The D. V. C. in this MS. was collated for me by Dr. Enrico Rostagno of Florence. Dr. L. Cohn's M. The D. V. C. occupies foll. 330 v.–337 r.

Q = Cod. Laur. 10 plut. LXXXV, saec. XV. This codex is written partly in the XVth, partly in the XVIth century. The D. V. C. is of the earlier date. Collated by Dr. Enrico Rostagno. The D. V. C. occupies foll. 186 v.–194 v. Dr. L. Cohn's F.

§ 3. In addition to the above, I examined and in part collated the following MSS. belonging to the Vatican Library.

R = Codex Otthobonianus Gr. no. 48. This codex is in three volumes, on paper, written in a XVIth-century hand. The D. V. C. begins on fol. 75 of the first volume.

S = Codex Uaticanus 380, clearly written on parchment, seemingly in the XVth century.

T = Codex Palatinus 183. This codex was originally at Heidelberg. In it the D. V. C. begins on fol. 250.

U = Codex Uaticanus 382, written on paper. The D. V. C. occupies foll. 68–76. This codex is of the XIVth century.

In each of these four codices I examined the first half of the treatise, in order to satisfy myself as to the family of text represented by them.

§ 4. The majority of the above codices may be readily classified as belonging to the one or the other of two distinct groups, which are referred to in my Apparatus Criticus under the symbols β and γ. The group β includes the following codices: B, D, E, M, S, T. The

group γ includes the following: C, G, H, I, K, L, R, U. The same classification of these MSS. holds good for the De Mundi Opificio, as Dr. L. Cohn points out in the preface of his edition. My symbols β and γ will be seen to correspond to his *a* and *b* in the pedigree of the MS. sources which he gives on page 21 of his Prolegomena de Codicibus.

The intimate way in which the members of the groups β and γ hang together is exhibited in the following tables, which are not of course exhaustive. In the first table the peculiarities of β are shown. In it the first column gives the readings of all the other Greek codices as well as those which are implied by the Armenian and Latin Versions. The second column has the readings of β:—

	Arm., Lat., A, O, P, Q, and γ	β
471. 4	διενεγκόντες	διενεγκόντων
472. 25	εὐαγῶς	εὐλόγως: but εὐκόλως B
472. 28	ἀλλὰ τὰ ξόανα καὶ ἀγάλματα (but O retains τούς)	ἀλλὰ τοὺς τὰ ξ. καὶ ἀγάλματα σέβοντας
473. 26	φιλοσοφίας ἱμέρῳ	ἱμέρῳ φιλοσοφίας
473. 28	ἄνδρας καὶ αὐτούς (but Arm. and P have i. q. β)	ἄνδρας καὶ αὐτός
473. 34	οὓς ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐθαύμασεν	ἡ Ἑλλὰς οὓς ἐθαύ.
473. 36	δρῶσιν (Lat. *gerant*)	ποιοῦσιν
473. 37	κείρουσι (a lacuna in P)	καίουσι
473. 42	προιδέσθαι	προΐεσθαι
473. 43	πόσῳ δή	πόσῳ δ' ἄν
474. 6	αἰνίξασθαι, αἰνίξεσθαι (C, K) (Arm. doubtful)	αἰνίττεσθαι
474. 11	ἀδικίαν	καὶ ἀδικίαν
474. 12	διὰ τὸ ἄνισον (but Lat. has i. q. β)	καὶ τὸ ἄνισον
474. 15	ὥρισται	ὥριστο
475. 10	οὔτε δέ (but Arm. has i. q. β)	οὔτε γάρ
476. 12	τῇ λαγόνι (Arm. and Lat. doubtful)	τῷ λαγόνι
476. 30	συνῳκοδόμηται (Arm. εὖ ᾠκοδόμηται)	συνῳκοδόμητο
476. 30, 31	τὸ δὲ ἄχρι τέλους ἀνάγειον ἀχανές	τὸ ἄχρι δὲ στέγους ἀνώγεον τάχ' ἄν (τ' ἀχ'αν sic B)
477. 12	ἐπιφέροντες (Lat. *requirentes*)	φέροντες
477. 16	εἶδος	γένος

Arm., Lat., A, O, P, Q, and γ	β
477. 21 ἀντί (but Lat. implies ἀπό)	ἀπό
479. 7 βαθυχαῖται	ἀβάκται τε
479. 16 ἐκπλαγίων κόλπους	ἐκ πλαγίου κόλπου (ἐκ πλαγίων κόλπον E and Arm.)
479. 21 ἑστιατόρων	ἐστιν ἀπόρων
479. 32 παραρτύσεσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ (but P has i. q. β)	παραρτύσεσιν· ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ
480. 48 τεχναζόντων (Arm. doubtful)	τεχνάζονται
481. 2 πεφυκέναι	πεφθακέναι or ἐφθακέναι
481. 3 σώματα	σπέρματα
481. 15 μεστὰ φλυαρίας ἐστίν (P om. ἐστίν)	ἐστὶ φλυαρίας μεστά
483. 9 ὕσσωπος	om.
483. 18 πότος (but Arm. and O have i. q. β)	πότε
484. 8–10 κρότος . . . ὕμνον	om.
484. 24 δι' αἰδῶ τῆς (but P has i. q. β)	δι' ἐδωδῆς
484. 33 μέσον	μέλη

§ 5. In the following table are exhibited in the same way some of the peculiarities of the group γ :—

Arm., Lat., A, O, P, Q, and β	γ
471. 21 ἐπιθυμίαι καί	ἐπιθυμίαι
472. 24 ἀκρασίας (but P has ἀκοῆς)	διανοίας
472. 39 παραγειόχασιν A, παραγηώχασιν β (παραγηόχασιν M)	παραγνώκασιν
472. 44 μεστὰ περιττωμάτων	περιτ. μεστά
473. 2 καὶ δοῦλα	om.
473. 9 τὸ δὲ θεραπευτικόν (but Arm. and Lat. doubtful)	τὸ θεραπευτικὸν δέ
473. 29 βελτίονες (Lat. *meliores*)	κρείττονες
473. 33 μὴ μανιῶδες	μὴ μόνον μανιῶδες
473. 45 ταῖς . . . ὁρμαῖς (Lat. doubtful)	τοῖς . . . ὁρῶσι
474. 3 τοὺς χρόνους (but Arm. has i. q. γ)	τοὺς χρωμένους
474. 7 διὰ τούτων (Lat. doubtful).	καὶ τούτων
474. 21 ἐγεννήθησαν καί	om.
475. 5 αἱ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης	αἱ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης ἀνεστομωμένης εἰς τὴν θάλατταν

	Arm., Lat., A, O, P, Q, and β	γ
475. 23	ἀρετῶν καί	om.
475. 24	πολλοὶ οὖν A, πολλοὶ γοῦν B	πολλοί
475. 35	ἱεροῖς	ἱερωτάτοις
475. 38	ἀποκεκρυμμένης φύσεως (in P deest ἀποκ.)	φύσεως ἀποκεκ.
477. 15	ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος ἐκτρεπόμενοι	ἐκτρεπ. ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος
478. 36	τῶν συμποσίων πανταχοῦ	παντ. τῶν συμπ.
479. 30	εὔσαρκα	ἔνσαρκα
479. 47	κελεύουσιν (Arm. doubtful)	διακελεύουσιν
479. 50	καταγιγνώσκεται	γινώσκεται

§ 6. Within the group β the New College MS. D is, it would seem, practically copied from B; for it shares with B many peculiar readings, e.g. 471. 7 ὧν δρᾶν for ὁ δρᾶν: 472. 12 σοφῶν for σοφιστῶν: 472. 25 εὐκόλως where others of the group have εὐλόγως: 472. 41 om. ἐγχώριον: 473. 18 καὶ θείας for καὶ μακαρίας: 474. 21 ἐτράφησαν γεννηθέντες for ἐγεννήθησαν καὶ ἐτράφησαν: 477. 1 ἅρτι for ἀέρι: 477. 10 τῷ κοινῷ γένει καὶ θνητῷ for τῷ θνητῷ γένει. In a few passages, however, as in πλησθέντες in 473. 26, D and M have retained the peculiar corruption of the family, while B and E are free from it, having probably been corrected. D has often been corrected from MSS. of other families.

Of the group β the best representative is M, in which, for example, the true reading φυσικόν is preserved, while other members of the class have the corruption φυσικοῦ. In spite of their many blunders the MSS. of this family exhibit a very old tradition of the text. They alone except O have retained πότε δέ in page 483, where all other families have the lame emendation πότον. In β and P alone do we find τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ αὐτός. The blunder in page 484, δι' ἐδωδῆς for δι' αἰδῶ τῆς, is common to P and β, and implies some far back affinity between them. Some of the faults of β, e.g. διενεγκόντων in page 471. 4, and ἔλκειν in 474. 22, have the air of being skilful, but needless, conjectures. In 475. 10 β alone retains the true reading οὔτε γάρ. Certain of the corruptions of this family arose in copying an uncial text, e.g. 477. 22 ἐξ ὠμῆς for ἔξωμις and 476. 31 τάχ' ἄν for ἀχανές.

There are yet other significant relations between β and P, e.g. 473. 37 where β has καίουσι against κείρουσι of the other MSS.

P leaves a blank where *καίουσι* or *κείρουσι* would stand. In 479. 32 P agrees with *β*. In 481. 15 where there is a transposition variant in *β*, the word transposed is absent from P. The substitution of the pluperfect tense for the perfect in 474. 15 and 476. 30 evinces a set purpose on the part of some copyist to give the narrative a more historical air.

The other family *γ* was likewise formed at a time when the MSS. were written uncially, witness the corruption in 472. 39 *παραγνώκασιν* from *παραγηώχασιν* read in *β*.

§ 7. The great majority of our MSS. of Philo belong to one or other of these groups *β* and *γ*. But for critical purposes such an entire group has only the weight which belongs to the other codices A, O, P, Q, and to the versions singly. For this reason and because the affinities of these MSS. were so striking and obvious, I thought it well to begin by separating them into two groups. The other sources which have to be considered are thereby reduced to seven in number, and of these the chief importance attaches to the Armenian Version. For this version adds 483. l. 18 the words: *καὶ ὁ πρόεδρος αὐτῶν ὡς κοινὴ σιγὴ γέγονεν* before *πότε δ' οὔκ ἐστιν*, thus filling up a lacuna which is found in all our Greek texts, and establishing its own independence on the single common original—which I will call Σ—from which they are all without exception derived. To it therefore belongs, wherever its pronouncement varies but is clear, as much weight as belongs to all the Greek codices put together. Where it agrees with a single Greek codex, we have also evidence against which nothing can countervail, save perhaps the extracts of Eusebius, so far as these go. The following is a list of some, though not all, of the readings in which the Armenian varies from all our Greek MSS.:—

473. 19 om. *ἤδη*
473. 20 om. *υἱοῖς ἢ θυγατράσιν εἴτε καὶ ἄλλοις*
473. 34, 35 *εἶπω ἐπ' ἄνδρων . . . ἐθαύμασεν ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ*
474. 4 om. *ἰατρόν*
474. 13 *καὶ τῆς ἐναντίας*
474. 19 tr. *γυναῖκας τέκνα*: Lat. om. *τέκνα*
474. 23 *ὡσπερεὶ οἱ εἰς πρᾶσιν.* Cp. Lat. 'uenditionibus subiecti'
474. 29 om. *ἅπαξ*
474. 31 *οὐ τὴν μόνωσιν ἐπιτηδεύουσι διὰ μισανθρωπίαν*

474. 44 *εὐκαίρως.* So Eusebius
475. 11 *ἠρεμίαν* instead of *ἐρημίαν*
475. 25 *θείας* for *ἱερᾶς*
475. 29 om. *αὐτῶν*
475. 36 *νομοθεσίαν.* So Rufinus in his version of Eusebius translates by *leges*
476. 5 om. *χωρίς*
476. 9 om. *ἑξῆς*
476. 30 *εὖ ᾠκοδόμηται.* Lat. 'exaltatus'
477. 8 *σιτοπόνοι* or *ὀψαρτυταί* for *ἁβροδίαιτοι*
477. 11 *δίψαν τε καὶ πεῖναν*
477. 33, 34 *ἀλλὰ καθάπερ παρακινηματικόν τι καὶ μανιωδές τι καὶ εἴ τι ἔτι εἴη*
477. 42 om. *ἠμύνετο*
477. 49 *τοῖς παρὰ πανέλλησι δοκιμωτάτοις*
478. 6 om. *εἰς μέσον*
478. 17 *ἔνιοι* for *ἕτεροι*
478. 22 *βιάζονται* for *πιέζονται*
478. 23 *εἰδότες μήτε ἀκούοντες*
478. 40 *πολύκλινα* for *περίκλινα*
478. 47 om. *ἕτερα*
479. 3 *τούτων γάρ*
479. 8 *οἱ μή* for *εἰ μή*
479. 8 *τὰς δέ* for *ἢ τάς*
479. 11 *καὶ λευκούς*
479. 17 *πλευρῶν. ἐφεδρεύουσιν δὲ ἄλλοι*
479. 37 om. *οὕτως* and add *αὐτῶν* after *ὀστέων*
479. 44 *περιλιχνεύουσι*
479. 47 *ἐπαινεῖν* for *ἐσθίειν* and om. *ἐπαινέσαντες οὐκ*
480. 35 *ἐρωμένων*
481. 8 om. *ταῦτα*
481. 19 om. *καὶ ἑαυτούς*
481. 26 om. *ἦν* and *ἔλαχεν*
481. 27 *ἀριθμός* for *ἀριθμῶν*
481. 31 *αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἐφημερευτοῦ* for *τινος τῶν ἐφημερευτῶν*
481. 44 *ἀλλ' ἔτι κομιδῇ νέους παῖδας* omitted
482. 17 om. *καὶ ἀστείοις*
483. 4 *ζῶντες* for *δρῶντες*
483. 18 after *ἑτοίμους* add *καὶ ὁ πρόεδρος αὐτῶν ὡς κοινὴ σιγὴ γέγονεν* and then read *πότε δ' οὐκ*

483. 21 *ζήτημά* (or *ζήτησίν*) *τινων τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν προταθέντων ἐπιλύεται*, omitting *ἢ καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλου*

483. 46 om. *ἐν ᾧ ἤρξατο* down to *θεωρεῖν*

484. 9 *εἰς τὸ τρίτον μόνον* for *εἰς τὸ ἐποψόμενον*. Mangey conjectured *εἰς τὸ ἐνδοσιμόν*

484. 28 *ἱερέων* instead of *ἱερῶν*. Mangey conjectured *ἱερέων*

484. 30 *αὐτῶν* for *ἄρτων*. Mangey conjectured *ἀζύμων*

485. 7 *χορείᾳ* for *χρείᾳ*

485. 8 *χόρων* for *ἄνδρων*

485. 19 *πᾶσιν* for *πᾶσαν*

485. 29 om. *τοῦ προφητοῦ*

485. 32 reads *τούτων χορός* or *τούτων* simply instead of *καὶ θεραπευτρίδων*

485. 43 *ἀνίσχοντα* omitted

486. 6 *θεωρησάντων* for *βιωσάντων*

§ 8. The Armenian Version indicates several omissions of words read in all the Greek codices. Sometimes, as in the passage 481. 44, the omission is unnecessary to the sense of the passage; in many more cases the sense loses nothing by the omission, as in 473. 20, 476. 5, 478. 32, 479. 4, 481. 17, 481. 26, 485. 29, 485. 43. That this is so proves in itself that the additions of the Greek MSS. are later accretions upon the text. Sometimes the Greek books do not agree about the addition, e. g. 478. 6, where *μέσος, εἰς μέσους, μέσον* are all found in different MSS. The most remarkable of all such omissions is at 483. 46, in a passage included in one of the excerpts made by Eusebius. Here a hopeless confusion and discrepancy reigns in the Greek sources. Even the oldest texts and versions of Eusebius vary among themselves no less than do the Greek books. The Armenian text seems not incomplete, and, if so, we must admit it to be a text free from glosses which had already made their way into the Eusebian text. For the rest this version agrees better with the Eusebian excerpts than any of the Greek books, e.g. in the readings 474. 44 *εὐκαίρως*, 475. 36 *νομοθεσίαν* attested by Rufinus, 476. 41 *τοῦ σώματος*. Of the peculiarities of the Armenian Version above enumerated—the list could be prolonged—some, of course, are errors. But it is one of the proofs of the independence of this text that its corruptions are as a rule peculiar to itself and found in none of the Greek MSS. In such cases it is, of course, difficult to decide whether the error

was in the Greek text translated, and has not rather arisen in the medium of the Armenian text itself.

§ 9. The old Latin rendering has a value in spite of its fragmentary character, and of the turgid and inaccurate style in which it is executed. Reserving for the present a full discussion of its date, it is enough to state here that it seems to have descended from the common archetype of the Greek books, and is therefore only entitled to rank as a single, though as an ancient, representative of that archetype.

The variants of the Latin Version alone are not much to be relied on, owing to its careless execution and faulty preservation; and this remark applies with double force to the omissions in it. The following variants are peculiar to it:

472. 6 om. *ἕτεροι*: 8 om. *πρὸς ὕψος*: 37 om. *καί* before *οὐχ*: 38 om. *θηρίων*: 45 om. *καί* before *νόσοις*: 47 om. *πολλάκις διαφθειρόμενα*: 473. 2 om. *φύσει*, which Arm. places after *δοῦλα*: 14 *οὔτ' ἐκ παραινέσεώς τινος ἢ παρακλήσεως*: 20 *υἱοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις συγγενέσιν*, omitting *ἢ θυγάτρασιν*: 30 om. *ἐμβόσκεσθαι*, which Arm. transposes: 47 *καὶ ἑαυτούς* om.: 474. 19 om. *τέκνα*, which Arm. transposes with *γυναῖκας*: 22 *ὄγκος* for *ὀλκόν*: 475. 8 *πρὸς δύο τὰ ἀναγκ. ἐκ. παρ.* om.: 477. 23 *εἰδότες τῦφον μὲν τοῦ ψεύδους ἀρχὴν ἀτυφίαν δὲ ἀληθείας.*

§ 10. Most of the variants to which the Armenian and Latin Versions bear joint witness are mere changes in the order of words. If they were found in the Latin alone, no one could infer that they represented varieties of the Greek original; but, being present also in the Armenian Version, which scrupulously adheres to the order of the original, they claim notice. The following is a list of some of the peculiarities in which the Armenian and Latin Versions agree together, but in which they differ from the Greek codices. And from these points of agreement we must not at once conclude that the Latin represents an earlier stage of the archetype Σ than any Greek MS. Because one MS., A, has kept the true text, where another, B, has lost it, we cannot infer that A is older than B, any more than we can infer that two MSS. are akin because they have both preserved the true text. We must only infer that the Latin reflects a very good text. We shall presently see that it reflects corruptions of Σ, from which one or another of our Greek MSS. is sure to be free:—

Arm. Lat.

472. 3 *οὗς τίσιν* (This is only probable)
472. 11 *πάντων δοκεῖ εἶναι*
472. 37 *ἄλογα ζῶα*
472. 46 *τῷ κατὰ φύσιν θανάτῳ*
473. 3 *οὐ μόνον τοὺς ὁμοφ.*
473. 4 *πλησιάζοντας αὐτοῖς*, and om. *αὐτῆς* in l. 5
473. 6 *πεπωρωμένοι*
473. 11 *θεωρητικόν* (doubtful)
473. 13 *θεωρίαν* (doubtful)
473. 21 *προκληρονομούμενοι*
473. 45 om. *δὲ* after *μεγαλόνοιαν*
474. 1 om. *καί* before *τοὺς μέν*
474. 36 *τελείου ἀγαθοῦ*: 42 *ἐπιτηδειότατον χωρίον* (doubtful)
475. 14 *ἱερὸν οἴκημα*
475. 29 *οὐρανίου φωτός*
476. 17 *παρεπιδεικνύμενοι*
476. 41 *τοῦ σώματος.* So Eusebius
476. 44 *ἐπιστήμης πόθος*
477. 8 *ἅλες ὄψον*
477. 9 *ἔστι δὲ ποτὸν αὐτοῖς ὕδωρ ναματιαῖον*

§ 11. The readings in which the Latin takes sides against the Armenian with some, but not with all, of the Greek books, call for some remark. Thus 471. 15 the Latin implies *ἀπό* with the group *β* of Greek books, whereas the Armenian implies *διά* with all the remaining Greek sources: in 473. 28 the Latin has *καὶ αὐτούς* with A, O, Q, *γ*; the Armenian has *καὶ αὐτός* with *β* and P: 474. 31 and 475. 11 the Latin has *ἐρημίαν* against *ἠρεμίαν* of the Armenian: 475. 10 the Latin has *οὔτε δέ* with all the codices except *β*, the Armenian has *οὔτε γάρ* with *β*: 474. 3 the Latin has *χρόνους* with all Greek sources but *γ*, the Armenian has *χρωμένους* read in *γ*: 472. 50 the Latin has *θηρσί τισι* with all Greek codices except A, the Armenian has *θερσιτῆσι* with A: 473. 13 the Latin has *οὔτε ἐξ ἔθους οὔτε ἐκ παραινέσεώς τινος ἢ παρακλήσεως* which is nearly the reading of A, *β*, O, Q, the Armenian omits *ἢ παρακλήσεως* just as *γ* omits *ἐκ παραινέσεως*: in 476. 36 the Latin has *τῆς ψυχῆς* with A, the Armenian has *τῇ ψυχῇ* with all the other Greek sources: in 475. 14 the Latin implies *ἑκάστῳ δὲ ἐστίν* with *β*, *γ*, P, Q, the Armenian has *ἐν ἑκάστῃ δὲ ἐστίν* with A, O; in 477. 9 the Latin omits *δέ* with

A, D, K, where other MSS. and the Armenian retain δέ: 477. 21 the Latin has ἀπό with β, where the Armenian reads ἀντί with A, γ, O, P, Q: in 474. 32 the Latin adds διά before τάς with A, O, P, where the Armenian and other families omit διά. Now, as we have before seen, all the Greek books without exception have flowed from a single archetype in which was the lacuna in 483. 18. Therefore whatever varieties of reading may exist in any of them must have arisen subsequently to and, so to speak, within the limits of that archetype Σ. It is unlikely that any sources independent of that archetype have influenced our Greek text; for, had that been the case, the lacuna in question would almost certainly have been filled up from them. We have also seen on the other hand that the Armenian Version represents a Greek text independent on this archetype of the Greek books and co-ordinate in importance, so that any reading which any Greek book shares with the Armenian must at once be imputed to that Greek archetype Σ. In the Latin Version we have identified nine or ten of the variants which are to be found in one or another of the Greek books, but which were not in their common archetype Σ. Thus in 477. 21 we know that the archetype read ἀντί, because the Armenian has it in common with A, γ, O, P, Q, whereas the Latin shows ἀπό with β. How did ἀπό get into the Greek text of the Latin translator? How did the other errors of Greek books which he reflects get into his text? There is but one possible answer. The Latin translator's Greek text flowed from the Greek archetype Σ in which was the lacuna in 483. 18, and, if the Latin Version included the whole of the D. V. C., we should find that it also had the same lacuna. If the Latin were derived from any other ancestor than the archetype Σ, we should not find in it depravations proper to the descendants of Σ. The theory of chance would allow of one such coincidence, but it forbids a whole series of them. Therefore the Latin text is a descendant, though an early descendant, of Σ, and its omissions or readings have no value as against the joint evidence of any one Greek MS. and the Armenian.

§ 12. It is important thus to have established that the Latin Version is a descendant of Σ, because we can thereby fix in some measure the date of Σ. If the Latin Version, an already corrupted descendant of Σ, should turn out to be as old as the fourth century, how much older was the archetype Σ? No one can say, but the whole argument tends to prove that the archetype Σ, in which was

the lacuna in 483. 18, and from which all our Greek texts of the D. V. C. are derived, was a very early copy; and this is what we should expect from the great diversity of the families of text into which its descendants admit of being grouped.

§ 13. We have now to consider the Greek MS. sources themselves. A is the best representative of the archetype Σ, as is shown by the following tables of readings, which must have been in Σ since they are in the Armenian :—

	A	Arm.
472. 50	*θερσιτῆσι*	
475. 11	om. *ἐζηλωκόσι καί*.	So also P and Latin
475. 14	*ἐν ἑκάστῃ δὲ ἐστίν*.	So also O
476. 34	om. *ὡς* before *μηδενός*.	So also O and Latin
477. 3	*εἶναι νομίζοντες*	
477. 17	*περὶ μὲν οὖν*	
478. 7	*διαλύσει*	
479. 24	*σιτοποιοί*	
480. 1	*δίψαν τε καὶ πεῖναν*	
480. 37	*σῶμα καί*	
481. 6	*ἑνωτικαῖς*	
481. 10	*δελεάζειν ὧν* and om. *ἐνίων*.	So also P
482. 7	*διὰ ζῆλον* and om. *δέ*	
482. 31	*οὐδεὶς ὡς ἔφην*	
483. 2	*σχήματος· τοῦτο τὸ συμπόσιον οἶδα ὅτι*	
485. 25	om. *καί* after *ὁ*	

This codex has descended not remotely from an uncial which was written continuously. This is proved by such errors as *ἤ* for *ἦ* in 463. 8, *περὶ κινηματικόν* in 477. 33, and by the fact of the accents being so often omitted, while prepositions are written as one word with the nouns they govern. In matters of orthography I have followed it closely. It constantly has the *ν* ephelkustikon where no other text has it, and here and there preserves an archaic spelling, as *ἀκροθώρηκες* in 475. 28. The iota subscript is as a rule absent, though it is sometimes added on the line, e. g. 476. 30 *συνωικοδόμηται*. On the whole it is very free from faults, though there are such, e. g. 484. 14 *χωρικῶν* and *πολυτρόφοις*, and *σκότος* for *κρότος* in 484. 10. A second hand has systematically erased *ν* ephelkustikon before consonants, but has made very few other

changes; and those chiefly consist of erasures of seemingly superfluous letters, e.g. 483. 1 *ἐπιφ*/*ρεσθαι*, 482. 28 *ζηλω***σάντων*, 473. 36 *περὶ****ης*. There are errors peculiar to A, e.g. 472. 48 it omits *ἀνήμερα καί*: 472. 38 it omits *καί* before *θηρίων*: 477. 1 *ὡς* for *ὥς γε*: 478. 33 it has *ὑγρὸς δέ* for *ὑγρὸς γάρ*: 480. 26 *Ἀφροδίτης οὐρανίου*: 480. 35 *ἐρωμένην*.

This MS. is in small form, and neatly written in small letters. A facsimile is added at the end of the book.

§ 14. The Vatican codex 248 (O) is so allied to A, as to nearly constitute with it a family apart. They alone of the Greek codices retain the true reading *ἐν ἑκάστῃ δέ ἐστιν οἴκημα* in 475. 14, and they both have *φαντασίαν* for *φιλοσοφίαν* in 473. 44, and *περὶ ἧς* for *περιττῆς* in 473. 36, though in this last passage P is yet nearer to A than O. In 480. 30 A and O agree in omitting *καί* before *πρὸς ταῦτα*. In 477. 33 A and O omit *τι* after *παρακινηματικόν*.

In the important passage 483. 16 *πότε δὲ οὐκ* is read in O and *β*; all the other families contain the emendation *πότος δὲ οὐκ*, which must therefore be very old.

In some respects O agrees with the Armenian and therefore with **Σ**, where all other MSS. have been corrupted: e.g. 477. 22 it alone omits *παχεῖα*: 469. 32 it has *παραρτύσεσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μή*, and omits *δέ* with Arm., *β*, Q: 472. 28 it retains *τούς*, but rejects *σέβοντας*, as the Armenian seems to have done.

Several lacunae are left in O by its writer; e.g. p. 477, where *φυσικόν* is read in other sources: p. 481, instead of *φθείρει* is a lacuna of about twenty letters: p. 483, instead of *εὐ* in *εὐτρόχως*, a lacuna of four letters: p. 481, instead of *σχέδην* a lacuna of five letters.

Some of its readings are unique, but plausible; e.g. 479. 33 *τελευταῖαι δὲ αἱ*: 481. 7 *συνείχετο* for *συνείχοντο*: 481. 8 omits *πάντα*.

§ 15. On the other hand there are striking affinities between A and P; e.g. 472. 46 *μόνῳ*, 477. 35 *τρόπον κυνῶν* (so also Q), 475. 11 omit *ἐζηλωκόσι καί* (so Latin also). These, however, are true readings, and agreement in them only proves that A and P are both very good texts, not that they are allied. They do not form a bond of union comparable to *περὶ ἧς* in 473. 36 or to *φαντασίαν* in 473. 44, the last a crucial link between A and O.

Sometimes a word transposed in some of the sources is omitted in P; e.g. 475. 38 *ἀποκεκρυμμένης* is omitted. Similar cases have

been already pointed out (§ 6) with regard to β. Such peculiar variations, where all the other MSS. are divided into two groups only, indicates great antiquity on the part of P; and the importance of its tradition is moreover shown by this, that in many cases it comes nearest of all the Greek books to the archetype Σ, e.g. 473. 8 it omits *μόνῃ*.

It teems with lacunae and peculiarities of its own; e.g. 471. 19 *ἡ δέ* for *ἐκείνη δέ*: 472. 18 omits *καί* after *ἀλλά*: 474. 25 reads *κακότητα* for *κακόδουλοι*, where the Armenian is ambiguous: 474. 40 *στέλλονται ἀποικίαν*: 480. 8 *τρόπους* for *λόγους*.

In 472. 19 *ἀπό τινος* is read for *ὑπό τινος*: 472. 24 *ἀκοῆς* for *ἀκρασίας*, where γ has *διανοίας*: 472. 39 *καὶ ἐξ ἑκάστου*: 472. 36 omits *Ἕλληνες*: 474. 26 reads *προσεκπορίζοντες*: 476. 45 *εὐφραινόμενοι* for *ἑστιώμενοι*: 477. 26 *τύφου* for *ψεύδους*: 478. 44 *αὐταῖς* for *καὶ ἀνθοβαρεῖς*.

It has points of contact with O; e.g. 476. 32 *ἢ πρὸς τάς*: 480. 32 *ἐναπεργαζόμενος*, which is also read in Q: 481. 29 *συσταθείς* for *καὶ συστάσεως* of Mangey. *συσταθείς* is also read in Arm., O, and Q. Sometimes it shares a reading with β and γ alone, e.g. 479. 4 *δορυφοροῦσι* for *ὑδροφοροῦσι*, where O has the conflate reading *καὶ ὑδροφοροῦσι δοροφοροῦσι δέ*. Reference has already been made to its affinities with β alone, e.g. *δι' ἐδωδῆς* for *δι' αἰδῶ τῆς* in 484. 24, *ἄνδρας καὶ αὐτός* in 473. 28, which is there the true reading as attested by the Armenian, 479. 32 *ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ μή*, where the Armenian has a different reading.

P embodies a very old tradition, and its readings must ever receive consideration, and this in spite of its manifold corruptions and of the scribe's emendations and lacunae. It would seem to have come down from an uncially written MS. which the copyist found great difficulty in reading.

§ 16. Q seems to be of a mixt family. It sometimes agrees in a wrong reading with P, but never without the additional authority of some other family; e.g. 474. 16 *παρευημερεῖ τῶν* is in P, Q, and γ. 484. 15 *μεθ' ὧν* is in P and Q, and also in the second hand in A. So *αὐτῶν μόνον* is in P, Q, and γ, in 478. 11. It has strong affinities with O; e.g. we read in O and Q the following: *ὃν ἐνήρξατο ἡ ψυχὴ διαφερόντως ἡ οἰκεία θεωρεῖν*. Similarly in 480. 45 O and Q alone read *παραφύεται δὲ . . . ἐρημίαν πόλεων καὶ σ. τ. ἀ. γ. ἀ. καὶ στ. κ. ἀγ. τεχναζόντων*, where P and A read *παραφύεται δὲ . . . ἐρημίαν γὰρ . . . τεχναζόντων*.

It has affinities with A and γ; e.g. 482. 40 it reads *ἐπιγινομένους*.

So in 473. 36 Q agrees with β and γ in the true reading *περιττῆς*, where A, O, and P have *περὶ ἧς*: but in 475. 11 O and Q agree with β and γ in adding the gloss *ἑξηλωκόσι καί*, which A and P omit. Most of these agreements, however, are agreements in the true reading, and prove nothing except the joint error of other MSS.

Sometimes Q alone agrees with O and P in the true reading, e.g. 481. 29 *συσταθείς*. In 480. 32 *ἐναπεργαζόμενος*, found in O, P, and Q, seems to be a conflate reading of *ἐνεργαζόμενος* read in A and *ἀπεργαζόμενος* found in β and γ. In 479. 32 it alone agrees with the Armenian in omitting *δέ*.

Q is full of lacunae and must have been copied from a MS. which was often illegible.

§ 17. If then A, O, P, Q are all free from the special errors of the two families β and γ, that in itself does not involve a common pedigree or assist us in determining the order of their coherence. Nor in any attempt to work out the genealogy and order of descent of the Greek MSS. does the Armenian Version help us, except in so far as it enables us to fix exactly what was read in their common archetype Σ. The Latin version, however, being descended from Σ reveals to us what errors and corruptions stood together in a single MS. in the fourth or fifth century. Let us see how these corruptions are distributed in the Greek sources. In 471. 15 *ἀπό* which seems to underlie the Latin is in β alone. In 473. 28 *καὶ αὐτούς* is in A, O, Q, γ. In 475. 10 *οὔτε δέ* is in A, γ, O, P, Q. In 474. 3 *χρόνους* is in A, β, O, P, Q. In 472. 50 *θηρσί τισι* is in β, γ, O, P, Q. In 476. 36 *τῆς ψυχῆς* is in A alone. In 475. 14 *ἑκάστῳ δὲ ἐστίν* is in β, γ, P, Q. In 477. 21 *ἀπό* is in β. In 474. 32 *διὰ τάς* is in A, O, P. Such a distribution in our Greek books of corruptions which were not in the archetype Σ, yet stood together in the fourth century copy of the Latin translator, is only intelligible if we suppose that they or rather their forerunners were copied long before the fourth century, that one of our present Greek texts was separated from the parent stem before certain corruptions had been developed, another before certain others, that all of them, however, had already long been separated before the Latin text was made, and lastly that there has been among the Greek books much intermixture of families. Thus β and P are free from the corruption *καὶ αὐτούς* at 473. 28 which besets the Latin translator's text; therefore β and P represent a stage of

the developement of the Greek text when the said corruption had not yet arisen. Again γ is free from the corruption *χρόνους* in 474. 3; therefore γ was separated before that corruption arose. The following table shows at a glance the distribution in our existing Greek texts of the nine errors which can be detected in the Latin Version. For convenience we symbolize those errors by the first nine numerals:—

Latin	A	β	γ	O	P	Q
1		1				
2	2		2	2		2
3	3		3	3	3	3
4	4	4		4	4	4
5		5	5	5	5	5
6	6					
7		7	7		7	7
8		8				
9	9			9	9	

Assuming, as we must, that by the intermixture of texts corruptions are more likely to get into individual copies than to get out, we are entitled to suppose from the above table that P represents a stage of the text *before* the errors 1, 2, 6 and 8 had crept in. We are less entitled to suppose that it represents a stage when errors 3, 4, 5, 7, and 9 had already crept in, for these may have got into P from texts which broke off at a later date, after the main tradition had been vitiated by them; in other words, they may be the result of an intermixture of the purer and older text, which is the basis of P, with later and impurer texts. Indeed, unless we so account for the presence of these errors, we must suppose that each of our six Greek families is both earlier and later than every other, which is absurd. If this be true, and if it be borne in mind that no single one of the nine characteristic errors of the Latin runs through all our six families, we are driven back on the conclusion that, so far as regards these particular corruptions, they one and all represent an older stage of textual developement than does the Latin Version, a stage even in which *none* of these nine errors had arisen. This seems to be too extreme

a conclusion; and we ought perhaps to modify it by allowing, first, that the intermixture of texts has sometimes restored the reading of the archetype, and secondly, that in some passages *both* variants stood in Σ, one in the text, the other in the margin. There still, however, remain great difficulties in the way of accounting for the distribution of these corruptions in our MSS., and all that we can say for certain is, (1) that it indicates for them all as the period of their genesis a very remote past, and (2) that the D. V. C. was very much multiplied and read at a very early date.

§ 18. Reserving for the present the fuller characterisation of the Eusebian text of Philo's tract, I will here briefly indicate the points in which it contrasts with our Greek books. In 474. 44 Eusebius reads *εὐκαίρως* which is in none of the Greek codices, though the Armenian implies it. In 474. 32 he omits *διά* before *τὰς ἐκ*, so confirming the Armenian and *β*, *γ*, Q, against A, O, P, and the Latin Version. In 475. 14 he cites thus: *ἐν ἑκάστῃ δὲ οἰκίᾳ ἐστὶν οἴκημα ἱερόν*, which is the reading of A, O, and Armenian Version, except for *οἰκίᾳ* which is merely due to the exigences of citation, though it led Mangey into error. 475. 17 Eusebius has *μηδέ τι τῶν*, which Turnebus adopted, as against *μηδέν τι* read in the Greek codices and Mangey. Here the authority of the Armenian is on the whole with the Greek codices, but one cannot be quite sure of what the translator read. In 475. 34 Eusebius read *αὐτοῖς ἐστίν* where the codices and Armenian have *ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς*. In 475. 36 the Greek codices of Eusebius are divided between *σοφίαν* and *φιλοσοφίαν*, of which the latter is read in all MSS. of Philo. The Armenian implies *νομοθεσίαν*, however, which must also have originally stood in Eusebius, since Rufinus implies it in his Latin Version. The old Armenian version of Eusebius, made from an older Syriac version, gives *φιλοσοφίαν* or *σοφίαν*. In 475. 40 Eusebius adds *αὐτῶν* after *αἱρέσεως*. It can be no mere coincidence that the Armenian implies the addition of *αὐτῶν* just below after *προαιρέσεως* in 476. 1. The memory of *αὐτῶν* in either place is lost in all the Greek codices of Philo, though perhaps it lingers in the Latin Version, which renders 'iisdem moribus gaudent uoluntatis.' In 476. 36 Eusebius has *προκαταβαλλόμενοι* with some of the Greek codices, where others, confirmed by the Armenian, read *προκαταβαλόμενοι*. In 476. 38 *σίτιον* was read in Eusebius, which is also in the old Latin version of Philo. The Greek codices of Philo all have *σίτιον δέ*, which must have

stood in the archetype Σ, since the Armenian implies it. In 476. 39 Eusebius has *ἐπεί* where the Philonean codices read *ἐπειδή*. In 476. 49 Eusebius has *τοῦ σώματος* with the Armenian and Latin Versions of Philo. The Greek codices have all *σωματικάς*. In 476. 41 Eusebius seems to have had the text as I have printed it, though some of his MSS. read *ἡμέρας*, a corruption peculiar to the *β* family of Philonean MSS. In 482. 4 *τυγχάνουσι* is due to citation merely, and is in no Philonean MS. Neither is *αἱ πλεῖσται* for *πλεῖσται* read in any Greek MS. *γηραλέαι* for *γηραιαί* is also peculiar to the Eusebian text. In 482. 6 Eusebius probably read *φυλάττουσαι*, but anyhow not *διαφυλάξασαι*, which is in the MSS. of Philo. In 482. 7 Eusebius omits *δέ* after *διά* with the Armenian and A. In 482. 7 Eusebius had *σπουδάσασαι* with the Armenian and the best codices. In 482. 8 Eusebius reads *τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα*, where the codices have *τῶν περὶ σῶμα* and where the Armenian has *σωματικῶν*. In the last citation, 483. 41–484. 1, there are important points to be noticed. There is first a conflict between the earliest sources of the Eusebian text as to the passage which in Burton's text runs thus: *ὃν ἤρξατο διαφερόντως ἡ θρησκεία αὕτη θεωρεῖν*. There is secondly a similar conflict among the Greek codices of Philo, none of them being, however, quite in harmony with any of the Eusebian sources. Lastly, the Armenian entirely omits the words, and so remodels the whole passage that they are superfluous. We may infer either that there was a very early lacuna in the text, due to the dropping out of a line, that the Armenian reflects the text so mutilated, and that the Greek books and Eusebius represent attempts to fill up the lacuna, or else that the Armenian Version reflects the text in its integrity, and that the words quoted are an early interpolation. Let us suppose that *ἡ δὲ ἐξήγησις . . . γίνεται* is the true text. *ἐξηγήσεις* may then have been a copyist's error for *ἐξήγησις*, for *ι* and *ει* were constantly confused. This led *αἱ* and *γένονται* to be written. Then *κατιδοῦσα* was left hanging in the air, and the relative clause was inserted to supply a regimen thereto. Whatever be the reason, the divergency of the Armenian from the text of both Eusebius and the Greek books is equally marked. In the same excerpt 483. 42 *αὐτοῖς* is added before *δι' ὑπονοιῶν*, but is absent in the Philonean MSS. and Armenian Version. In 483. 47 Eusebius read *ὡς* for *ὥσπερ* and *ἐμφαινόμενα* for the *ἐμφερόμενα* of the Philonean MSS. and of the Armenian Version.

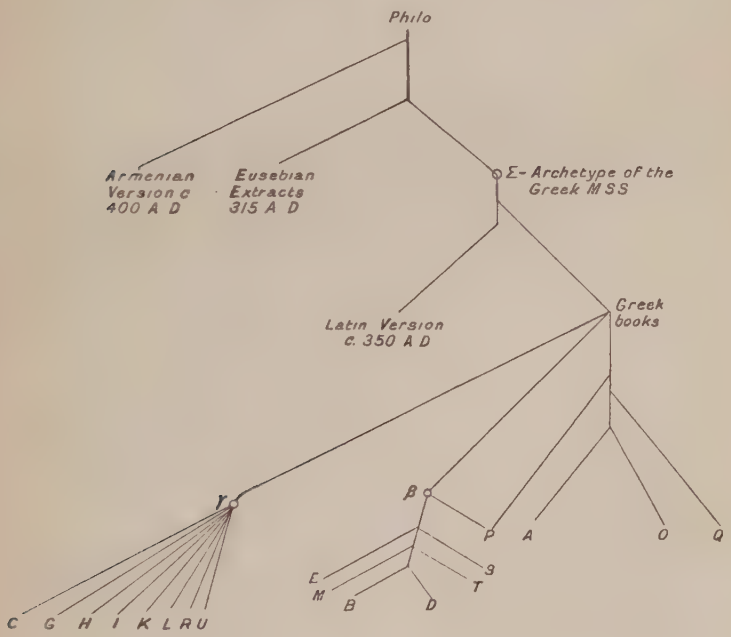
§ 19. The Eusebian text is thus on the whole nearer to the Armenian than to the Greek codices, where these differ from the Armenian. It sometimes diverges from both. Was it made from a MS. which flowed from Σ? It is true that the omission of δέ in 476. 38 and προκαταβαλλόμενοι in 476. 36 are variants which were not in Σ and which have therefore arisen within the pale of Σ. But it would be rash to infer that the Eusebian text was descended from Σ merely because it contains these, for the Latin text alone among the descendants of Σ omits δέ and affords but an insecure ground from which to argue that neither δέ nor γάρ were read in Σ. As regards προκαταβαλλόμενοι also we are on weak ground, for here the Greek codices are not divided according to their true affinities. The gloss, if it be such, added in 483. 46, is far better proof of affinity between the Eusebian text and Σ. But its presence does not prove that Σ was a forefather of the Eusebian text, but merely that both are descended from a still remoter text in which the words were already added.

§ 20. There have been two recensions in the past of the text of the D. V. C., that of Turnebus in the editio princeps printed in Paris in the year 1552, and that of Thomas Mangey, issued from the Clarendon Press in Oxford in the year 1742. That Turnebus used a manuscript of the family γ is proved by the following readings; 475. 23 he omits ἀρετῶν καί: 475. 35 ἱερωτάτοις is read: 475. 38 φύσεως ἀποκεκρυμμένης: 473. 14 οὔτε ἐκ παρακλήσεως τινῶν omitting ἐκ παραινέσεως: 473. 28 καὶ αὐτούς: 473. 33 μὴ μόνον. But he corrected this text from a MS. of the family β and perhaps from the Fontainebleau MS. A. Thus 473. 45 he has ὁρμαῖς, not ὁρῶσι, which is read in γ, and 474. 3 he reads χρόνους, where γ has χρωμένους.

Mangey adopted the text of Turnebus which was on the whole very excellent, but corrected it here and there from the Florentine MS. P, from the Vatican MS. O, from the Paris codex Coislinianus E, and from the excerpts in Eusebius. He also made a fuller use of A and assisted the text with a few brilliant conjectures. The readings of both editions are recorded in my apparatus criticus.

§ 21. What can be ascertained of the history of the text of this book from internal evidence may be thus recapitulated. The Armenian represents an earlier stage of the text than any existing

Greek source, not excepting even the extracts in Eusebius. Since the Armenian Version is demonstrably older than A.D. 450, this is no matter for surprise. The common archetype Σ of all the Greek texts of Philo must have been written long before the year 400; for the Latin Version (which was probably made in the first half of the fourth century) reflects a text descended from that archetype, but already vitiated by many corruptions. Lastly, the Armenian Version, in contrast with both the Eusebian text and the Greek books, either is free from a gloss or shows a lacuna in the passage 483. 46. For the rest, the Armenian text, where it differs from the Greek books, agrees with Eusebius over the small range of text covered by the excerpts. But in some important particulars the Eusebian text diverges from the Armenian and from the Greek books alike. It must be understood, of course, that the above conclusions only regard the D. V. C. and not the rest of Philo's works. In such matters the text of each book must be left to tell its own tale. The following diagram embodies to the eye the history of the text of the D. V. C.



§ 22. In choosing between the variants of the Greek books I have been guided by the principle that *that* one of them which is reflected in the Armenian Version *must* have stood in Σ; and I have, unless there are weighty reasons against it, selected that one for my text. All the opposed readings must be in such a case later than Σ and merely due to copyists. Thus in 474. 3 I have rejected the plausible reading χρόνους in favour of χρωμένους: for it must have arisen after Σ, unless we suppose that it was perhaps added in the margin of Σ. In some cases I have preferred the Armenian implied reading, even where this diverged from all the Greek MSS.; especially have I done so where the Old Latin Version or an extract from Eusebius confirms the Armenian. Conversely, I have preferred the joint authority of the Greek MSS. and of Eusebius to that of the Armenian, wherever it can be got. But in spite of all critical aids a few passages remain which are difficult to clear up in a wholly satisfactory manner, either because some corruption seems to have beset the Armenian translator's text as well as the archetype Σ, or because the Armenian Version fits in exactly with no one of the conflicting Greek readings. Among such obscure passages I may mention 473. 2, 473. 14, 474. 27, 477. 45, 478. 21, 479. 33, 480. 40, 482. 25. In some of these passages the Armenian text seems to have omitted one word and some of the codices another. In 473. 2 we have καὶ δοῦλα omitted in γ and in the version placed before φύσει, which the Latin omits. In 482. 25 and 473. 14 it is again the family γ which stands towards the Armenian and towards the rest of the Greek codices in a relation which it is difficult to account for or reconcile with the fact of γ being a mere descendant of Σ,—which, however, it must be, since it has the lacuna in p. 483 and even aggravates the omission by writing πότος for πότε. Probably the archetype Σ had marginal variants, and we may suppose that the Armenian translator's original had them also. In 474. 12 the variant δικαιοσύνης almost certainly stood in the margins of both, for some good Armenian MSS. show it either in text or in margin and it appears in A and γ and in the Latin Version.

In a few passages the Armenian and the Latin Versions agree in giving an order of words which is not found in any Greek book; e.g. 472. 46 they read θανάτῳ after φύσιν: 472. 37 ἄλογα is read before ζῷα: 473. 3 μόνον before τοὺς. The Latin Version is so

loose as to forbid any stress being laid on its variations of the order, unless they are confirmed by the other version, which scrupulously observes the order of the Greek original. In such cases, however, I have followed the Greek MSS. Similarly, I have not ventured on the evidence of the Armenian Version, even when endorsed by that of the Latin, to omit words which stand in all the codices, unless these words obstruct the sense. In a few cases, e.g. 473. 18, I have set words in square brackets where they appear to be a gloss and are omitted in the Armenian.

§ 23. In the apparatus criticus there are as a rule mentioned only those sources which disagree with the text as I have printed it, and it is left to be assumed that all the other sources favour the reading printed in the text. In many cases, however, I specify the sources which agree, as well as those which disagree, with the text. Nor was it worth the while to encumber the critical apparatus with the trifling peculiarities and errors of the individual MSS. composing the two great groups β and γ. It was in general easy to discern those readings which characterized each group as a whole, and to neglect the critically worthless idiosyncrasies of isolated members of each group. The MSS. A, O, P, Q are fairly independent of each other, and therefore it was necessary to record their variants more minutely.

In matters of orthography I have followed A, which is the oldest MS. we possess of the D. V. C. It gives the *ν* ephelkustikon oftener than other MSS. and retains the Ionic form *ἀκροθώρηκες* in 478. 25 which doubtless Philo used rather than *ἀκροθώρακες*: just as in 474. 5 all the MSS. retain *μακρή*.

§ 24. In printing the parallel passages cited below the text, I have followed as a rule the small stereotype reprint of Mangey's text, published at Leipzig 1851–1888. But wherever critical editions have superseded this text I of course quote them. In many places I have tacitly corrected the text in accordance either with the Oxford MSS. of Philo, which I have myself collated, or with the old Armenian text. In citing Aucher's Latin version of the Paralipomena Armena of Philo I have also made such changes as seemed necessary in order to bring out more exactly the sense of the original. The different tracts of Philo are referred to under their Latin titles as given in the edition of Mangey. It was often enough to refer to these titles under their initial letters, e.g. L. A. C.

signifies Legatio ad Caium. The student of Philo will at once recognize the meaning of these compendia, so it is not necessary to give a list of them. A reference to the volume, page, and often the line on the page of Mangey's edition is prefixed to all these citations.

CODICUM ET EDITIONUM SIGLA.

A = Codex Paris. 435.
B = Codex Uenetus 41.
C = Codex Uenetus 40.
D = Codex Collegii Noui apud Oxon.
E = Codex Paris. Coislin. 43.
G = Codex Paris. 433.
H = Codex Paris. 434.
I = Codex Paris. 2221.
K = Codex Uenetus 39.
L = Codex Coll. S. Trin. apud Cantab.
M = Codex Monacensis Graecus 459.
O = Codex Uaticanus 248.
P = Codex Laur. 20 Plut. x.
Q = Codex Laur. 10 Plut. lxxxv.
β = Consensus codicum C G H I K.
γ = Consensus codicum B D E M.
Arm. = uersio Armena.
Lat. = uersio Latina.
Eus. uel Euseb. = Excerpta apud Eusebii Historias Ecclesiae.
Turn. = Editio Princeps a Turnebo curata.
Mang. = Mangei Editio.

ΠΕΡΙ

ΒΙΟΥ ΘΕΩΡΗΤΙΚΟΥ.

(Ἱκέται ἢ περὶ ἀρετῶν τὸ δ΄.)

889 P. Ἐσσαίων πέρι διαλεχθείς, οἳ τὸν πρακτικὸν ἐζήλωσαν καὶ διεπόνησαν βίον, ἐν ἅπασιν ἤ, τὸ γοῦν M. 471

Inscriptio: *περὶ βίου θεωρητικοῦ* Arm.: *ἱκέται ἢ περὶ ἀρετῶν δ΄.* A: *Φίλωνος Ἰουδαίου περὶ βίου θεωρητικοῦ ἢ ἱκετῶν ἀρετῆς τὸ τέταρτον* (BDEM =) *β*: *περὶ β. θ. ἢ ἱκετῶν ἀρετῶν* Mang. Turn.: *τοῦ αὐτοῦ* (*Φίλωνος* OP) *π. β. θ. ἢ ἱκετῶν ἀρετῶν τὸ δ΄* QOP.

1. *διαλεχθείς*] Lat. '*disputaturus*' 2. *βίον ἐν ἅπασιν, ἢ τὸ γ.*

Inscription: '*Ικέται ἢ περὶ ἀρετῶν*] De Sac. Ab. et C. 1. 186, 33 **ὁ πεφευγὼς** *ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν καὶ* **ἱκέτης** *αὐτοῦ γεγονὼς λόγος ὀνομάζεται* **Λευίτης**.—Quod Det. Pot. Insid. 1. 203, 30 *τὴν τῶν ἁγίων διατήρησίν τε καὶ φυλακὴν οὐ τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσιν ὁ νομοθέτης, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τὰς γνώμας ἱερωτάτοις* **Λευίταις** *ἐπιτρέπει, ὧν ἀνάξιος κλῆρος γῆ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀήρ, ἔτι δὲ οὐρανὸς καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος ἐνομίσθη, μόνος δὲ ἀξιόχρεως ὁ δημιουργός, ᾧ προσπεφεύγασιν,* **ἱκέται** *γνήσιοι καὶ* **θεράποντες** *αὐτοῦ γινόμενοι . . . . οὐδ' ἅπασιν ἐξεγένετο* **τοῖς ἱκέταις** *γενέσθαι φύλαξιν ἱερῶν, ἀλλ' οἵτινες ἀριθμὸν πεντηκοστὸν ἔλαχον*.—Quod Det. Pot. Insid. 1. 221, 42 **Μωϋσῆς** *λαβὼν τὴν αὐτοῦ σκηνὴν ἔξω πήττει τῆς παρεμβολῆς* [Exod. 33. 7] *καὶ μακρὰν διοικίζει τοῦ σωματικοῦ στρατοπέδου, μόνως γὰρ ἂν οὕτως ἐλπίσας* **ἱκέτης καὶ θεραπευτὴς** *ἔσεσθαι τέλειος θεοῦ*.—De Post. Caini 1. 232, 3 **ἱκέτισι** *ψυχαῖς*.—Quod Deus Sit Im. 1. 290, 9 *ἴθι ἀμεταστρεπτὶ πρὸς τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ καὶ τούτων* **ἱκέτις** *γενοῦ,* **μέχρις ἂν** *ἀποδεξάμεναι τὸ συνεχὲς καὶ γνήσιον* **τῆς θεραπείας** *ἐν τῇ τῶν εὐαρεστησάντων αὐταῖς* **κατατάξωσι** *χώρᾳ*.—Quod Deus Sit Im. 1. 296, 28 *σοφία δι' ἧς μόνης* **ἱκέτισι** *ψυχαῖς ἡ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγέννητον* **καταφυγὴ** *γίνεται*.—De Ebr. 1. 371, 21 *φιλητικούους καὶ φιλομαθεῖς ἑτέρους, ὧν ἐστι Συμεών, ἀκοὴ γὰρ οὗτος ἑρμηνεύεται.* **πρόσφυγας** *καὶ* **ἱκέτας** *θεοῦ, Λευϊτῶν ὁ θίασος οὗτος· τὸν* **εὐχαριστικὸν** *ὕμνον ᾄδοντας . . . . ὧν* **ἔξαρχος** *Ἰούδας*.—Quis Rerum 1. 478, 20 **ἱκέτης** *οὖν γίνομαι καὶ ποτνιῶμαι*.—Quis Rerum 1. 490, 26 **εὐθυβόλως** *δὲ λύτρα ὠνόμασε τοὺς Λευίτας· εἰς* **ἐλευθερίαν** *γὰρ οὐδὲν οὕτως ἐξαιρεῖται τὴν διάνοιαν, ὡς τὸ* **πρόσφυγα** *καὶ* **ἱκέτην** *γενέσθαι θεοῦ. Τοῦτο δ' ἡ ἱερωμένη φυλὴ Λευϊτῶν ἐπαγγέλλεται*.—Quis Rerum 1. 512, 28 *ὁ θεὸς . . . ἄφεσιν καὶ* **ἐλευθερίαν** *ταῖς* **ἱκέτισιν** *αὐτοῦ ψυχαῖς προκηρύξας*.—De Congr. 1. 534, 20 **ἱκέτης καὶ θεραπευτής**.—De Profugis 1. 554, 29 *τοὺς* **πρόσφυγας** *καὶ* **ἱκέτας** *τοῦ θεοῦ μόνους ζῶντας*.—De Profugis 1. 557, 48 *τῆς μόνοις* **ἱκέταις** *πρὸς σωτηρίαν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν* **καταφυγῆς** *τοῦ βωμοῦ*.—De Mutat. Nom.

889 P. ἀφορητότερον εἰπεῖν, τοῖς πλείστοις μέρεσι διενεγ- M. 471
κόντες, αὐτίκα καὶ περὶ | τῶν θεωρίαν ἀσπασαμένων, 5
ἀκολουθίᾳ τῆς πραγματείας ἑπόμενος, τὰ προσήκοντα

A Arm. Lat. Turn.: *βίον, ἐν ἅπασιν ἤ, τὸ γ.* Mang. 3. ἀφορητότερον Ay Arm. Lat.: φορητότερον βO Mang.: εὐφορητότερον P Turn.: in Q εὐ erasum est 4. διενεγκόντων β: διενεγκόντες Arm. Lat. ceteri || αὐτίκα, καὶ Arm. 5. τῆς] τῇ Q

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1. 612, 25 μηδεὶς οὖν τῶν ἀφανεστέρων καὶ ταπεινοτέρων εἶναι δοκούντων ἐλπίδος ἀπογνώσει τῆς ἀμείνονος ἀποκνησάτω ἱκέτης γενέσθαι θεοῦ.—De Somn. 1. 695, 3 οὗτοι δέ εἰσι Λευῖται καὶ προσήλυτοι καὶ ὀρφανοὶ καὶ χῆραι· οἱ μὲν ἱκέται, οἱ δὲ μετανάσται καὶ πρόσφυγες, οἱ δὲ ἀπωρφανισμένοι καὶ κεχηρευκότες γενέσεως, θεὸν δὲ τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς θεραπευτρίδος ἄνδρα καὶ πατέρα γνήσιον ἐπιγεγραμμένοι.

1, 2. Q. O. P. L. 2. 458 [Concerning the Essenes] τὸ ἠθικὸν εὖ μάλα διαπονοῦσιν.—Q. O. P. L. 2. 456 Γυμνοσοφιστῶν οἱ πρὸς τῇ φυσικῇ καὶ τὴν ἠθικὴν φιλοσοφίαν διαπονοῦντες ὅλον ἐπίδειξιν ἀρετῆς πεποίηνται τὸν βίον.

1. D. A. S. I. 2. 240 τοσαῦτα περὶ τούτων διαλεχθείς.

2. De Hum. 2. 391 γνώμαις ἑκουσίαις ἀρετὴν διεπόνησαν.—De Sp. Leg. 2. 319 παρὰ φυσικοῖς ἀνδράσιν οἷς ὁ θεωρητικὸς διαπονεῖται βίος.—De Ios. 2. 74 τοὺς ἀρετῆς ἄθλους κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν διαπονήσαντος.—De Pr. et Poen. 2. 427 τοῖς ἀρετὴν διαπονοῦσι.

3. L. A. C. 2. 588 οὐδὲν ἀπετόλμησα τοιοῦτον αἰτήσασθαι, τὸ δὲ φορητότατον, χάριν σοὶ μὲν ἀζήμιον δοῦναι κ.τ.λ.—De Mon. 2. 228 ὅσῳ καὶ τὸ περὶ θεὸν ἐξαμαρτάνειν τοῦ περὶ ἄνθρωπον ἀφορητότερον.—Leg. Alleg. 1. 126 χαλεπῶν καὶ ἀφορήτων.—De Ios. 2. 45 οὐδὲν τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ἀφορητότερον.

4. De Iustit. 2. 366 φθάνει δὲ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς εἶδος. καὶ διαδέδυκεν, ὀλίγου δέω φάναι, πρὸς ἅπαντα τὰ τοῦ βίου μέρη, διαφέρον αὐτὸ μόνον μεγέθει καὶ τῷ ποσῷ.

1-5. For a parallel form of exordium cp. De Decal. 2. 180 τοὺς βίους τῶν κατὰ Μωσέα σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὓς ἀρχηγέτας . . . αἱ ἱεραὶ βίβλοι δηλοῦσιν, ἐν ταῖς προτέραις συντάξεσι μεμηνυκώς, κατὰ τὰ ἀκόλουθα ἐξῆς τῶν ἀναγραφέντων νόμων τὰς ἰδέας ἀκριβώσω, μηδ' εἴ τις ὑποφαίνοιτο τρόπος ἀλληγορίας. τοῦτον παρεὶς ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς διάνοιαν φιλομαθοῦς ἐπιστήμης, ᾗ πρὸ τῶν ἐμφανῶν ἔθος τὰ ἀφανῆ ζητεῖν.—also De Pr. et Poen. 2. 409 περὶ ὧν ἁπάντων, ὅσα καιρός, ἐν ταῖς προτέραις συντάξεσι διεξελθὼν καὶ προσέτι τῶν ἀρετῶν ἃς ἀπένειμεν εἰρήνῃ τε καὶ πολέμῳ, μέτειμι κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον ἐπὶ τὰ προτεθέντα.—also De Ab. 2. 25, 15–21.

5. De Ab. 2. 6 μόνωσιν ἀσπασάμενος.

De Mig. Ab. 1. 453 διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν εὐάρμοστον ἀκολουθίαν.—De Confus. 1. 407, 9 ἑπόμενοι τῷ τῆς ἀκολουθίας εἱρμῷ.—De Profugis 1. 563 λελαληκότες οὖν τὰ ἁρμόττοντα περὶ φυγάδων τὴν κατὰ τὸν εἱρμὸν ἀκολουθίαν συνυφανοῦμεν.—De Somn. 1. 687 κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον αὐτίκα διερευνητέον.—In Fl. 2. 518 οὐ μέμηνα ..... οὐδ' ἠλίθιός τίς εἰμι, ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι πράγματος ἀκολουθίαν ἰδεῖν.—De Decal. 2. 194 προσειπὼν οὖν περὶ τῆς ὑπάρξεως καὶ τιμῆς τοῦ αἰεὶ ὑπάρχοντος, ἑπόμενος τῷ τῆς ἀκολουθίας εἱρμῷ, τὰ πρέποντα καὶ περὶ

889 P. λέξω, μηδὲν οἰκοθεν ἔνεκα τοῦ βελτιῶσαι προστιθείς, M. 471
ὃ δρᾶν ἔθος ἐν σπάνει καλῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἅπασι τοῖς
ποιηταῖς καὶ λογογράφοις, ἀλλ' ἀτεχνῶς αὐτῆς | περι- 10
εχόμενος τῆς ἀληθείας, πρὸς ἣν οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ ὁ δεινότατος
εἰπεῖν ἀπαγορεύσει. Διαθλητέον δὲ ὅμως καὶ διαγωνιστέον· οὐ γὰρ δεῖ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀρετῆς

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7. ὃν δρᾶν BD 8. ἐν codd. et Arm. Turn.: om. Mang. || ἐπιτηδευμάτων om. Lat. || τοῖς om. Arm. 9. ἀτεχνῶς] 'magnopere' Arm. '*Sine arte*' Lat. 11. δὲ ὅμως καὶ] scripsit οὖν καὶ Q m² in ras. 12. ὅμως] μοι habuisse videtur E in textu (ὅμως marg.): ὁμοίως DM: ὅμως cett.

τῆς κλήσεως εὐθὺς παρήγγειλε.— De Profugis 1. 572, 16 προσηκόντως οὖν λέγεται.—De Agric. 1. 319, 25 τὰ προσήκοντα εἴρηται . . . πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἀκόλουθα καιρὸς ἤδη τρέπεσθαι.

6–13. De Mundi Op. 1. 1 τὸ μὲν οὖν κάλλος τῶν νοημάτων τῆς κοσμοποιΐας οὐδεὶς οὔτε ποιητὴς οὔτε λογογράφος ἀξίως ἂν ὑμνῆσαι δύναιτο· καὶ γὰρ λόγον καὶ ἀκοὴν ὑπερβάλλει, μείζω καὶ σεμνότερα ὄντα ἢ ὡς θνητοῦ τινος ὀργάνοις ἐναρμοσθῆναι. οὐ μὴν διὰ τοῦθ' ἡσυχαστέον, ἀλλ' ἕνεκα τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς καὶ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν ἐπιτολμητέον λέγειν, οἰκοθεν μὲν οὐδέν, ὀλίγα δ' ἀντὶ πολλῶν κ.τ.λ. De Pl. Noe 1. 348 τὰς γὰρ διηγήσεις τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἔργων αὐταρκέστατον ἐκείνων ἔπαινον εἶναι, προσθήκης οὐδεμίας ἔξωθεν εἰς κόσμον δεομένων, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀψευδὲς τῆς ἀληθείας τελειότατον ἐχόντων ἐγκώμιον.

7. De Ios. 2. 59 ἐρευνησάτω δὲ ἕκαστος αὐτόν, καὶ τὸν ἔλεγχον οἰκοθεν ἄνευ τῶν παρ' ἐμοῦ πίστεων εἴσεται.—De Mon. 2. 222 λέγων μὲν οἰκεῖον οὐδὲν . . . . διελεύσεται καθάπερ ὑποβάλλοντος ἑτέρου.—In Fl. 2. 531 μαρτυρήσω δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὅσα σύνοιδα τῷ πλήθει τῶν εἰς κοσμιότητα καὶ εἰς εὐπείθειαν προστιθεὶς οὐδέν· ἡ γὰρ ἀλήθεια αὐταρκέστατος ἔπαινος.

8–13. De Mundi Op. 1. 21 τὴν δ' ἑβδομάδος φύσιν οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τις ἱκανῶς ἂν ὑμνῆσαι δύναιτο παντὸς οὖσαν λόγου κρείττονα· οὐ μὴν ὅτι θαυμασιωτέρα τῶν περὶ αὐτῆς λεγομένων ἐστί, διὰ τοῦθ' ἡσυχαστέον, ἀλλ' ἐπιτολμητέον.—De Iustit. 2. 373, 37 δικαιοσύνην δὲ αὐτὴν τίς ἂν ποιητὴς ἢ λογογράφος ὑμνῆσαι δύναιτο;—De Pl. Noe 1. 353, 11 ποιηταὶ καὶ λογογράφοι.

11. De Pr. et Poen. 2. 413, 12 ἀπαγορεύει καθάπερ ἀθλητὴς ὑπὸ ῥώμης δυνατωτέρας ἐκτραχηλιζόμενος.

Leg. Alleg. 1. 86 τὴν ὀφιομάχον οὖν γνώμην ἀντίταττε καὶ κάλλιστον ἀγῶνα τοῦτον διάθλησον.—De Mig. Ab. 1. 447 ἐβούλετο πάντως διαγωνίσασθαι. De Congr. 1. 543 οἱ μὲν γὰρ προκαμόντες ἀνέπεσον . . . . καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ὑπ' ἀσθενείας, ὥσπερ ἀπειρηκότες ἀθληταί, καθῆκαν . . . οἱ δὲ τὰ φοβερὰ καὶ δεινὰ τῆς ἐρημίας πάνυ τλητικῶς καὶ ἐρρωμένως ἀναδεχόμενοι, τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦ βίου διήθλησαν.

12. De Ab. 2. 14 πράξεις οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητοι. τὸ δὲ μέγεθος αὐτῶν οὐ παντὶ δῆλον.—In Fl. 2. 526 ἀλλά μοι δοκεῖ προσρήσεων οἰκείων ἂν ἀπορῆσαι διὰ

889 P. αἴτιον ἀφωνίας γενέσθαι τοῖς μηδὲν καλὸν ἡσυχάζεσ- M. 471
θαι δικαιοῦσιν. Ἡ δὲ προαίρεσις τῶν | φιλοσόφων 15
εὐθὺς ἐμφαίνεται διὰ τῆς προσρήσεως· θεραπευταὶ γὰρ

15. διὰ AγPQO Arm. Mang. Turn.: ἀπὸ β et ut videtur

μέγεθος κεκαινουργημένης ὠμότητος. Quis Rerum 1. 473 καίτοι τίς οὐκ ἂν τὸ τοῦ χρησμῳδοῦντος ἀξίωμα καὶ μέγεθος καταπλαγεὶς ἄφωνος καὶ ἀχανὴς ἐγένετο.

14. De Ab. 2. 37 οὐκ ἄξιον ἔργον ἡσυχασθῆναι.—De Ab. 2. 25 μεγίστην δὲ πρᾶξιν ἀξίαν ἀκοῆς οὐχ ἡσυχαστέον.—V. M. 2. 80 βίον ἀναγράψαι διενοήθην ἀνδρὸς τὰ πάντα μεγίστου καὶ τελειοτάτου καὶ γνώριμον τοῖς * ἀξιοῦσι * μὴ ἀγνοεῖν αὐτὸν ἀποφῆναι.—De Prov. ex Eus. Praep. Ev. 2. 644 ὁ δὲ δὴ τοῦ γάλακτος κύκλος τῆς μὲν αὐτῆς οὐσίας τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄστροις μετέσχηκε, δυσαιτιολόγητος δὲ εἴπερ ἐστί, μὴ ἀποκνείτωσαν οἱ τὰ φύσεως ἐρευνᾶν εἰωθότες.

15. προσρήσεως] De Gig. 1. 264, 32 ἀναξίους τῆς προσρήσεως.—De Gig. 1. 271, 25 οὗ χάριν καὶ προσρήσεως οἷς ἐπιτετήδευκε ἔτυχεν οἰκείας.—De Agric. 1. 300, 8 κύριαι προσρήσεις.—De Prov. ex Eus. Praep. Ev. 2. 635 βασιλεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἔστι πρόσρησις οἰκειοτέρα πατρός.

16. θεραπευταί] Leg. Alleg. 1. 114, 2 ἔστι δὲ καὶ σύμβολον ὁ βραχίων πόνου καὶ πακοπαθείας· τοιοῦτος δὲ ὁ θεραπευτὴς καὶ λειτουργὸς τῶν ἀγίων, ἀσκήσει καὶ πόνῳ χρώμενος.—Leg. Alleg. 1. 87, 17 οὐ γὰρ πέφυκεν ἡ τῶν παθῶν θεραπευτικὴ κακία τὴν ἀρετῆς πόλιν οἰκεῖν.—De Sac. Ab. et C. 1. 166, 11 τῷ θεοῦ θεραπευτῇ πρεπῶδες ἀληθείας περιέχεσθαι.—De Sac. Ab. et C. 1. 168, 33 εὐσέβεια δὲ καὶ ὁσιότης ἀγαθά, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄνευ θεραπείας θεοῦ τυχεῖν αὐτῶν δυνάμεθα· θεραπεία δὲ ταῖς ἐν πόνοις φιλοτιμίαις συνέζευκται.—De Sac. Ab. et C. 1. 169, 4 θεραπευτέον . . . τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρετάς, οὕτω καὶ . . . θεραπευτέον ὑγείαν.—De Sac. Ab. et C. 1. 170, 44 ἀμαθία . . . . θεραπείαν οὐ δύσεργον ἔχει, διδασκαλίαν· πανουργία δὲ ἑκούσιον ψυχῆς ἀρρώστημα, χαλεπὴν δὴ καὶ πάντως ἀνίατον ἐργάζεται τὴν ἀποτροπήν.—De Sac. Ab. et C. 1. 186, 23 τοὺς Λευΐτας ὁμολογεῖ Μωσῆς τοὺς ἀντὶ τῶν πρωτοτόκων γενομένους θεραπευτὰς τοῦ μόνου ἀξίου θεραπεύεσθαι, λύτρα τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων εἶναι.—De Sac. Ab. et C. 1. 188, 19 ταύτῃ καὶ τὰς πόλεις τῶν Λευϊτῶν λυτρωτὰς διὰ παντὸς εἶναί φησιν, ὅτι ὁ θεοῦ θεραπευτὴς αἰώνιον ἐλευθερίαν κεκάρπωται, κατὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς τροπὰς τῆς ἀεικινήτου ψυχῆς ἰάσεις δεχόμενος ἐπαλλήλους.—Quod Det. Pot. Insid. 1. 202, 2 δεῖται γὰρ οὐδενὸς οὔτε ὁ πλήρης θεὸς οὔτε ἡ ἄκρα καὶ παντελὴς ἐπιστήμη, ὥστε τὸν θεραπευτικὸν τούτων μὴ τοὺς θεραπευομένους ἀνενδεεῖς ὄντας, ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν μάλιστα ὠφελεῖν. Ἱππικὴ μὲν γὰρ καὶ σκυλακευτικὴ ἐπιστήμη θεραπεία ἡ μὲν ἵππων, ἡ δὲ σκυλάκων οὖσα, πορίζει τοῖς ζῴοις τὰ ὠφέλιμα, ὧν ἐκεῖνα δεῖται· μὴ πορίζουσα δὲ ἀμελεῖν ἂν δοκοίη. τὴν δὴ εὐσέβειαν, θεοῦ θεραπείαν ὑπάρχουσαν, οὐ θέμις ποριστικὴν εἰπεῖν τῶν ὠφελησόντων τὸ θεῖον.—Quis Rerum 1. 474, 10 τὰς φιλοδεσπότους λειτουργίας καὶ θεραπείας τοῦ Ἀβραάμ.—De Profugis 1. 552, 8 ἀνδρῶν δὲ ἄριστον ἆθλον ἡ θεοῦ μόνου θεραπεία.—cp. De Profugis 1. 559, 33.—De Somn. 1. 645, 8 τὴν τοῦ πάντων αἰτίου θεραπείαν.—De Somn. 1. 653, 42 τῶν ἀδόλως καὶ καθαρῶς θεραπευόντων τὸ *Ον οὐδεὶς ἔστιν, ὃς μὴ πρῶτον μὲν ἰσχυρογνωμοσύνῃ κεχρηται, καταφρονήσας τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων. — De Ebr. 1. 366, 45 οὐδ', ὥσπερ νομίζουσί τινες, ἀνθρώπους ἀναιροῦσιν οἱ ἱερεῖς, ζῷα λογικὰ ἐκ ψυχῆς

389 P. καὶ θεραπευτρίδες ἐτύμως καλοῦνται· ἤτοι παρ' ὅσον M. 471
ἰατρικὴν ἐπαγγέλλονται κρείσσονα τῆς κατὰ πόλεις· ἡ
μὲν γὰρ σώματα θεραπεύει μόνον, ἐκείνη δὲ καὶ ψυχὰς

Lat. '*de prima salutatione comprobatur*' 16. *θεραπευτίδες*
βQ[1]: *θεραπευτρίδες* cett. 18. *κρείττονα* DM 19. *ἐκείνη δὲ*]

καὶ σώματος συνεστῶτα, ἀλλ' ὅσα οἰκεῖα καὶ φίλα τῇ σαρκὶ ἀποκόπτουσι τῆς διανοίας ἑαυτῶν, εὐπρεπὲς εἶναι νομίζοντες τοῖς **θεραπευταῖς** *τοῦ μόνου σοφοῦ γενησομένοις, πάντων ὅσα γένεσιν εἴληχεν ἀλλοτριοῦσθαι.*—De Ebr. 1. 376, 53 **ἱερέων καὶ θεραπευτῶν** *θεοῦ.*—De Confus. 1. 419, 4 *ἡ τοῦ μόνου* **θεραπεία** *σοφοῦ.*—cp. Quod Deus Sit Im. 1. 282, 38.—De Fortit. 2. 382 *τῆς τοῦ ἑνὸς καὶ* **ὄντως ὄντος θεραπείας** *θεοῦ.*—De Fortit. 2. 381 *τῆς τοῦ ἑνὸς καὶ ὄντως ὄντος τιμῆς.*—De Ebr. 1. 369 *ὅρασιν γὰρ θεοῦ μηνύει τὸ ὄνομα* ['Ισραήλ]· *τελειότερον δὲ τί ἂν εἴη τῶν ἐν ἀρεταῖς ἢ τὸ ὄντως ὂν ἰδεῖν.*—Q. O. P. L. 2. 457 *λέγονταί τινες παρ' αὐτοῖς ὄνομα* 'Εσσαῖοι . . . *οὐκ ἀκριβεῖ τύπῳ διαλέκτου* 'Ελληνικῆς *παρώνυμοι ὁσιότητος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα* **θεραπευταὶ θεοῦ** *γεγόνασιν.*—De Congr. 1. 526 *τῷ μὲν οὖν ἀρίστῳ* **γένει** *τὸ ἄριστον ὁρᾶν, τὸ ὄντως ὄν, συμβέβηκεν·* 'Ισραὴλ *γὰρ ὁρῶν θεὸν ἑρμηνεύεται, τῷ δὲ δευτερείων* **ἐφιεμένῳ** *τὸ δεύτερον, τὸν* **αἰσθητὸν** *οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ τῶν ἀστέρων ἐναρμόνιον* **τάξιν** *καὶ πάμμουσον ὡς ἀληθῶς χορείαν.*

θεραπευτρίδες] De Somn. 1. 655, 33 *ταῖς ἀσωμάτοις καὶ* **θεραπευτρίσιν** *αὐτοῦ (θεοῦ) ψυχαῖς.*—De Somn. 1. 695, 7 *θεὸν τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς* **θεραπευτρίδος** *ἄνδρα καὶ πατέρα γνήσιον.*—De Post. Caini 1. 261, 19 *τὴν ἱερωμένην διάνοιαν λειτουργὸν καὶ* **θεραπευτρίδα** *οὖσαν.*

De Confus. 1. 425 *τούτου δύναμις δὲ* . . . . . **κέκληται** *μὲν ἐτύμως θεός.*—V. M. 2. 101 *κυνομυίας, ἣν* **ἐτύμως ἐκάλεσαν** *οἱ θετικοὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων.*—Q. O. P. L. 2. 456 *οἱ* **ἐτύμως* προσονομασθέντες* ἑπτὰ** *σοφοί.*

17 seq. For both idea expressed and form of expression cp. De Ab. 2. 9 **προσηκόντως** *οὖν καὶ τὴν τῶν* . . . **ἀρετῶν** *οἰκειότητα συνῆψε φύσις, μάθησις, ἄσκησις, ἃς ἑτέρῳ ὀνόματι χάριτας ἰσαρίθμους ἄνθρωποι* **καλοῦσιν**, *ἢ τῷ κεχαρίσθαι τὸν θεὸν* . . . . *ἢ παρ' ὅσον αὗται δεδώρηνται ψυχῇ λογικῇ ἑαυτάς, . . . ἵνα καὶ τὸ αἰώνιον ὄνομα . . . μὴ ἐπὶ τριῶν ἀνθρώπων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν εἰρημένων λέγηται δυνάμεων· ἀνθρώπων μὲν γὰρ φθαρτὴ φύσις, ἄφθαρτος δὲ ἡ τῶν ἀρετῶν.*—De Ebr. 1. 378 *τὴν δὲ σκηνὴν μαρτυρίου καλεῖ πολλάκις·* **ἤτοι παρ' ὅσον** . . . *ἢ παρ' ὅσον.*

18. De Somn. 1. 678, 20 *βαθείας εἰρήνης ἀναπλησθέντας τῆς ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, ἢ πρὸς ἀλήθειάν ἐστιν εἰρήνη, τῆς* **κατὰ τὰς πόλεις** *ἀρχετύπου.*—De Profugis 1. 572 *ἡ μὲν γὰρ* **κατὰ πόλεις** [*εἰρήνη*] *ἀνακέκραται ἐμφυλίῳ πολέμῳ.*—De Agric. 1. 322 *μύριοι οὖν τῶν λεγομένων σοφιστῶν, θαυμασθέντες* **κατὰ πόλεις.**

De Prov. ex Eus. Praep. Ev. 2. 637 *ὅσοι δὲ νόθου παιδείας ἐπεμελήθησαν, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἰατροὺς ἐμιμήσαντο, τὸ δοῦλον* **ψυχῆς** *σῶμα* **θεραπεύοντας,** *οἱ τὴν δέσποιναν ἐπιφάσκοντες ἰᾶσθαι.*

19. De Sac. Ab. et C. 1. 176, 27 *καταφεύγετε, ὦ μάταιοι, ἐπὶ τὸν μόνον* **ἰατρὸν ψυχῆς ἀρρωστημάτων.**—De Ios. 2. 43 *τῶν τῆς* **ψυχῆς παθῶν καὶ νοσημάτων** *λέγεται εἶναι χρόνος* **ἰατρός,** *ἱκανὸς καὶ πένθος ἀνελεῖν καὶ θύμον σβέσαι καὶ φόβον* **θεραπεῦσαι**· *πάντα γὰρ ἐξευμαρίζει καὶ ὅσα κατὰ τὴν φύσιν* **δυσίατα.**

889 P. *νόσοις κεκρα | τημένας χαλεπαῖς καὶ δυσιάτοις, αἷς* M. 471, 20
κατέσκηψαν ἡδοναὶ καὶ ἐπιθυμίαι καὶ λῦπαι καὶ φόβοι,
890 P. *πλεονεξίαι τε καὶ ἀφροσύναι, καὶ ἀδικίαι, καὶ τὸ τῶν*
ἄλλων παθῶν καὶ κακιῶν ἀνήνυτον πλῆθος· ἢ παρ'
ὅσον ἐκ φύσεως καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων || ἐπαιδεύθησαν M. 472
θεραπεύειν τὸ ὄν, ὃ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ κρεῖττόν ἐστιν καὶ ἑνὸς

ἡ δὲ P 20. *τε* add. ante *καὶ* CEMOPQ: om. ceteri || *αἷς* A et forte Arm.: *ἃς* ceteri et editi 21. *ἡδοναὶ καὶ* AβγOPQ Turn.: *ἡδοναί τε καὶ* H Mang. || *καὶ λῦπαι* ABEMPQ Mang.: *λῦπαι* Dγ Turn. || *καὶ φόβοι καὶ λῦπαι* Arm. 23. *παθῶν τε καὶ* K Arm. || *ἀνηνύτων* E: *ἀνηκέστων* M: *ἀνήκεστον* D: *ἀνήνυτον* Arm. ceteri || *ἀνηνυτοῦ πλήθους* H 1. *τὸ ὂν ὄντως* Arm. || *ἐστὶν* A

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20. De Profugis 1. 563, 19 *τῶν γὰρ ἀβουλήτων ἔξωθεν αἰφνίδιον* **κατασκήπτοντα** *παραχρῆμα τὴν* **ψυχήν**.—De Agric. 1. 306, 18 *εὐχόμενοι μηδὲ τὰς ἔξωθεν εἰωθυίας* **κατασκήπτειν νόσους** *ἐπιγενέσθαι*.—De Sp. Leg. 2. 316 **δυσίατα** *γὰρ ἤδη καὶ παντελῶς ἀθεράπευτα τὰ ἐκ τῶν φαρμακειῶν ἀρρωστήματα·* **χαλεπώτερα** *μέντοι συμβαίνειν φιλεῖ τῶν ἐν τοῖς σώμασι* **τὰ περὶ τὰς ψυχὰς πάθη** *τῶν ἐπιβουλευομένων· ἐκστάσεις γὰρ καὶ παραφροσύναι καὶ ἀφόρητοι μανίαι* **κατασκήπτουσι**.

21. Leg. Alleg. 1. 68 *καὶ γὰρ ἡδονὴ βοηθεῖ πρὸς διαμονὴν τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν, καὶ* **ἐπιθυμία** *καὶ* **λύπη** *μέντοι καὶ* **φόβος**.—De Congr. 1. 544 **ἡδονῶν καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν, φόβου τε καὶ λύπης**, *καὶ* **ἀδικημάτων** *καὶ συνόλως ἁπάντων ὅσα ἡ* **κακιῶν** *ἐστιν ἢ* **παθῶν** *ἔργα*.—De Mig. Ab. 1. 445 *πολλὰς μὲν ἂν εὕροι τάξεις ἀκοσμούσας, ὧν* **ἡδοναὶ** *ἢ* **ἐπιθυμίαι** *ἢ* **λῦπαι** *ἢ* **φόβοι** *ἢ πάλιν* **ἀφροσύναι** *καὶ* **ἀδικίαι** *καὶ αἱ τούτων συγγενεῖς καὶ ἀδελφαὶ ταξιαρχοῦσι*.

23. De Mutat. Nom. 1. 604, 49 *τὰς τῶν* **ἀνηνύτων παθῶν** *ὁρμάς*.—De Prov. 2. 636 *εὐχέσθω δέ, καθαρσίων μεταλαχών, ἰαθῆναι τὰ ὦτα, δι' ὧν αἱ μεγάλαι* **ψυχῇ νόσοι κατασκήπτουσι**.

24. De Ab. 2. 1, 1 *τῶν* **ἱερῶν νόμων** *ἐν πέντε βίβλοις ἀναγραφέντων*.—De Decal. 2. 181, 45 **ἱεροὺς νόμους**.—De Decal. 2. 186, 45 *τὰ τῶν* **ἱερῶν νόμων** *διδασκαλεῖα*.—De Mutat. Nom. 1. 597, 40 *ἑρμηνείαν καὶ προφητείαν* **νόμων ἱερῶν**.

1. De Somn. 1. 672, 3 *μαθόντες καὶ* **παιδευθέντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὸν ὄντως βασιλέα, τὸν κύριον, προσκυνεῖν**.

1, 2. De Pr. et Poen. 2. 414, 30 *ἐκεῖνο* [i. e. *ὅς ἐστιν ὁ θεὸς*] *μὲν γάρ,* **ὃ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ κρεῖττον καὶ μονάδος πρεσβύτερον καὶ ἑνὸς εἰλικρινέστερον**, *ἀμήχανον ὑφ' ἑτέρου τινὸς θεωρεῖσθαι, διότι μόνον θέμις αὐτὸν ὑφ' αὑτοῦ καταλαμβάνεσθαι*. —De Mundi Op. 1. 2, 26 *τὸ μὲν δραστήριον ὁ τῶν ὅλων νοῦς ἐστιν* **εἰλικρινέστατος** *καὶ ἀκραιφνέστατος,* **κρεῖττων ἢ ἀρετὴ** *καὶ κρειττων ἢ ἐπιστήμη καὶ* **κρεῖττων ἢ αὐτὸ τἀγαθὸν** *καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ καλόν*.—De Iustit. 2. 368, 1 *προφήτης, οὐ γένει μᾶλλον ἢ ἀρετῇ παρεληλυθὼς ἐπὶ τὴν* **τοῦ ὄντως ὄντος θεραπείαν**.—De Somn. 1. 625 *ἄνθρωπος ἐξαιρέτου παρὰ τὰ ἄλλα ζῷα γέρως ἔλαχε,* **θεραπεύειν τὸ ὄν**.—De Exsec.

890 P. εἰλικρινέστερον καὶ μονάδος ἀρχεγονώτερον. Οἷς τίνας M. 472
συγκρίνειν ἄξιον τῶν ἐπαγγελλομένων εὐσέβειαν; ἆρά

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3. οἷς τίνας] οὓς τίνι seu οὓς τίσιν Arm. et forte Lat.: οἷς τινας Mang. 4. οὐκ ἄρα AβP: loco οὐκ rasura trium litt. C: om. οὐκ ceteri codices, Arm. et edd.: interpres Lat. videtur οὐκ habuisse, nam verba '*aut nempe iis*' quae in edit. Basil. leguntur ex '*haud*

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2. 435 τοὺς τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων δικαιοσύνης καὶ εὐσεβείας ὑπερορῶντας καὶ ταῖς πολυθέοις δόξαις ὑπαχθέντας, ὧν ἀθεότης τὸ τέλος, λήθῃ τῆς συγγενοῦς καὶ πατρίου διδασκαλίας ἣν ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας ἐπαιδεύθησαν, τὴν τοῦ Ἑνὸς φύσιν τὸν ἀνωτάτω νομίζειν θεόν.—L. A. C. 2. 562 μόνους γὰρ Ἰουδαίους ὑπεβλέπετο [ὁ Γάϊος], ὡς δὴ . . . δεδιδαγμένους ἐξ αὐτῶν τρόπον τινὰ σπαργάνων ὑπὸ γονέων καὶ παιδαγωγῶν καὶ ὑφηγητῶν καὶ πολὺ πρότερον τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων, καὶ ἔτι τῶν ἀγράφων ἐθῶν, ἕνα νομίζειν τὸν πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν τοῦ κόσμου θεόν.—De Pr. et Poen. 2. 417 ἀρχιερωσύνην δι' ἧς προφητεύων ἐπιστημονικῶς θεραπεύσει τὸ Ὄν. —L. A. C. 2. 546 ψυχαῖς, αἳ τὸ γενητὸν πᾶν ὑπερκύψασαι τὸ ἀγένητον καὶ θεῖον ὁρᾶν πεπαίδευνται, τὸ πρῶτον ἀγαθὸν καὶ καλὸν καὶ εὔδαιμον καὶ μακάριον . . . τὸ κρεῖττον μὲν ἀγαθοῦ, κάλλιον δὲ καλοῦ καὶ μακαριότητος μὲν μακαριώτερον, εὐδαιμονίας δὲ αὐτῆς εὐδαιμονέστερον καὶ εἰ δή τι τῶν εἰρημένων τελειότερον.—Qu. in Exod. R. H. 67 τὸ πρῶτον ὁ καὶ ἑνὸς καὶ μονάδος καὶ ἀρχῆς πρεσβύτερος. —De Mon. 2. 220 ἵνα . . . μὴ ἃ μὴ θέμις φθέγξωνται κατὰ τοῦ ὄντως ὄντος.—De Sp. Leg. 2. 320 τὸν ὄντως ὄντα θεόν.

2. De Post. Caini 1. 237, 14 τὸν θεὸν ὁρῶν, ἀρχεγονώτατον ὄν.—De Aet. Mundi 2. 492 ἀρχεγονώτερον δὲ καὶ πρεσβύτερον ἡ ἐκ γῆς [sc. γένεσις ἀνθρώπων].

3–20. For form of expression cp. De Ab. 2. 38 τίνι γὰρ ἄλλῳ πιστευτέον; Ἀρά γε ἡγεμονίαις . . .; Ἀλλ' ἀρχὴ μὲν πᾶσα σφαλερόν.—L. A. C. 2. 566 Εἶτα . . διὰ τί τὸν πρὸ Γαΐου Τιβέριον ὃς κ. τ. λ.; τὸ γένος ἦν ἐλάττων; Ἀλλ' εὐγενέστατος. . . . Ἀλλὰ τὴν παιδείαν; καὶ τίς ἦν φρονιμώτερος . . .; Ἀλλὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν; καὶ ποῖος μᾶλλον κ.τ.λ.—De Aet. Mundi 2. 503 ποίῳ δὴ τούτων ἄξιον, τὸν κόσμον φθείρεσθαι φάναι; τῷ κατὰ διαίρεσιν; Ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐκ διεστηκότων ἐστιν, ὡς τὰ μέρη σκεδασθῆναι, οὔτε ἐκ συναπτομένων, ὡς διαλυθῆναι, οὔτε τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἥνωται σώμασι. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐπικήρως τε ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἔχει, καὶ δυναστεύεται πρὸς μυρίων ἀφ' ὧν βλάπτεται· τοῦ δὲ ἀήττητος ἡ ῥώμη, πολλῇ τινι περιουσίᾳ πάντων κατακρατοῦσα. Ἀλλ' ἀναιρέσει παντελεῖ τῆς ποιότητος; ἀλλ' ἀμήχανον τοῦτό γε. Μένει γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς τἀναντία αἱρουμένους ἡ τῆς διακοσμήσεως ποιότης, ἐπ' ἐλάττονος οὐσίας τῇ τούτου ἰδιοσταλοῦσα κατὰ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν. Ἀλλὰ τῷ κατὰ σύγχυσιν; ἄπαγε· δεήσει γὰρ πάλιν ὡς τὸ μὴ ὂν γίνεσθαι τὴν φθοράν, παραδέχεσθαι. Τοῦ χάριν; ὅτι εἰ μὲν ἕκαστον ἐν μέρει τῶν στοιχείων ἐφθείρετο, μεταβολὴν ἠδύνατο τὴν εἰς ἕτερον δέχεσθαι· πάντων συλλήβδην ἀθρόον κατὰ σύγχυσιν ἀναιρουμένων, ἀνάγκη ὑπονοεῖν τὸ ἀδύνατον.—De Aet. Mundi 2. 509 τῶν δὲ κατειλεγμένων τρόπων, οὐδεὶς ἐφάπτεται τοῦ κόσμου τὸ παράπαν. Ἐπεὶ καὶ τί φῶμεν; προστεθῆναί τι τῷ κόσμῳ πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν; ἀλλ' οὐδέν ἐστιν ἐκτός, ὃ μὴ μέρος γέγονεν αὐτοῦ ὅλου· περιέχεται γὰρ καὶ κατακρατεῖται. Ἀλλ' ἀφαιρεῖσθαι; πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ἀφαιρεθὲν πάλιν κόσμος ἔσται τοῦ

890 P. γε τοὺς τὰ στοιχεῖα | τιμῶντας, γῆν, ὕδωρ, ἀέρα, πῦρ; οἷς καὶ ἐπωνυμίας ἔθεντο ἑτέρας ἕτεροι, τὸ μὲν πῦρ Ἥφαιστον παρὰ τὴν ἔξαψιν, οἶμαι, καλοῦντες· Ἥραν δὲ τὸν ἀέρα, παρὰ τὸ αἴρεσθαι καὶ μετεωρίζεσθαι πρὸς ὕψος· τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ Ποσειδῶνα, τάχα που διὰ | τὸ ποτόν· τὴν δὲ γῆν Δήμητραν, παρ' ὅσον μήτηρ εἶναι δοκεῖ M. 472, 5 10

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nempe iis' corrupta esse puto 5. *τιμῶντας*] τολμῶντας M sed sup. *τολμ* scr. m. rec. *τιμ*: videtur Lat. legisse *τοῖς . . . τιμῶσιν.* 6. *ἕτεροι* om. Lat.: *ἕτερος* EM sed in mg. corr. E ut vid. alt. man. *ἑτέροις* || *μὲν τὸ πῦρ* Q 8. *πρὸς ὕψος* om. Lat. 9. *δὲ* om. D: *δ'* E 10. *τὸ ποτὸν εἶναι* Arm. || *Δήμητρα* O Arm.: *Δήμητραν* ceteri || *πάντων δοκεῖ εἶναι* Arm. Lat. 11. *ζῴων τε καὶ φυτῶν* Arm.

νῦν βραχύτερος· ἔπειτα ἀμήχανον ἔξω τι σῶμα τοῦ ὅλου διαρτηθὲν τῆς συμφυίας σκεδασθῆναι. **Ἀλλὰ** *τὰ μέρη μετατίθεσθαι; μένει μὲν οὖν ἐν ὁμοίῳ.* Quod Det. Pot. Insid. 1. 196 **Τί ζητεῖς;'** (Gen. 37, 15) **ἆρά γε** *φρόνησιν;* **τί οὖν ἐπὶ πανουργίας βαίνεις;** **Ἀλλὰ** *σωφροσύνην;* **ἀλλ'** *ἐπὶ φειδωλίαν ἢ τρίβος ἄγει.* **Ἀλλὰ** *ἀνδρίαν; θρασύτης προσέρχεται ταύτῃ.* **Ἀλλ'** *εὐσέβειαν μετέρχῃ; δεισιδαιμονίας ἢ ὁδός.* **Ἐὰν δὲ** *φάσκῃ ζητεῖν τοὺς ἐπιστήμης λόγους καὶ ποθεῖν ὡς τοὺς ἐγγυτάτω γένους ἀδελφούς, μὴ πάνυ πιστεύωμεν αὐτῇ· οὐ γὰρ ἀνεπυνθάνετο ποῦ βύσκουσιν, ἀλλὰ ποῦ ποιμαίνουσιν.*

4, 5. V. M. 2. 95 *τὰ γὰρ* **στοιχεῖα** *τοῦ παντός,* **γῆ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀὴρ καὶ πῦρ . . . οἷς ἀπετελέσθη ὁ κόσμος.**—De Decal. 2. 189 **ἐκτεθειώκασι** *γὰρ οἱ μὲν τὰς* **τέσσαρας ἀρχάς, γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀέρα καὶ πῦρ,** *οἱ δὲ* **ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πλανήτας καὶ ἀπλανεῖς ἀστέρας,** *οἱ δὲ μόνον τὸν οὐρανόν, οἱ δὲ* **τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον·** *τὸν δὲ ἀνωτάτω καὶ πρεσβύτατον, τὸν γεννητήν . . . παρεκαλύψαντο, ψευδωνύμους προσρήσεις ἐκείνοις ἐπιφημίσαντες* **ἑτέρας ἕτεροι. Καλοῦσι** *γὰρ οἱ μὲν* **τὴν γῆν** *Κόρην, Δήμητρα, Πλούτωνα,* **τὴν δὲ θάλασσαν Ποσειδῶνα . . . . Ἥραν δὲ τὸν ἀέρα** *καὶ* **τὸ πῦρ Ἥφαιστον,** *καὶ* **ἥλιον Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Σελήνην Ἄρτεμιν καὶ ἑωσφόρον Ἀφροδίτην καὶ Στίλβοντα Ἑρμῆν,** *καὶ* **τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων ἑκάστου τὰς ἐπωνυμίας*** *μυθογράφοι* ***παρέδοσαν,** *οἳ πρὸς ἀπάτην ἀκοῆς εὖ τετεχνασμένα πλάσματα συνυφήναντες ἔδοξαν περὶ τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων θέσιν κεκομψεῦσθαι . . . . . Τῷ δὴ φιλοσοφεῖν ἀνόθως ἐγνωκότι καὶ ἀδόλου καὶ καθαρᾶς εὐσεβείας μεταποιουμένῳ κάλλιστον καὶ ὁσιώτατον ὑφηγεῖται παράγγελμα, μηδὲν τῶν τοῦ κόσμου μερῶν αὐτοκρατῆ θεὸν ὑπολαμβάνειν εἶναι.* **Καὶ** *γὰρ γέγονε.* **Γένεσις** *δὲ φθορᾶς ἀρχή, κἂν προνοίᾳ τοῦ πεποιηκότος ἀθανατίζηται· καὶ ἦν ποτε χρόνος, ὅτε οὐκ ἦν.*—De Prov. Auch. p. 76 Si quae de Hephaesto fabulose referuntur, reducas in ignem, et quod de Iunone ad aeris naturam, quod autem de Mercurio ad rationem.

7. De Sacrificant. 2. 256 **τῆς τῶν ἱερῶν λύχνων ἐξάψεως.**

8. Quis Rerum 1. 507, 10 *ἀρετὴ μὲν γὰρ οὐ μόνον παρὰ τὴν αἵρεσιν ὠνομάσθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ* **παρὰ τὸ αἴρεσθαι, αἴρεται** *γὰρ* **καὶ μετεωρίζεται.**—De Agric. 1. 326 *τὸ δύξαι* **μετεωρισθέντες καὶ ἐξαρθέντες** *ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἀφ' ὑψηλοτέρων χωρίων.*

890 P. πάντων φυτῶν τε καὶ ζῴων. Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ὀνόματα M. 472
σοφιστῶν ἐστιν εὑρήματα· τὰ δὲ στοιχεῖα ἄψυχος
ὕλη καὶ ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ἀκίνητος, ὑποβεβλημένη τῷ τεχνίτῃ
πρὸς ἁπάσας σχημάτων | καὶ ποιοτήτων ἰδέας. Ἀλλὰ 15
τοὺς τὰ ἀποτελέσματα, ἥλιον, σελήνην, ἢ τοὺς ἄλλους
ἀστέρας, πλανήτας ἢ ἀπλανεῖς, ἢ τὸν σύμπαντα οὐρα-

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12. *σοφῶν* BD : *σοφιστῶν* ceteri || *εὑρέματα β* 13. *αὐτῆς* M 14. *τῷ τεχν. ὑποβ.* Lat. || *ὑποβεβλημένη* ex *-ένης* corr. B 15. *τοὺς* forte om. Lat. : *τὰς* Q 16. *ἢ*] *καὶ* BD 17. *πλανήτας ἀστέρας καὶ*

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12. Quis Rerum 1. 517, 1 *οἱ πιθανῶν* **σοφισμάτων εὑρεταί**.—De Congr. 1. 523, 27 *ἡ λογικὴ* **σοφισμάτων εὕρεσις**.—De Congr. 1. 541, 2 *τὰ φιλοσοφίας* **εὑρέματα**. —De Prov. 2. 626 **σοφιστείας** *μὲν ἔργον* **εὑρεσιλογεῖν**.—Quis Rerum 1. 503 *παλαιὸν γὰρ* **εὕρεμα Μωσέως**.

13. De Mundi Op. 1. 2, 30 *τὸ δὲ παθητὸν* **ἄψυχον καὶ ἀκίνητον ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ**.

14. Quod Det. Pot. Insid. 1. 223, 51 *πρὸς τὸ παθεῖν* **ὑποβεβλημένον** *καλεῖται θῆλυ*.—V. M. 2. 90 *τῶν ἀλόγων οἷά τινος* **ὕλης ὑποβεβλημένων πρὸς** *ἄσκησιν*.

15. De Mon. 2. 226 *αἱ πολύμορφοι τῶν χρωμάτων καὶ* **σχημάτων ἰδέαι**.—De Mon. 2. 216 *χρωμάτων καὶ* **σχημάτων καὶ ποιοτήτων εὖ δεδημιουργημέναις ἰδέαις** *ὑπαγαγόντες τοὺς ὁρῶντας*.

16. Quis Rerum 1. 505, 7 *τὰ μὲν* **στοιχεῖα** *καὶ τὰ θνητὰ* **ἀποτελέσματα**.—De Sp. Leg. 2. 331 *περὶ νοητῶν παραδειγμάτων καὶ πάλιν αἰσθητῶν* **ἀποτελεσμάτων**.— Quod Deus Sit Im. 1. 279 *ἡ ψυχὴ οὐκ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν* **στοιχείων**, *ἐξ ὧν τὰ ἄλλα* **ἀπετελεῖτο**, *διεπλάσθη*.—Leg. Alleg. 1. 94 *νεύει δὲ πρὸς τὰς τῶν* **ἀποτελεσμάτων** *ἐκπληρώσεις ἡ ἐν τῷ κινεῖσθαι* [sc. *κακία*].—Leg. Alleg. 1. 137 *αὐτό τε* [sc. *πάθος*] *καὶ τὸ ποιητικὸν καὶ τὸ ἐκ τούτων* **ἀποτέλεσμα**, *οἷον ἡδονή, ἡδύ, ἥδεσθαι*.—Leg. Alleg. 1. 74 **ἀποτέλεσμα** *καὶ ἐνέργειαν*.—Leg. Alleg. 1. 77 *προσθεὶς τῷ κακῷ βουλήματι κακὸν τὸ διὰ τῶν ἔργων* **ἀποτέλεσμα**.—Quis Rerum 1. 505 *πάντα τὰ μέρη τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐχαριστεῖ τὰ* **στοιχεῖα**, *τὰ* **ἀποτελέσματα** *οὐ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ*.

De Pr. et Poen. 2. 415, 5 *ἐπὶ πᾶσιν* **ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην, πλανήτας καὶ ἀπλανεῖς ἀστέρας καὶ τὸν σύμπαντα οὐρανὸν . . . . οὐκ ἀπαυτοματισθέντα γέγονεν, ἀλλ' ὑπό τινος** δημιουργοῦ *κοσμοποιοῦ*.—De Cherub. 1. 155, 6 **ἥλιον μὲν γὰρ καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὸν σύμπαντα οὐρανόν τε καὶ κόσμον**, *ἅτε καὶ* **οὐκ ὄντα αὐτεξούσια**.—cp. Quis Rerum 1. 508, 20, De Congr. 1. 538, 35, De Confus. 1. 431, 21 *καταπλαγέντες οὖν τινες τὴν ἑκατέρου τῶν κόσμων φύσιν, οὐ μόνον ὅλους ἐξεθείωσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς μερῶν,* **ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὸν σύμπαντα οὐρανόν**.—De Ab. 2. 9 *τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ὄντων,* **ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ ὁ σύμπας οὐρανός τε καὶ κόσμος**.—cf. V. M. 2. 136, De P. C. [A. M.] 30 *ὁ τὸν ὄντως ὄντα θεὸν ἀρνούμενος καὶ τοὺς γεγονότας πρὸ τοῦ πεποιηκότος τιμῶν, καὶ μὴ μόνον γῆν ἢ ὕδωρ ἢ ἀέρα ἢ πῦρ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ παντός, ἢ πάλιν* **ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ πλανήτας καὶ ἀπλανεῖς ἀστέρας ἢ τὸν σύμπαντα οὐρανόν τε καὶ κόσμον** *σέβειν ἀξιῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα θνητοὶ* **δημιουργοὶ** *κατεσκεύασαν* **ξύλα καὶ λίθους** *ἄπερ εἰς ἀνθρωποειδεῖς τύπους ἐμορφώθη*.

17. Leg. Alleg. 1. 107, 17 *εἰσελθών τις ὥσπερ εἰς μεγίστην οἰκίαν ἢ πόλιν τόνδε*

890 P. νόν τε καὶ κόσμον; Ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐξ ἑαυτῶν M. 472
γέγονεν, ἀλλ' ὑπό τινος δημιουργοῦ | τελειοτάτου τὴν 20
ἐπιστήμην. Ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἡμιθέους; ἦ τοῦτό γε καὶ
χλεύης ἄξιον. Πῶς γὰρ ἂν ὁ αὐτὸς ἀθάνατός τε καὶ
θνητὸς εἴη; δίχα τοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς τούτων

ἀπλανεῖς E: πλανήτας ἀστέρας ἢ ἀπλ. DM || ἢ ante τὸν om. Turn. 18. καὶ post ἀλλὰ om. P 19. γέγονασιν (sic) ex γέγονας corr. Q || ὑπό] ἀπό P 21. ἦ τοῦτο AγDEMOPQ Turn.: ῇ τοῦτο Arm.: τοῦτο sine ἢ B Mang. || ἄξιον; Turn.: ἄξιον. Mang. 22. ἂν om. Q || εἴη, δίχα Turn. || δίχα καὶ τοῦ DGHIP: δίχα τοῦ καὶ

τὸν κόσμον καὶ θεασάμενος οὐρανὸν ἐν κύκλῳ περιπολοῦντα καὶ πάντα ἐντὸς συνειληφότα, πλανήτας δὲ καὶ ἀπλανεῖς ἀστέρας . . . γῆν δὲ τὸν μεσαίτατον χῶρον λαχοῦσαν, ὕδατός τε καὶ ἀέρος χύσεις ἐν μεθορίῳ τεταγμένας, ἔτι δὲ ζῷα θνητά τε αὖ καὶ ἀθάνατα καὶ φυτῶν καὶ καρπῶν διαφοράς, λογιεῖται δήπου, ὅτι ταῦτα οὐκ ἄνευ τέχνης παντελοῦς δεδημιούργηται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἦν καὶ ἔστιν ὁ τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς δημιουργὸς ὁ θεός.—Qu. in Gen. § 34, R. H. p. 23 ὕλη φύσις οὐκ αὐτοματισθεῖσα γέγονεν, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη ποιητὴν εἶναι καὶ πατέρα, κυβερνήτην τε καὶ ἡνίοχον, ὃς καὶ πεποίηκε καὶ ποιήματα αὐτοῦ σῴζει.

21 seq. De Congr. 1. 521, 25 γραμματικὴ μὲν γὰρ ἱστορίας τὰς παρὰ ποιηταῖς καὶ συγγραφεῦσιν ἀναδιδάξασα νόησιν καὶ πολυμάθειαν ἐργάσεται, καὶ ἔτι καταφρονητικῶς ἔχειν ἀναδιδάξει τῶν ὅσα αἱ κεναὶ δόξαι τυφλοπλαστοῦσι, διὰ τὰς κακοπραγίας, αἷς τοὺς ἀδομένους παρ' αὐτοῖς ἥρωάς τε καὶ ἡμιθέους λόγος ἔχει χρήσασθαι.—Q. O. P. L. 2. 462, 1 'Αλλ' οὐ χρή, φήσει τις, τὰς τῶν ἡρώων παράγειν εἰς πίστιν ἀρετάς· μείζους γὰρ ἡ κατὰ ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν γενομένους Ὀλυμπίοις ἁμιλλᾶσθαι, μικτῆς γενέσεως, ἀθανάτων καὶ θνητῶν ἀνακραθέντων σπερμάτων, ἐπιλαχόντας, ἡμιθέους εἰκότως προσαγορευθέντας, τοῦ θνητοῦ μίγματος ὑπὸ τῆς ἀφθάρτου μερίδος κατακρατηθέντος, ὡς μηδὲν εἶναι παράδοξον, εἰ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς δουλείαν τεχναζόντων ὠλιγώρουν. Ἔστω ταῦτα. Μὴ καὶ Ἀνάξαρχος ἢ Ζήνων ὁ Ἐλεάτης ἥρωες ἢ ἐκ θεῶν.

De Somn. 1. 677, 9 χλεύης ἐπάξια παρ' ἀδεκάστοις ἀληθείας βραβευταῖς.—L. A. C. 2. 556 χλεύης ἄξιον ὁ Σιλανὸς ἔπαθεν.

22. L. A. C. 2. 562 Μικρὸν δὲ οὐκ ἦν τὸ κινούμενον, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέγιστον τῶν πάντων [M. ὄντων], ἀνθρώπου γενετὴν καὶ φθαρτὴν φύσιν εἰς ἀγένητον καὶ ἄφθαρτον, ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν θεοπλαστῆσαι, ὅπερ ἀσεβημάτων ἔκρινεν εἶναι χαλεπώτατον, θᾶττον γὰρ ἂν εἰς ἄνθρωπον θεόν, ἢ εἰς θεὸν ἄνθρωπον μεταβαλεῖν· δίχα τοῦ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς ἀνωτάτω κακίας ἀναδέξασθαι.

L. A. C. 2. 577 ἄμαχόν τι συμβήσεται χρῆμα; δίχα τοῦ καὶ τοὺς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν κατοικοῦντας ἀπείρους τε εἶναι.—De Sp. Leg. 2. 323 χωρὶς τοῦ μηδένα οὕτως ἠλίθιον εἶναι.—L. A. C. 2. 550 ἡ γὰρ υἱοῦ παντελὴς ἐξουσία κατὰ τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων νόμους ἀνάκειται πατρί, δίχα τοῦ καὶ ἀνυπεύθυνον ἀρχὴν εἶναι τὴν αὐτοκράτορα.—De Prov. ex Eus. Praep. Ev. 2. 646 δίχα τοῦ καὶ τὴν κνίσσαν ὅλκην ἔχειν δύναμιν.

890 P. γενέσεως ἐπίληπτον εἶναι, μειρακιώδους ἀκρασίας ἀνά- M. 472
πλεων, | ἣν τολμῶσιν οὐκ εὐαγῶς προσάπτειν ταῖς 25
μακαρίαις καὶ θείαις δυνάμεσιν, εἰ γυναιξὶν θνηταῖς
ἐπιμανέντες ὠμίλησαν οἱ παντὸς πάθους ἀμέτοχοι καὶ

A Arm. ceteri 24. ἀκρασίας AβOQ Arm. Lat. edd.: διανοίας γ: ἀκοῆς pro ἀκρασίας P || ἀνάπλεων deest in P, ubi tamen lacunae signum est 25. ἣν] ὃν B: ἣν ceteri || εὐαγῶς AγOPQ Arm. edd.: Lat. 'non sine pernicie': εὐκόλως BD: εὐλόγως M et ? E 26. γυναιξὶν A: γυναιξὶ cett. 27. οἱ ἀμέτοχοι παντὸς πάθους Arm. 28. τρισδαί-

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23. Leg. Alleg. 1. 102, 2 εὑρήσεις τὸν θεὸν πεποιηκότα φύσεις ἐξ ἑαυτῶν **ἐπιλήπτους** καὶ ὑπαιτίους.—cp. De Confus. 1. 424, 1 **ἐπιληπτότερον**.—De Sobr. 1. 400, 6 πρᾶξις **ἐπίληπτος**.—De Post. Caini 1. 239, 26 πάντως ἐστὶν **ἐπίληπτον**.—V. M. 2. 134 **ἀρχῆς** ἣν οὐ μόνον **ἀνεπιλήπτως**, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα ἐπαινετῶς ἦρξε.

23–25. Quod Deus Sit Im. 1. 293, 1 γνωρίζομεν τὰ ἐναποκείμενα ἡμῖν **οὐκ εὐαγῆ** τῇ ψυχῇ βουλεύματα καὶ τὰς **ἐπιλήπτους** καὶ ὑπαιτίους πράξεις.

25. De Aet. Mundi 2. 498 τοῦτο δὲ ὑπονοεῖν **οὐκ εὐαγές**.—De Sac. Ab. et C. 1. 182 ὡς πάνυ **εὐαγῶς** . . . διείρηται.—Quod Det. Pot. Insid. 1. 205, 4 ἐπὶ **οὐκ εὐαγεῖ** πράξει.—De Congr. 1. 523, 9 τὰ ὁρατὰ καὶ αἰσθητὰ παρὰ τὴν ἀκήρατον φύσιν τῶν ἀοράτων καὶ νοητῶν **οὐκ εὐαγῆ**, βέβηλα δὲ εἶναι νομίζει.—De Ab. 2. 12 τὸν κόσμον αὐτὸν ὑπέλαβον εἶναι θεόν, **οὐκ εὐαγῶς** τὸ γενόμενον ἐφομοιώσαντες τῷ πεποιηκότι.

26. De Plant. Noe 1. 331, 33 Διττὰ δὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ ὕδατι καὶ ἀέρι γένη ὁ ποιῶν ἐποίει· ἀέρι μὲν τὰ πτηνὰ καὶ **δυνάμεις** ἄλλας αἰσθήσει οὐδαμῇ οὐδαμῶς καταλαμβανομένας. Ψυχῶν ὁ θίασος οὗτος ἀσωμάτων ἐστὶ διακεκοσμημένων οὐ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἐν τάξεσι· τὰς μὲν γὰρ εἰσκρίνεσθαι λόγος ἔχει σώμασι θνητοῖς, καὶ κατά τινας ὡρισμένας περιόδους ἀπαλλάττεσθαι πάλιν· τὰς δὲ **θειοτέρας** κατασκευῆς λαχούσας ἅπαντας ἀλογεῖν τοῦ τῆς γῆς χωρίου· ἀνωτάτω δὲ εἶναι πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ αἰθέρι τὰς καθαρωτάτας, ἃς οἱ μὲν παρ' Ἕλλησι φιλοσοφήσαντες Ἥρωας καλοῦσι καὶ δαίμονας, Μωσῆς δὲ **εὐθυβόλῳ** χρώμενος **ὀνόματι** Ἀγγέλους προσαγορεύει.

De Ab. 2. 17 ἄγγελοι . . . ἱεραὶ καὶ θεῖαι φύσεις.—De Decal. 2. 191 πᾶσαν οὖν τὴν τοιαύτην τερθρείαν ἀπωσάμενοι τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς φύσει μὴ προσκυνῶμεν, εἰ καὶ καθαρωτέρας καὶ ἀθανατωτέρας οὐσίας ἔλαχον.—De Confus. 1. 431 Εἷς ὢν ὁ θεὸς ἀμυθήτους περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχει **δυνάμεις** ἀρωγοὺς καὶ σωτηρίους τοῦ γενομένου πάσας.—De Sp. Leg. 2. 329 τὴν ἀμετάβλητον καὶ μακάριον καὶ τρισευδαίμονα **θείαν φύσιν**.

De Ab. 2. 12 **θνητὸν ἀϊδίου** ψαύειν οὐχ ὅσιον ἦν.

28. De Ab. 2. 30 ἄλυπος δὲ καὶ ἄφοβος καὶ ἀμέτοχος παντὸς **πάθους** ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ φύσις, **εὐδαιμονίας** καὶ **μακαριότητος** παντελοῦς μόνη μετέχουσα.—Leg. Alleg. 1. 61 ὁ δὲ ποιηθεὶς [sc. νοῦς] ἀϋλότερος, φθαρτῆς ὕλης **ἀμέτοχος**, καθαρωτέρας καὶ εἰλικρινεστέρας τετυχηκὼς συστάσεως.

890 P. τρισευδαίμονες. Ἀλλὰ τοὺς τὰ ξόανα καὶ ἀγάλ- M. 472
ματα; ὧν αἱ | οὐσίαι λίθοι καὶ ξύλα, τὰ μέχρι πρὸ 30
μικροῦ τελείως ἄμορφα, λιθοτόμων καὶ δρυτόμων τῆς
συμφυΐας αὐτὰ διακοψάντων· ὧν τὰ ἀδελφὰ μέρη καὶ
συγγενῆ λουτροφόροι γεγόνασι καὶ ποδόνιπτρα, καὶ
ἄλλ' ἄττα τῶν ἀτιμοτέρων ἃ | πρὸς τὰς ἐν σκότῳ χρείας 35
ὑπηρετεῖ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς ἐν φωτί. Τῶν μὲν γὰρ παρ'

μονες D, sed in EM corr. alt. man. in τρισευδαίμονες || post τρισευδαίμονες signum lacunae 4 uel 5 litt. in P || ἀλλὰ τοὺς τὰ ξ. κ. ἀγ. σέβοντας β Mang.: om. uerba τοὺς et σέβοντας AγPQ Lat. Turn.: τοὺς retinent sed σέβοντας om. OR: σέβοντας om. Arm. qui forsitan et τοὺς omiserit 30. οὐσίαι, λίθοι, καὶ Turn. Mang. || ξύλα τὰ Mang. 31. τελείως om. Lat. || πλὴν ante λιθοτόμων add. Arm.: om. ceteri omnes || δρυοτόμων MCPQ Turn.: δρυτόμων ceteri || καὶ δρυ. τῆς συμφ. αὐτὰ om. Lat. 34. ποδόνιπτα BM || pr. comma post ποδόν. om. Mang. || ἄλλ' ἄττα ADM: ἄλλα ἄττα Turn. Mang. || ἄττα P 35. ὑπηρετεῖ μᾶλλον tr. post φωτί Lat. 36. ἢ πρὸς τὰς OP 37. ἄλογα ζῷα Arm. Lat.: ζῷα ἄλογα ceteri omnes || post ζῷα add. comma Arm., om. ceteri || om. καὶ

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29. De Ab. 2. 38 ἀγάλματα καὶ ξόανα καὶ ζωγραφήματα καὶ συνόλως ὅσα γραφικῆς ἔργα καὶ πλαστικῆς ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ τέχνῃ κατορθούμενα, περὶ ἃ σπουδάζουσιν Ἕλληνες ὁμοῦ καὶ βάρβαροι.—De Ebr. 1. 374, 10 καὶ θεοπλαστεῖν ἀρξάμενος ἀγαλμάτων καὶ ξοάνων καὶ ἄλλων μυρίων ἀφιδρυμάτων ὕλαις διαφόροις τετεχνιτευμένων κατέπλησε τὴν οἰκουμένην . . . . τὸ γὰρ πολύθεον ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀφρόνων ψυχαῖς ἀθεότης, καὶ θεοῦ τιμῆς ἀλογοῦσιν οἱ τὰ θνητὰ θειώσαντες· οἷς οὐκ ἐξήρκεσεν ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης, εἰ δὲ ἠβούλοντο, καὶ γῆς ἁπάσης καὶ παντὸς ὕδατος εἰκόνας διαπλάσασθαι, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ ἀλόγοις ζῴοις καὶ φυτοῖς τῆς τῶν ἀφθάρτων τιμῆς μετέδοσαν.—Quod Deus Sit Im. 1. 277, 41 λίθων μὲν οὖν καὶ ξύλων, ἃ δὴ τῆς συμφυΐας ἀπέσπασται.—V. M. 2. 166 ξοάνων γὰρ καὶ ἀγαλμάτων καὶ τοιουτοτρόπων ἀφιδρυμάτων ἡ οἰκουμένη μεστὴ γέγονεν.—cp. De Decal. 2. 181.

32. De Hum. 2. 398 εἰ γὰρ τὰ φυτῶν τρόπον ἐμπεριαυξανόμενα καὶ μέρη νομιζόμενα τῶν κυούντων νῦν μὲν ἡνωμένα, μηνῶν δὲ περιόδοις αὖθις ἀποσπασθησόμενα τῆς συμφυΐας.—Quis Rerum 1. 507 τὰ δὲ οὕτως διαιρεθέντα ἁρμονίαν ἀμήχανον δέξασθαι καὶ ἕνωσιν, τῶν πνευματικῶν τόνων, οἷ συμφυέστατος δεσμὸς ἦσαν, διακοπέντων.—De Profugis 1. 559 οὕτω γὰρ μόνως θεραπευτικὸν γένοιτο τοῦ τῶν ὄντων ἀρίστου τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἄριστον· πρῶτον μὲν εἰ ἀναλυθείη ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν διαζευχθέντος καὶ διακοπέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν ἀνηνύτων ἐπιθυμιῶν.—V. M. 2. 136 νομοθετικὴ δὲ ἀδελφὰ καὶ συγγενῆ τέτταρα ταυτὶ διαφερόντως ἐστί.—D. A. S. I. 2. 250 ἀδελφαὶ καὶ συγγενεῖς εἰσιν αἱ τρεῖς ἰδέαι τῶν θυσιῶν.

890 P. Αἰγυπτίοις οὐδὲ μεμνῆσθαι καλὸν οἷ ἄλογα ζῷα, καὶ M. 472
οὐχ ἥμερα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θηρίων τὰ ἀγριώτατα
παραγηόχασιν εἰς θεῶν τιμάς, ἐξ ἑκάστου τῶν | κάτω 40
σελήνης, χερσαίων μὲν λέοντα, ἐνύδρων δὲ τὸν ἐγχώ-
ριον κροκόδειλον, ἀεροπόρων δὲ ἴκτινον καὶ τὴν Αἰγυπ-
τίαν ἶβιν· καὶ ταῦτα ὁρῶντες γεννώμενα, καὶ τροφῆς

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ante οὐχ Lat. 38. καὶ ante θηρίων om. A || Lat. om. θηρίων
39. παραγειόχασιν A : παραγηώχασιν BDEI in mg. Turn.: παραγηόχασιν MPQ Mang. : παραγνώκασιν γ || καὶ ante ἐξ add. P 40. κατὰ σελήνην corr. ex -ήνης Q || μὲν om. A 41. ἐγχώριον om. BD || post ἐγχώριον forte add. αὐτῶν Arm. || κροκώδειλον pr. man. A || ἰκτῖνα O3 42. ἶβην G : ἶβυν H || καὶ ante ταῦτα om. Lat.

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36. De Sac. Ab. et C. 1. 189, 5 ἡ ψυχὴ τραπεῖσα τὸν Αἰγύπτιον θεόν.—De Cherub. 1. 159, 10 ταύτῃ καὶ ἄψυχα ἐμψύχων, καὶ ἄλογα λογικῶν, καὶ δένδρα ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἄνθρωποι φυτῶν, καὶ ἡμέρων ἀτίθασσα, καὶ ἀγρίων χειροήθη, καὶ ἄρρεν θήλεος καὶ θῆλυ ἄρρενος καὶ συνελόντι φράσαι, χερσαῖα ἐνύδρων καὶ ἔνυδρα ἀεροπόρων.—De Ios. 2. 76 μάλιστα τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ χώρας τυφλωττούσης περὶ τὸν ἀληθῆ θεόν, ἕνεκα τοῦ γενητὰ καὶ θνητὰ θεοπλαστεῖν.—De Decal. 2. 193 πρὸς γὰρ ξοάνοις καὶ ἀγάλμασιν ἔτι καὶ ζῷα ἄλογα παραγηόχασιν [Αἰγύπτιοι] εἰς θεῶν τιμάς, ταύρους καὶ κριοὺς καὶ τράγους . . . . καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἴσως ἔχει τινα λόγον, ἡμερώτατα γὰρ καὶ ὠφελιμώτατα βίῳ . . . Νυνὶ δὲ καὶ προσυπερβάλλοντες τῶν ἀλόγων τὰ ἀγριώτατα καὶ ἀτιθασσότατα, λέοντας καὶ κροκοδείλους καὶ ἑρπετῶν τὴν ἰοβόλον ἀσπίδα, γεραίρουσιν ἱεροῖς καὶ τεμένεσι θυσίαις τε καὶ πανηγύρεσι καὶ πομπαῖς καὶ τοῖς παραπλησίοις· ἀφ' ἑκατέρου γὰρ τῶν εἰς χρῆσιν δοθέντων ἀνθρώποις ὑπὸ θεοῦ, γῆς καὶ ὕδατος, διερευνησάμενοι τὰ ἀγριώτατα οὔτε χερσαίων λέοντος θηριωδέστερον ἀνεῦρον οὔτε κροκοδείλου τῶν ἐνύδρων ἀγριώτερον, ἃ σέβουσι καὶ τιμῶσι. Πολλὰ μέντοι καὶ ἄλλα ζῷα, κύνας, αἰλούρους, λύκους, πτηνὰ ἴβιδας καὶ ἱέρακας καὶ πάλιν ἰχθύων ἢ ὅλα τὰ σώματα ἢ μέρη τούτων ἐκτεθειώκασιν· ὧν τί ἂν γένοιτο καταγελαστότερον;

40. L. A. C. 2. 570 θεοῦ κλῆσις οὕτως ἐστὶ σεμνὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς [Αἰγυπτίοις], ὥστε καὶ ἴβισι καὶ ἰοβόλοις ἀσπίσι ταῖς ἐγχωρίοις καὶ πολλοῖς ἑτέροις τῶν ἐξηγριωμένων αὐτῆς θηρίων μεταδεδώκασιν . . . . τῆς Αἰγυπτιακῆς ἀθεότητος.—L. A. C. 2. 570 οἱ πλείους Αἰγύπτιοι, πονηρὰ σπέρματα, κροκοδείλων καὶ ἀσπίδων τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἀναμεμαγμένοι τὸν ἰὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ θυμὸν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς.

41. De Pr. et Poen. 2. 422, 40 καὶ ποταμὸς ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ὅμορα τοῖς οἰκήτορσι τῆς χώρας ἀνθρωποβόρα ζῷα, τοὺς κροκοδείλους λεγομένους καὶ ποταμίους ἵππους φέρει.—De Mon. 2. 225 τὴν Αἰγυπτιακὴν . . . ἡλιθιότητα καὶ τὸν ἐγχώριον τῦφον ὃν ἐπ' ἀλόγοις ζῴοις καὶ μάλιστα ταύροις μυθοπλαστοῦσι.

Quis Rerum 1. 506, 35 ὅταν οὖν τὰ ἀεροπόρα αἰθεροβατεῖν ὀφείλοντα καταβαίνῃ πρὸς χέρσον ἀφικνούμενα.

42. De Prov. Sermo II, Mang. 2. 637 καὶ ταῦθ' ὁρῶν ἐν ἀψύχοις περιμάχητα καλλιγράφων ἔργα.

890 P. χρείαν ἔχοντα, καὶ περὶ ἐδωδὴν ἄπληστα, καὶ μεστὰ M. 472
περιττωμάτων, | ἰοβόλα τε καὶ ἀνθρωποβόρα καὶ νόσοις 45
ἁλωτὰ παντοίαις, καὶ οὐ μόνον θανάτῳ τῷ κατὰ φύσιν
891 P. ἀλλὰ καὶ βιαίῳ πολλάκις διαφθειρόμενα, προσκυνοῦσιν
οἱ ἥμεροι τὰ ἀνήμερα καὶ ἀτίθασσα, καὶ οἱ λογικοὶ τὰ
ἄλογα, καὶ οἱ συγγένειαν | ἔχοντες πρὸς τὸ θεῖον τὰ 50

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43. post ἔχοντα om. καὶ Arm. 44. μεστὰ περιτ. AβOP Arm. Lat.: cett. codd. et edd. περιτ. μεστὰ 45. pro ἰοβόλα coniecit Mang. ἐπίβουλα sed ἰοβόλα A Arm. cett. || om. καὶ ante νόσοις Lat. || παντ. νόσ. ἁλ. Arm.: παντ. ἁλ. νόσ. Lat. 46. παντοίοις Q || μόνῳ AP: μόνον ceteri et ut uidetur Arm.: Lat. '*non tantum*' || θανάτῳ post φύσιν Arm. Lat. 47. τῷ add. ante βιαίῳ Arm. ut uidetur || βιαίῳ Aβ Arm. Lat. Mang.: βιαίως cett. codd. Turn. || διαφθειρόμενα προσκυνοῦσιν, οἱ Mang. 48. ἀνήμερα καὶ om. A: prae se ferunt ἀνήμ. καὶ Arm. cett. codd. edd. || ἀτίθασα Q 50. θεῖον, τὰ Turn. || θερσίτησι pr. man. A, corrigente sec. manu ε in η et η in ε: habuit et Arm. in codice suo θερσίτησι: cett. codd. θηρσί

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44. De Mon. 2. 224 τὰ συντείνοντα πρὸς τὴν τῶν δένδρων χλόην οὐ θέμις εἰσκομίζεσθαι [i. e. in peribolum Templi sanctissimi], τάδ' ἐστὶν ἀλόγων ζῴων καὶ ἀνθρώπων περιττώματα.—De Sp. Leg. 2. 301 οἱ ἄπληστοι περὶ ἐδωδήν.

45–48. De Pr. et Poen. 2. 423, 5 αἴσχιστον γάρ, ὡς εἰκός, φανεῖται τὰ μὲν ἰοβόλα καὶ ἀνθρωποβόρα καὶ ἄμικτα καὶ ἀκοινώνητα ἐνσπονδα γεγενῆσθαι . . . . τὸ δὲ ἥμερον φύσει ζῷον, τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κοινωνίας καὶ ὁμονοίας συγγενές, ἀσπονδείν.

45. V. M. 2. 87, 32 μηδὲν εἰς ἀγριότητα τῶν ἰοβόλων καὶ σαρκοβόρων διαφέροντες, ἀνθρωποειδῆ θήρια.

De Aet. Mundi 2. 491 τὰ νόσοις καὶ γήρᾳ σώματα ἁλωτὰ θερμότησι καὶ ψύχεσι καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐναντιώσεσι προσεπιπιπτούσαις ἔξωθεν ἰσχυρῶς ἀνατρέπεται.—Quod Det. Pot. Insid. 1. 200 οὔτε ἁλωτὸν πάθει τὸ ἀτρώτου γένους εἶδος ἐργάσεται.—De Iustit. 2. 369 σῶμα μὲν πάσαις ἁλωτὸν νόσοις περιφέροντες.

48. V. M. 2. 90 τῆς ἡμερωτάτης τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀγέλης.—De Sp. Leg. 2. 317 ἀνθρώπους οἱ φύσεως ἐπιλαχόντες ἡμέρου διὰ τὴν κοινωνίας αἰτίαν λογικὴν πηγήν, ἐπιτηδεύσει πρὸς θηρίων ἀτιθάσσων ἀγριότητας μεταβάλλουσι.—Quis Rerum 1. 492 τῷ πάντων ἡμερωτάτῳ ζῴων . . . ἀνθρώπῳ.—De Aet. Mundi 2. 495 ἡμερώτατον γὰρ ζῷον ὁ ἄνθρωπος λόγον δωρησαμένης φύσεως αὐτῷ γέρας, ᾧ καὶ τὰ ἐξηγριωμένα πάθη κατεπᾴδεται.

49. De Ab. 2. 7 ἐφ' οἷς ὁ θεὸς εἰκότως δυσχεράνας, εἰ τὸ ζῷον τὸ ἄριστον εἶναι δοκοῦν καὶ συγγενείας ἀξιωθὲν τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἕνεκα τῆς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ κοινωνίας.—De Sp. Leg. 2. 338 ἄνθρωπος δέ, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸν καλλιστεύοντα κλῆρον ἔλαχεν ἐν ζῴοις, ἀγχίσπορος ὢν θεοῦ καὶ συγγενὴς κατὰ τὴν πρὸς λόγον κοινωνίαν.

891 P. μηδ' ἂν θερσίτῃσι || συγκριθέντα, οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ M. 473
δεσπόται τὰ ὑπήκοα φύσει καὶ δοῦλα.

Ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν ἐπειδήπερ οὐ τοὺς ὁμοφύλους μόνον,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πλησιάζοντας αὑτοῖς ἀναπιμπλᾶσι | φλυ- 5
αρίας, ἀθεράπευτοι διατελείτωσαν, ὄψιν τὴν ἀναγκαιοτάτην τῶν αἰσθήσεων πεπηρωμένοι· λέγω δὲ οὐ τὴν σώματος, ἀλλὰ τὴν ψυχῆς ᾗ τὸ ἀληθὲς καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος

τισι: sic et editi 2. φύσει om. Lat.: post καὶ δοῦλα Arm. || καὶ δοῦλα AβOPQ Arm. Lat. edd.: om. γ 3. οὐ μόνον τοὺς ὁμ. Arm. Lat. 4. πλησιάζοντας αὑτοῖς restitui ex fide uers. Arm. et Lat. '*proximantes sibi*' 5. φλυαρίας αὐτῆς, A: φλυαρίας, αὐτοὶ γOPQ edd.: αὐτῆς omisso φλυαρίας β: φλυαρίας, Arm. Lat. αὐτοὶ seu αὐτῆς pariter omittentes || διαλειπέτωσαν Q 6. πεπηρωμένοι codd. et edd. omnes: πεπωρωμένοι suadent Arm. Lat. 7. pr. τὴν AβγOQ Turn.: τὴν τοῦ Mang. secutus codicem P || alt. τὴν AβγO Turn.: τὴν τῆς P Mang.: τῆς Q, omisso τὴν 8. ᾗ Arm.

1. In Fl. 2. 526 **συγκρινόμενα τοῖς τούτων ἥμερώτατα ἂν εἶναι δόξαι.**

4, 5. De Somn. 1. 647, 40 *καθάπερ γὰρ τὰ ἐκθυμιώμενα τῶν ἀρωμάτων εὐωδίας* **τοὺς πλησιάζοντας** *ἀναπίμπλησι, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὅσοι γείτονες καὶ ὅμοροι σοφοῦ, τῆς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ σπῶντες αὔρας ἐπὶ μήκιστον χεομένης βελτιοῦνται τὰ ἤθη.*— Qu. in Gen. 2. 661 *τοῦ* **μὴ μόνον** *αὐτὸν* **ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πλησιάζοντας** *ὠφελεῖσθαι.* —Q. O. P. L. 2. 455 *ἡγεμόνι μόνῳ θεῷ χρώμενοι καὶ κατὰ νόμον, τὸν ὀρθὸν φύσεως λόγον ζῶντες,* **οὐκ ἐλεύθεροι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πλησιάζοντας ἐλευθέρου φρονήματος ἀναπιμπλάντες.**

5. De Somn. 1. 674, 17 **φλυαρίας δὲ ἄρα τοσαύτης γέμουσί τινες.**

Leg. Alleg. 1. 77, 47 *εἰ γὰρ . . . προελήλυθεν, ὡς μὴ τρέπεσθαι* **μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ** *διὰ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων ἁμαρτάνειν,* **ἀθεράπευτος** *μένει, ἀνδρείου τε λόγου μὴ μετασχοῦσα.*—De Cherub. 1. 151, 38 **ἀθεράπευτον** *νόσον, γῆρας.*—De Profugis 1. 575, 46 *οἱ δ' ἀσεβεῖς ἀποδράντες, ἄγευστοι τοῦ τῆς ἀθανασίας ποτοῦ* **διατελέσαντες.**—De Decal. 2. 195 *μανίας γὰρ* **ἀθεραπεύτου** *τὸ ἔργον.*—Qu. in Gen. § 51 R. H. p. 34 **τῶν ἀθεράπευτον** *κακίαν ἐχόντων.*

6–8. Q. O. P. L. 2. 453 *τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς οὐ συνορῶντας τὰς ψυχῶν βλάβας* **διὰ** *λογισμοῦ* **πήρωσιν,** *ἐπὶ μόναις ταῖς ἐκτὸς συμβέβηκεν ἄχθεσθαι, τὸ κριτήριον ἀφῃρημένους, ᾧ μόνῳ καταλαβεῖν ἐστι διανοίας ζημίαν.*—De Sac. Ab. et C. 1. 176, 7 *τὰ* **τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμματα πεπηρωμένος, οἷς μόνοις** *αἱ ἀσώματοι καταλαμβάνονται φύσεις.*—De Cherub. 1. 150, 5 *ὅταν* **πηρωθέντα τὰς ὄψεις** *θεάσωνται . . . τὰς αἰσθητικὰς δυνάμεις περικεκομμένος, ἀδύνατος ὄντως, ἥμισυ ψυχῆς τελείας, ἐνδέων δυνάμεως, ᾗ καταλαμβάνεσθαι σώματα πέφυκε . . . ᾧ γὰρ* **γνωρίζεσθαι** *ἔμελλεν, αἴσθησις οὐκ ἦν.*—Leg. Alleg. 1. 109, 18 *αἴσθησις* **πηρὸς** *οὖσα.*—Leg. Alleg. 1. 133, 23 *ὁ λαός σου καὶ ἡ δύναμις εὕρηται* **πηρὸς** *καὶ τετυφλωμένος.*—De Cherub. 1. 160, 15 *μικρὰ νόσου πρόφασις οὐ τὴν γλῶσσαν* **ἐπήρωσεν** ;—Quod Det. Pot. Insid. 1. 195, 46 *τὸ* **ψυχῆς ὄμμα ἐπεπήρωντο.**—Quod Det. Pot. Insid.

891 P. γνωρίζεται. Τὸ δὲ θεραπευτικὸν γένος βλέπειν ἀεὶ | M. 473,
προσδιδασκόμενον τῆς τοῦ ὄντος θέας ἐφιέσθω, καὶ τὸν
αἰσθητὸν ἥλιον ὑπερβαινέτω, καὶ μηδέποτε τὴν τάξιν

et codd. nisi A qui ἢ exhibet || τὸ ψεῦδος AγEMOPQ Arm.: ψεῦδος omisso τὸ BD edd. || μόνῃ ante γνωρίζεται add. codd. plerique et editi: om. P Arm. Lat. || γνωρίζεται codd. omn.: Lat. '*directe cognoscit*': διαγνωρίζεται puto Armenum habuisse 9. θεραπευτικὸν codd. edd.: θεωρητικὸν uel διορατικὸν uel ὁρατικὸν Arm. et forte Lat. || τὸ θεραπευτικὸν δὲ γένος γ 10. ἀφιέσθω P 11. αἰσθητὸν Lat. codd. edd.: νοητὸν Arm. || post ἥλιον disting. Arm. 12. λιπέτω

1. 201, 13 ὁ πηρῶν καὶ κτείνων ἑαυτόν.—cp. Quod Det. Pot. Insid. 1. 224, 20, Quis Rerum 1. 483, 38.—De Somn. 1. 638 οἱ τὰ ψυχῆς ὄμματα πρὸ τῶν σώματος πεπηρωμένοι.

6. De Fort. 2. 377 τῶν ἀριστίνδην ἐπιλεγομένων. Ὀλίγος δὲ τούτων ἀριθμός ἐστιν· ἀρετὴ γὰρ οὐ πολύχουν ἐν θνητῷ γένει· πηρώσει γε μὴν αἰσθήσεων, αἷς ζῶντες ἔτι μυρίοι προαπέθανον, τῷ μηδὲν ἀλεξίκακον εὑρεῖν δύνασθαι φάρμακον, ἀντικάθηται φρόνησις, τὸ κρατιστεῦον τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν, ἐνομματοῦσα διάνοιαν, ἣ πρὸς ὀξυωπίαν τῶν τοῦ σώματος ὀφθαλμῶν ὅλῳ, φασί, καὶ τῷ παντὶ διενήνοχεν. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὰς ἐπιφανείας τῶν ὁρατῶν καταθεῶνται, ἅμα δεύμενοι φωτὸς ἔξωθεν· ἡ δὲ καὶ διὰ βάθους χωρεῖ τῶν σωμάτων, ὅλα δι' ὅλων καθ' ἕκαστα τῶν μερῶν ἀκριβοῦσα καὶ περιαθροῦσα καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀσωμάτων φύσεις, ἃς ἐπισκοπεῖν αἴσθησις ἀδυνατεῖ.

8. De Confus. 1. 418 ὁ ψυχῆς ὀφθαλμὸς ὁ διανγέστατος καὶ καθαρώτατος καὶ πάντων ὀξυωπέστατος, ᾧ μόνῳ τὸν θεὸν ἔξεστι καθορᾶν, ὄνομα Ἰσραήλ.

9. V. M. 2. 164 τοῦ ὁρατικοῦ καὶ ἐπιστημονικοῦ γένους.—V. M. 2. 163 τὰ μὲν οὖν ὅλα δι' ὅλων ἀρετῶν θείων δείγματα ἐστί, τῆς τε ἵλεω καὶ εὐεργέτιδος, δι' ὧν ἅπαντας μὲν ἀνθρώπους πρὸς καλοκἀγαθίαν ἀλείφει, μάλιστα δὲ τὸ θεραπευτικὸν αὐτοῦ γένος, ᾧ τὴν πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν ἄγουσαν ἀνατέμνει ὁδόν.—De Iustit. 2. 367 ὁ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἱερεὺς εὐθύς ἐστι προφήτης, οὐ γένει μᾶλλον ἢ ἀρετῇ παρεληλυθὼς ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ὄντως ὄντος θεραπείαν.—De Mutat. Nom. 2. 595 τῷ ὁρατικῷ γένει.—Quis Rerum 1. 478 χάριν ἔδωκας ἐξαίρετον τῷ διορατικῷ γένει.—Quis Rerum 1. 511 τῷ προφητικῷ γένει.—De Profugis 1. 566 τὸ ὁρατικὸν γένος.—cp. De Somn. 1. 695.—Quod Deus Sit Im. 1. 294 τοῦ ὁρατικοῦ γένους . . . ὅπερ Ἰσραὴλ κέκληται.—De Confus. 1. 418 τοὺς ἀμείνους καὶ γένους ὄντας ὁρατικοῦ.

10. De Ebr. 1. 374 ὁ . . . τοῦ ὄντος ὁρατικός.—De Ebr. 1. 374 τῆς ὁρατικῆς ψυχῆς.

11–17. De P. C. [A. M.] 13 τὸ μὲν οὖν σῶμα διὰ τῆς γυμναστικῆς καὶ ἀλειπτικῆς ὠφέλησαν [sc. οἱ γονεῖς] εἰς εὐτονίαν τε καὶ εὐεξίαν, σχέσεις τε καὶ κινήσεις εὐμαρεῖς, οὐκ ἄνευ ῥυθμοῦ καὶ τοῦ πρέποντος, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν διά τε γραμμάτων καὶ ἀριθμῶν, γεωμετρίας τε καὶ μουσικῆς καὶ τῆς συμπάσης φιλοσοφίας, ἣ τὸν νοῦν εἰσῳκισμένον θνητῷ σώματι μετέωρον αἴρουσα παραπέμπει μέχρις οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ μακαρίας καὶ εὐδαίμονας φύσεις ἐπιδείκνυται, ζῆλον ἅμα καὶ πόθον ἐνεργαζομένη τῆς ἀτρέπτου καὶ ἐναρμονίου τάξεως, ἣν οὐδέποτε λείπουσι πειθόμενοι τῷ ταξιάρχῳ.

891 P. ταύτην λειπέτω πρὸς τελείαν ἄγουσαν εὐδαιμονίαν. Οἱ M. 473
δὲ ἐπὶ θεραπείαν ἰόντες, οὔτε ἐξ ἔθους, οὔτε ἐκ παραινέσεως ἢ παρακλήσεως τινων, | ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἔρωτος 15

H : λειπέτω (ῑ sup. scr. pr. man.) P || ἀνάγουσαν H 13. Οἱ δ' EM || θεραπείαν codd. edd. omnes : θεωρίαν Arm. et forte Lat. ; in marg. autem uersionis Arm. addita uox quae θεραπείαν aequiparat || οὔτ' βQ 14. οὔτε ἐκ παρακλήσεως τινων omissis uerbis παραινέσεως ἢ γ Turn. : 'nec ex mandato cuiusquam, aut deprecatione' Lat. : ἢ παραινέσεως ἢ παρακλήσεως τινῶν A : οὔτ' ἐκ παραινέσεως ἢ παρακλήσεως

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11. De Hum. 2. 403, 19 ὅταν θεός, ὁ **νοητὸς ἥλιος**, ἀνάσχῃ.—De Iustit. 2. 368, 2 προφήτῃ δὲ οὐδὲν ἄγνωστον, ἔχοντι **νοητὸν ἥλιον** ἐν αὐτῷ.—De Sacrificant. 2. 254 ὁ δὲ θεὸς καὶ νόμων ἐστὶ παράδειγμα ἀρχέτυπον καὶ ἡλίου ἥλιος, **νοητὸς αἰσθητοῦ**, παρέχων ἐκ τῶν ἀοράτων πηγῶν ὁρατὰ φέγγη τῷ βλεπομένῳ.—De Mon. 2. 214 ὥσθ' **ὑπερβάντες** τῷ λογισμῷ πᾶσαν τὴν ὁρατὴν οὐσίαν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀιδίου καὶ ἀοράτου καὶ μόνῃ διανοίᾳ καταληπτοῦ τιμὴν ἴωμεν, ὃς οὐ μόνον θεὸς θεῶν ἐστι **νοητῶν τε καὶ αἰσθητῶν**, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων δημιουργός.—De Iustit. 2. 373 ἰσότης δὲ φῶς ἄσκιον, ἥλιος . . . . **νοητός**.—Leg. Alleg. 1. 107 ὑπερκύψας τὸ γεννητόν, ἔμφασιν ἐναργῆ τοῦ ἀγεννήτου λαμβάνει.

12. De Sacrificant. 2. 256 δύνοντος ἡλίου τὸ ἴδιον ἀναφαίνουσι [sc. ἀστέρες] φέγγος, ἣν ἐτάχθησαν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ **τάξιν οὐ λείποντες**.—Quod Deus Sit Im. 1. 277, 36 τὰ μὲν δὴ μὴ **λιπόντα τὴν τάξιν** τῆς πειθαρχίας ἕνεκα ἐπαινεῖ.—De Cherub. 1. 143 τὴν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχουσαν οἱ ἀπλανεῖς θείαν ὡς ἀληθῶς χορείαν χορεύουσι, **τάξιν οὐ λείποντες**, ἣν ὁ γεννήσας αὐτοὺς πατὴρ ἔταξεν ἐν κόσμῳ.—Quis Rerum 1. 479 Ζωῆς δὲ τριττὸν γένος· τὸ μὲν πρὸς θεόν, τὸ δὲ πρὸς γένεσιν, τὸ δὲ μεθόριον, μικτὸν ἀμφοῖν. Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρὸς θεὸν οὐ κατέβη πρὸς ἡμᾶς οὐδὲ ἦλθεν εἰς τὰς σώματος ἀνάγκας· τὸ δὲ πρὸς γένεσιν οὐδ' ὅλως ἀνέβη οὐδὲ ἐζήτησεν ἀναβῆναι, φωλεῦον δὲ ἐν μυχοῖς ἀδύτοις τῷ ἀβιώτῳ βίῳ χαίρει· τὸ δὲ μικτόν ἐστιν, ὃ πολλάκις μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμείνονος ἀγόμενον **τάξεως**, θειάζει καὶ θεοφορεῖται, πολλάκις δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς χείρονος ἀντισπώμενον ἐπιστρέφει.

De Pl. Noe 1. 335 τὸν οὖν φιλύδωρον θεὸν ὑποληπτέον ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ καθάπερ παράδεισον ἀρετῶν καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὰς πράξεων ἐμφυτεύειν, πρὸς **τελείαν εὐδαιμονίαν** αὐτὴν ἄγοντα.—De Confus. 1. 431 πάντ' οὖν τὸν στρατὸν [sc. τῶν ἀγγέλων] ἐν ταῖς ἁρμοττούσαις διακεκοσμημένον **τάξεσιν** ὑπηρέτην καὶ θεραπευτὴν εἶναι συμβέβηκε τοῦ διακοσμήσαντος ἡγέμονος, ᾧ ταξιαρχοῦντι κατὰ δίκην καὶ θέσμον ἕπεται· **λειποταξίου** γὰρ οὐ θέμις ἀλῶναί ποτε τὸ θεῖον στράτευμα.—De Somn. 1. 638 τῆς θείας ἀπόνασθαι δωρεᾶς, καὶ μετ' ἠρεμίας ἀναπαύσασθαι παρουσίᾳ τοιούτου συμβούλου καὶ προασπιστοῦ, **τάξιν** ἣν ἐτάχθη **μηδέποτε λείψοντος**.

13, 14. Leg. Alleg. 1. 62 ἡ δὲ **παραίνεσις** πρὸς τὸν μέσον, τὸν μήτε φαῦλον μήτε σπουδαῖον· οὔτε γὰρ ἁμαρτάνει ὡς ἀπαγορεύειν ἄν τινα αὐτῷ, οὔτε κατορθοῖ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ὀρθοῦ λόγου πρόσταξιν, ἀλλὰ χρείαν ἔχει **παραινέσεως** τῆς ἀνέχειν μὲν τῶν φαύλων διδασκούσης, προτρεπούσης δὲ ἐφίεσθαι τῶν ἀστείων.

891 P. ἁρπασθέντες οὐρανίου, καθάπερ οἱ βακχευόμενοι καὶ M. 473
κορυβαντιῶντες, ἐνθουσιάζουσι μέχρι ἂν τὸ ποθούμενον ἴδωσιν. Εἶτα διὰ τὸν τῆς ἀθανάτου καὶ μακα-

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τινῶν βOQ: οὔτε ἐκ παρακλήσεως ἢ παραινέσεων τινων P Mang.: οὔτε ἐκ παραινέσεώς τινος omittens cetera Armenus 15. ἀναρπασθέντες M 17. μέχρι A: μέχρις cett. 18. καὶ μακαρίας post ἀθανάτου add.

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13. De Sacrificant. 2. 252 **τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ὄντος θεραπείαν ἰόντας.**

15. V. M. 2. 145 φιλόθεός τε καὶ θεοφιλὴς ἐγένετο [ὁ Μωϋσῆς] καταπνευσθεὶς **ὑπ' ἔρωτος οὐρανίου** καὶ διαφερόντως τιμήσας τὸν ἡγεμόνα τοῦ παντὸς καὶ ἀντιτιμηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. Τιμὴ δὲ ἁρμόττουσα σοφῷ θεραπεύειν τὸ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὄν.—Q. O. P. L. 2. 452 ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων νομοθέτης . . . τὸν **ἔρωτι** θείῳ κατεσχημένον καὶ τὸ ὂν μόνον **θεραπεύοντα** οὐκέτι ἄνθρωπον ἀλλὰ θεὸν ἀπετόλμησεν εἰπεῖν.—De Ab. 2. 11 Μετ' ὀλίγων δὲ οὗτος [sc. Ἀβραάμ], ἢ καὶ μόνος, ἅμα τῷ κελευσθῆναι μετανίστατο καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ πρὸ τοῦ σώματος τὴν ἀποικίαν ἐστέλλετο, **τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς θνητοῖς ἵμερον παρευημεροῦντος ἔρωτος οὐρανίου.**

15–21. Quis Rerum 1. 482, 33 πόθος οὖν εἴ τις εἰσέρχεταί σε, ψυχή, τῶν θείων ἀγαθῶν κληρονομῆσαι, μὴ μόνον 'γῆν' [Gen. 12. 1], τὸ σῶμα, καὶ 'συγγένειαν' αἴσθησιν, καὶ 'οἶκον πατρός,' τὸν λόγον, καταλίπης, ἀλλὰ καὶ σαυτὴν ἀπόδραθι καὶ ἔκστηθι σεαυτῆς, **καθάπερ οἱ κορυβαντιῶντες** καὶ κατεχόμενοι, **βακχευθεῖσα** καὶ θεοφορηθεῖσα κατά τινα προφητικὴν ἐπιθειασμόν· **ἐνθουσιώσης** γὰρ καὶ οὐκέτ' οὔσης ἐν ἑαυτῇ διανοίας, ἀλλ' **ἔρωτι οὐρανίῳ** σεσοβημένης καὶ ἐκμεμηνυίας.—De Cherub. 1. 142, 24 τὸν πτηνὸν **ἔρωτα** καὶ **οὐράνιον** τοῦ φιλοδώρου θεοῦ.—De Pl. Noe 1. 335, 30 παρακεκινημένος πρὸς τὸν **οὐράνιον** καὶ θεῖον **ἔρωτα** τῇ φωνῇ, τὰς μὲν τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ φαινομένοις ἀνθρωπίνοις ἀγαθοῖς χλιδὰς καὶ θρύψεις δυσχεράνας, ὅλον δὲ τὸν νοῦν ὑπὸ θείας κατοχῆς **συναρπασθεὶς** οἴστρῳ καὶ **ἐνευφραινόμενος** μόνῳ θεῷ.—De Ebr. 1. 379, 37 ἄνευ γὰρ θείας χάριτος ἀμήχανον **λειποτακτῆσαι** τὰ **θνητά**, ἢ τοῖς ἀφθάρτοις ἀεὶ παραμεῖναι. χάριτος δὲ ἥτις ἂν πληρωθῇ ψυχή, γέγηθεν εὐθὺς καὶ μειδιᾷ καὶ ἀνορχεῖται· **βεβάκχευται** γάρ, ὡς πολλοῖς τῶν ἀνοργιάστων μεθύειν καὶ παρακινεῖν καὶ ἐξιστάναι ἂν δόξαι.—De Somn. 1. 659, 5 ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ἡ ψυχὴ κινουμένη καὶ ἀναδονοῦσα ἑαυτὴν **κορυβαντιᾷ**, καὶ **ἐνθουσιῶσα** δυνάμει προγνωστικῇ τὰ μέλλοντα θεσπίζει. In Fl. 2. 542 ὥσπερ οἱ **κορυβαντιῶντες, ἔνθους** γενόμενος.—Quis Rerum 1. 510 περὶ δὲ ἡλίου δυσμὰς ἔκστασις ἐπέπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀβραάμ [Gen. 15. 12], **ἐνθουσιῶντος** καὶ θεοφορήτου τὸ πάθος· . . . προφήτης γὰρ ἴδιον μὲν οὐδὲν ἀποφθέγγεται, ἀλλότρια δὲ πάντα ὑπηχοῦντος ἑτέρου· φαύλῳ δὲ οὐ θέμις ἑρμηνεῖ γενέσθαι θεοῦ. ὥστε κυρίως μοχθηρὸς οὐδεὶς **ἐνθουσιᾷ**, μόνῳ δὲ σοφῷ ταῦτ' ἐφαρμόττει, ἐπεὶ καὶ μόνος ὄργανον θεοῦ ἐστιν ἠχοῦν, κρουόμενον καὶ πληττόμενον ἀοράτως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

17. Quis Rerum 1. 518 τοῖς γὰρ ἀρετῆς ἀγγέλοις προχορεύοντες τελειότητα ἐλπίζομεν, κἂν εἰ μήπω δυναίμεθα τυχεῖν αὐτῆς, οὐκ ἀδακρυτὶ διάγομεν ἀνιώμενοι· πολὺς γὰρ ὅταν ἵμερος ἐντακῇ, πρὸς **τὴν τοῦ ποθουμένου** θήραν ἐπισπεύδει καὶ ἄχρι τοῦ καταλαβεῖν κατηφεῖν ἀναγκάζει.

18. De Gig. 1. 264 Αὗται μὲν οὖν εἰσι ψυχαὶ τῶν ἄνωθέν πως φιλοσοφησάντων,

891 P. *ρίας ζωῆς ἴμερον τετελευτηκέναι νομίζοντες ἤδη τὸν* M. 473
θνητὸν βίον, ἀπολείπουσι | τὰς οὐσίας υἱοῖς ἢ θυγα- 20
τράσιν, εἴτε καὶ ἄλλοις συγγενέσιν, ἑκουσίῳ γνώμῃ προκληρονομούμενοι· οἷς δὲ μὴ συγγενεῖς εἰσιν, ἑταίροις καὶ φίλοις. Ἔδει γὰρ τοὺς τὸν βλέποντα πλοῦτον

AγEMOPQ Lat. edd.: om. Arm.: *καὶ θείας* BD 19. *ἤδη* add post *νομίζοντες* Lat. codd. et edd.: om. Arm. 20. post *οὐσίας* add. *υἱοῖς ἢ θυγατράσιν εἴτε καὶ ἄλλοις* codd. et edd.: *'filiis aliisque cognatis'* Lat.: omisit Armenus 21. *προκληρονομούμενοι* D Arm. Lat.: ante κ deleuit σ B: *προσκληρονομούμενοι* cett. omn. et edd. 22. *μὴ* ACEK: *μηδὲ* BDM 23. *τοὺς* om. G 24. *τὸν τυφλὸν* ex

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ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τέλους μελετῶσαι **τὸν μετὰ σωμάτων ἀποθνήσκειν βίον**, *ἵνα τῆς ἀσωμάτου καὶ ἀφθάρτου παρὰ τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ καὶ* **ἀφθάρτῳ** *ζωῆς μεταλάχωσιν.*—Quis Rerum 1. 515 *Δογματικῶς οὖν ἄκουε κατὰ τὸν νομοθέτην μόνον τὸν ἀστεῖον εὐγήρων καὶ μακροβιώτατον, ὀλιγοχρονιώτατον δὲ τὸν φαῦλον, ἀποθνήσκειν ἀεὶ μανθάνοντα, μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν ἀρετῆς ζωὴν* **ἤδη τετελευτηκότα**.—De Sac. Ab. et C. 1. 188 *ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι* [sc. **φυγάδες**] **τῶν πατρίδων** *ἐλαύνονται, οὕτω καὶ οὗτοι* **καταλελοίπασι τέκνα**, **γονεῖς**, **ἀδελφούς**, *τὰ οἰκειότατα καὶ φίλτατα, ἵν' ἀντὶ* **θνητοῦ** *τὸν* **ἀθάνατον** *κλῆρον εὕρωνται.*—De Sacrificant. 2. 264 *Ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς γε οἱ φοιτηταὶ καὶ* **γνώριμοι τοῦ προφήτου Μωσέως**, *τὴν τοῦ* **ὄντος** *ζήτησιν οὐ μεθησόμεθα, τὴν ἐπιστήμην αὐτοῦ τέλος εἶναι νομίζοντες εὐδαιμονίας καὶ ζωὴν μακραίωνα, καθ' ἃ καὶ ὁ νόμος φησὶ τοὺς προσκειμένους τῷ θεῷ ζῆν, δόγμα τιθεὶς ἀναγκαῖον καὶ φιλόσοφον· ὄντως γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἄθεοι τὰς ψυχὰς τεθνᾶσιν, οἱ δὲ τὴν παρὰ τῷ ὄντι θεῷ* **τεταγμένοι τάξιν ἀθάνατον βίον** *ζῶσιν.*—De Agric. 1. 325, 35 **ἀποθνήσκουσι βίον** *τὸν τῆς ἐπιστήμης.*—Quod Det. Pot. Insid. 1. 201, 1 *ὁ μὲν δὴ σοφὸς* **τεθνηκέναι** *δοκῶν* **τὸν φθαρτὸν βίον** *ζῇ τὸν ἄφθαρτον, ὁ δὲ φαῦλος ζῶν τὸν ἐν κακίᾳ τέθνηκε τὸν εὐδαίμονα.*—Leg. Alleg. 1. 76 *καὶ μὲν δὴ* **Ναδὰβ καὶ Ἀβιοὺδ** *οἱ ἐγγίσαντες θεῷ καὶ τὸν μὲν* **θνητὸν βίον καταλιπόντες**, *τοῦ δὲ ἀθανάτου μεταλαχόντες γυμνοὶ θεωροῦνται τῆς κενῆς καὶ θνητῆς δόξης.*—Cp. De Profugis 1. 555, 1 seq.

21. De Essaeis 2. 633 **ἑκουσίῳ γνώμῃ** *μᾶλλον ἢ φύσεως* **ἀνάγκῃ** *θεραπεύειν ἀξιούντων.*—Quis Rerum 1. 482, 29 *Τίς οὖν γενήσεται κληρονόμος; οὐχ ὁ μένων ἐν τῇ σώματος εἱρκτῇ λογισμὸς καθ'* **ἑκούσιον γνώμην**, *ἀλλ' ὁ λυθεὶς τῶν δεσμῶν καὶ* **ἐλευθερωθεὶς** *καὶ ἔξω τειχῶν προεληλυθὼς καὶ εἰ οἷόν τε τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν καταλελοιπώς.*—De Somn. 1. 682, 2 **ἑκουσίῳ γνώμῃ** *φύσεως νόμοις καὶ θεσμοῖς ἑπόμενον.*

23, 24. De Ab. 2. 5 **ὁ μὴ τυφλός**, **ἀλλ' ὀξὺ βλέπων πλοῦτος** *ἡ τῶν ἀρετῶν* **ἐστι** *περιουσία.*—De Pr. et Poen. 2. 417 *πρὸ* **τυφλοῦ τὸν βλέποντα πλοῦτον** *ἀσπασάμενον.*—De Sp. Leg. 2. 274 *οἱ τὸν ἀληθῆ καὶ* **βλέποντα πλοῦτον** *ἐξ ἀρετῶν τελείων συνεστῶτα καὶ τῶν κατ' ἀρετὰς πράξεων οὐδ' ὕναρ ἴσασι,* **τῷ δὲ τυφλῷ** *προσέπταισαν.*—De Profugis 1. 549 **πλοῦτος** *οὐχ ὁ* **τυφλός**, *ἀλλ' ὁ τῶν ὄντων* **ὀξυδερκέστατος**.

891 P. ἐξ ἑτοίμου λαβόντας τὸν τυφλὸν παραχωρῆσαι τοῖς M. 473
ἔτι | τὰς διανοίας τυφλώττουσιν. Ἀναξαγόραν καὶ 25
Δημόκριτον Ἕλληνες ᾄδουσιν ὅτι φιλοσοφίας ἱμέρῳ
πληχθέντες, μηλοβότους εἶασαν γενέσθαι τὰς οὐσίας.
Ἄγαμαι τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ αὐτὸς γενομένους χρημάτων
κρείττους. Ἀλλὰ πόσῳ βελτίονες | οἱ μὴ θρέμμασιν 30
ἐμβόσκεσθαι τὰς κτήσεις ἀνέντες, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀνθρώπων

τῶν τυφλῶν correxit pr. man. P 26. Ἕλληνες om. P || ἱμέρῳ φιλοσ. β: φιλοσ. ἱμ. A Arm. Lat. cett. 27. πλησθέντες DM || μηλοβότας M 28. αὐτὸς βP Arm. Mang.; αὐτοὺς AVOQ Turn. et forsan Lat. 29. κρείττους A edd.: κρείττονας βγOPQ || βελτίονες Aβ Arm. edd.: κρείττονες γ et forsan Lat. 30. ἐμβόσκεσθαι om. Lat. || ἀνέντες ἐμβόσκεσθαι τὰς κτήσεις Arm. 31. τὰς ἀνθρω-

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23–30. De Provid. Sermo ii. §§ 12, 13 **Ἀναξαγόρας** γὰρ πολλήν, ὥσπερ φασίν, οὐσίαν κληρονομήσας τὸ παράπαν ἠλόγησε, μιᾶς καλλίστης κτήσεως ἀρετῆς ἀντικαταλλαττόμενος τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ἄψυχα· θρέμμασι γὰρ ἀνῆκεν εἰκῆ καταβόσκεσθαι διὰ τέλους. Ἢ μὴ πεφυκὼς κτηνοτρόφος ποτὲ γενέσθαι ἡρωικῶς ἐθρέψατο; **Δημόκριτος** δέ, εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος πλούσιος ὢν καὶ πολυκτήμων, ἅτε περιφανοῦς ἐκ γένους ὤν, **ἱμέρῳ φιλοσοφίας** γνησίως **πληχθεὶς** τὸν μὲν **τυφλὸν** καὶ ἀμαυρὸν καὶ παρὰ φαυλοῖς νομισθέντα **πλοῦτον** ἀνείρξεν, τὸν δὲ **βλέποντα** καὶ βέβαιον ἅτε μόνον ἀγαθοῖς ἐνευφραινόμενος ἐκτήσατο [ex fide uersionis Armenae locum restitui].

24. παραχωρῆσαι] De Agric. I. 317, 44 τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀνιέρων τούτων ἀγώνων ἆθλα **παραχώρησον** ἄλλοις.—Leg. Alleg. I. 129, 4 **παραχωροῦντες** αὐτῷ τῷ δημιουργῷ.

26. De Somn. I. 629 τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον Θάρραν μὲν Ἑβραῖοι, Σωκράτην δὲ **Ἕλληνες** ὀνομάζουσι.—Quis Rerum I. 503, 3 φασὶν **Ἕλληνες** τὸν μέγαν καὶ **ἀοίδιμον** παρ' αὐτοῖς Ἡράκλειτον.—De Mig. Ab. I. 456 τὸ παρὰ τοῖς ἄριστα φιλοσοφήσασιν **ἀδόμενον** τέλος τὸ ἀκολούθως τῇ φύσει ζῆν.—De Profugis I. 555 τοῦτό τις καὶ τῶν **ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ θαυμασθέντων** ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ἐφώνησε μεγαλειότερον ἐν Θεαιτήτῳ φάσκων.

27. De Somn. I. 636, 44 ὁρμῶσαν γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτε πρὸς παιδείαν τὴν ἱερὰν ἀκατασχέτῳ ῥύμῃ καὶ **πληχθεῖσαν ἔρωτι φιλοσοφίας** ἀληθοῦς θεωρημάτων.

28. De Confus. I. 427 **Ἄγαμαι** καὶ τῶν ἐν βασιλικαῖς βίβλοις ἱεροφαντηθέντων.—De Mig. Ab. I. 451 **Ἄγαμαι** καὶ τῆς παναρέτου Λείας.—De Sac. Ab. et C. I. 171, 21 **Ἄγαμαι** δὲ καὶ τοῦ θεσμοφύλακος Μωσέως.—De Hum. 2. 399 **Ἄγαμαι** δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνον τὸν νόμον, ὃς καθάπερ ἐν χορῷ παναρμονίῳ συνᾴδων τοῖς προτέροις διαγορεύει.—Q. O. P. L. 2. 467 **Ἄγαμαι** καὶ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν, οἳ σύμπαν **ἀπέφηναν ἐλεύθερον** τὸ πλήρωμα.

30. V. M. 2. 131 ἐπιτηδειότατον γὰρ εἶναι ἔφασκον τὸν τύπον, ἐννέμεσθαί

891 P. ἐνδείας, συγγενῶν ἢ φίλων, ἐπανορθωσάμενοι, καὶ ἐξ M. 473
ἀπόρων εὐπόρους ἀποφήναντες; Ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ ἀπερί-
σκεπτον, ἵνα μὴ μανιῶδες ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν οὓς ἡ Ἑλλὰς
ἐθαύμασεν | εἶπω τὸ ἔργον· τοῦτο δὲ νηφάλιον, καὶ 35
μετὰ φρονήσεως ἠκριβωμένον περιττῆς. Οἱ πολέμιοι τί

πίνας ἐνδείας P || *ἀνθρώπων συγγενῶν ἐνδείας ἢ φίλων* Arm. || *συγγ. ἢ φίλων* post *ἐπανορθωσάμενοι* Lat. 33. *μὴ* AβOPQ Arm. Lat.: *μὴ μόνον* γ Turn. Mang. (qui tamen in nota *μόνον* deleri uult) 34. *μανιῶδες εἶπω ἐπ'* Arm.: *'ne furiosos dicam uiros'* Lat.: *μανιῶδες ἐπ'* codd. et edd. || *οὓς ἡ Ἑλλὰς* omnes, nisi β ubi *ἡ Ἑλλὰς οὓς* || *ἡ* om. Q 35. *εἶπω τὸ ἔργον* codd. et edd.: om. Lat.: *ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ* Arm. || *δὲ* om. E: forsitan Arm. *γὰρ* habuerit || *νηφάλιόν τε καὶ φρονήσεως* P 36. *ἠκριβωμένον· περὶ . . . ἧς οἱ* A ubi * recens

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τε καὶ ἐμβόσκεσθαι θρέμμασιν.—De Sept. 2. 289 *καὶ ὅσοι μέντοι κτηνοτροφοῦσι μετ' ἀδείας ἐπὶ χλοηφαγίας τὰ οἰκεῖα θρέμματα ἄγουσιν, ἐκλεγόμενοι πεδία εὔχορτα καὶ ἐπιτηδειότατα ἐμβόσκεσθαι.*

31. De Hum. 2. 390 *εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν ἐνδείας.*—De Sept. 2. 289 *πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν ὧν ἐνδεεῖς εἰσιν.*—cf. De Agric. 1. 314.—De Profugis 1. 550 *Ἐὰν οὖν θέλῃς διελέγξαι τὸν πολυχρήματον φαῦλον, μὴ ἀποστραφῇς τὴν ἐν χρήμασι περιουσίαν . . . σὺ δὲ ἔρανον παρέξεις πένησι φίλων, χάριτας καὶ δωρεὰς τῇ πατρίδι, συνεκδώσεις θυγατέρας ἀπόροις γονεῦσιν, αὐτάρκεστάτην προῖκα ἐπιδιδούς, μόνον οὐκ εἰς μέσον προθεὶς τὰ ἴδια καλέσεις ἐπὶ μετουσίαν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἀξίους χάριτος.*

32. L. A. C. 2. 563 *πένητας ἐκ πλουσίων καὶ ἀπόρους ἐξ εὐπόρων γεγενῆσθαι.* V. M. 2. 86 *ὑπήγετο καὶ δούλους ἀπέφαινε τοὺς οὐκ ἐλευθέρους μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξένους καὶ οἰκέτας.*—De Ab. 2. 39 *πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἀπέφηναν πρεσβύτερον.* —De Prov. ex Eus. Praep. Ev. 2. 635 *τὸν ἑαυτοῦ νοῦν μυρίων ὅσων δεσποτῶν δοῦλον ἀποφήνας.*

33. De Somn. 1. 672, 26 *ἀνεξετάστους καὶ ἀπερισκέπτους.*—De Ebr. 1. 374, 7 *ὁ δὲ ἀπερίσκεπτος διάνοιαν τυφλωθείς.*—De Ebr. 1. 387, 10 *πολλὰ ἀδιερεύνητα καὶ ἀπερίσκεπτα.*—cp. De Profugis 1. 564, 37 *ὁ δὲ ἀπερίσκεπτος ἀμβλύνει καὶ περιθραύει τὰς φρονήσεως ἀκμάς.*—De Mutat. Nom. 1. 600 *οὐκ ἀμελῶς οὐδ' ἀπερισκέπτως.*—De Ebr. 1. 374 *ὁ δὲ ἀπερίσκεπτος διάνοιαν τυφλωθείς, ᾗ τὸ ὂν μόνῃ καταληπτόν ἐστιν.*—Qu. in Gen. 2. § 72 *ὁ εὐχερὴς καὶ ἀπερίσκεπτος τὰ ἐπ' εὐθείας καὶ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν μόνον ὁρᾷ· ὁ δὲ φρόνιμος καὶ τὰ κατόπιν.*—Q. O. P. L. 2. 446 *πῶς δὲ οὐ παράλογα καὶ γέμοντα πολλῆς ἀναισχυντίας ἡ μανίας ἢ — οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω.*

35. Quis Rerum 1. 515, 7 *τὸ μετὰ φρονήσεως ζῆν.*

36. De Agric. 1. 320, 42 *ταῦτα γὰρ συνέσεως μὲν καὶ περιττῆς ἀκριβείας ἠκονημένης εἰς ὀξυτάτην ἀγχίνοιαν ἐναργῆ δείγματα ἐστιν.*—De Prov. ex Eus. Praep. Ev. 2. 647 *Μόνη γὰρ ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀψευδῶς ἀνθρωπογονεῖ, φυτὸν οὐράνιον καὶ βλάστημα θεῖον ἠκριβωμένον λογισμὸν ἀποτίκτουσα οἰκειούμενον ἐπιστήμῃ.*

891 P. πλέον δρῶσιν ἢ κείρουσι καὶ δενδροτομοῦσι τὴν τῶν M. 473
ἀντιπάλων χώραν, ἵνα σπάνει τῶν ἀναγκαίων πιεσθέντες
ἐνδῶσιν ; Τοῦτο οἱ περὶ Δημόκριτον τοῖς ἀφ' αἵματος
εἰργάσαντο, | χειροποίητον ἔνδειαν καὶ πενίαν αὐτοῖς 40
κατασκευάσαντες, οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἴσως, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὴ
προϊδέσθαι καὶ περιαθρῆσαι τὸ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμφέρον.
Πόσῳ δὴ οὗτοι κρείττους καὶ θαυμασιώτεροι, χρησά-

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manus addit, facta simul rasura forte trium litt. post *περὶ*: eandem lectionem sine rasura prae se fert O : *ἠκριβωμένων περιττῆς. περὶ ἧς* οἱ P : *ἠκ. περιττῆς* Arm. Q cett.: de corruptela *περὶ ἧς* confer Leg. Alleg. 1. 64 ubi in loco *πολλοῖς δὲ περιττοῦ πανουργίας ἀπέχεσθαι* testificatur Armena uersio *περὶ τοῦ* olim fuisse lectum || *τί πλέον* om. P || *δρῶσιν* omnes nisi *β* ubi *ποιοῦσι* 37. *ἢ* om. BD || *κείρουσι* omnes, nisi *β* ubi *καίουσι* et P in quo uerba *ἢ κείρουσι* desunt, at est signum lacunae 38. *ἐνδῶσιν* A : *ἐνδῶσι* cett 40. *χειρ. αὐτοῖς πενίαν* et om. *ἔνδειαν καὶ* Lat. || *ἑαυτοῖς* Q 42. *μὴ* om. Q || *προίεσθαι β* 43. *δὴ* Arm. edd.: *δ' ἂν β* || *οὗτοι*

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37. De Hum. 2. 400, 38 *μήτε* **δενδροτομεῖν** *ὅσα τῆς ἡμέρου ὕλης, μήτε* **κείρειν** **ἐπὶ λύμῃ** *σταχυηφοροῦσαν πρὸ καιροῦ πεδιάδα, μήτε συνόλως καρπὸν* **διαφθείρειν**, *ἵνα* **περιουσίᾳ** *μὲν τροφῶν* **ἀφθόνων** *χορηγῆται τὸ* **ἀνθρώπων** *γένος,* **περιουσιάζῃ** *δὲ μὴ μόνον τῶν* **ἀναγκαίων**, *ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸν ἁβροδίαιτον βίον.*—De Iustit. 2. 373, 19 **δενδροτομοῦντας** *ἐπὶ φθορᾷ καρπῶν.*—De Sept. 2. 296 *ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων δὲ τῶν πολέμων φθείρονται τὰ ἐπίγεια· πρὸς μὲν ἐχθρῶν* **δενδροτομίαις**, *τροφῶν καὶ πεδίων σταχυηφορούντων ἐμπρήσεσιν, δηώσεσιν.*

38. De Exsec. 2. 431 *λιμὸς καὶ* **σπάνις τῶν ἀναγκαίων**.—De Ios. 2. 57 **χαλεπὴν ἔνδειαν** *καὶ* **σπάνιν τῶν ἀναγκαίων** *ἐπιφέρουσα.*—cp. V. M. 2. 121, 2. —In Fl. 2. 526 *ἀπορίᾳ καὶ* **σπάνει** *δεινῇ τῶν* **ἀναγκαίων πιεζόμενοι** *καὶ γύναια καὶ τέκνα νήπια ὀρῶντες ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς παραπολλύμενα λιμῷ* **χειροποιήτῳ**. *πάντα γὰρ τὰ ἄλλα εὐθηνίας καὶ εὐετηρίας μεστὰ ἦν.*—De Sp. Leg. 2. 333 *εἰ δή τις* **ἐπιβουλεύοι** *περὶ τὰ μέρη ταῦτα τοῖς οἰκέταις, μὴ ἀγνοείτω* **λιμὸν** *ἐν εὐθηνίᾳ καὶ* **εὐετηρίᾳ κατασκευάζων** *τούτοις* **χειροποίητον**.

39. De Ab. 2. 11 **τῶν ἀφ' αἵματος** *ὅσοι πρὸς πατρός.*—cf. De Agric. 1. 323, 40. —De Sacrificant. Wendland Neu Entdeckte Fr. p. 11 *φθοραὶ γὰρ εἰάθασι καταλαμβάνειν, αἱ μὲν ἐπομβρίαις . . . αἱ δ' αὖ* **χειροποίητοι** *κατ' ἐφόδους ἐχθρῶν τὴν τῶν πέλας γῆν δῃοῦν ἐπιχειρούντων.*—De Mutat. Nom. 1. 582 *τοὺς* **χειροποιήτους** *καὶ ἑκουσίους ἅπαντας νόμους.*—De Somn. 1. 675 *κακὰ* **χειροποίητα** *καὶ θεήλατα.*—De Confus. 1. 409, 47 **χειροποιήτῳ** *χειμῶνι κυμαίνουσιν.*

42. De Somn. 1. 677 *κατεπτηχέναι καὶ* **περιαθρεῖν** *ἐν κύκλῳ.*—De Mon. 2. 227 **προϊδέσθαι** *πράγματα δύνασθαι.*—Leg. Alleg. 1. 95 *περιλαβεῖν καὶ* **περιαθρῆσαι**. —De Prov. ex Eus. Praep. Ev. 2. 636 *εἰ μέντοι τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμα τείνας βουληθείης* **περιαθρῆσαι** *θεοῦ πρόνοιαν.*

891 P. μενοι μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττοσι ταῖς πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν | ὁρμαῖς, M. 473, 45
μεγαλόνοιαν δὲ ὀλιγωρίας προτιμήσαντες, καὶ χαρισά-
μενοι τὰς οὐσίας, ἀλλὰ μὴ διαφθείραντες, ἵνα καὶ
892 P. ἑτέρους καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ὠφελήσωσι, || τοὺς μὲν ἐν ἀφθόνοις M. 474
περιουσίαις, ἑαυτοὺς δὲ ἐν τῷ φιλοσοφεῖν; Αἱ γὰρ
χρημάτων καὶ κτημάτων ἐπιμέλειαι τοὺς χρωμένους
ἀναλίσκουσι· χρόνου δὲ φείδεσθαι καλόν, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ
τὸν ἰατρὸν Ἱπποκράτην | ὁ μὲν βίος βραχύς, ἡ δὲ 5
τέχνη μακρή. Τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ καὶ Ὅμηρος αἰνίξασθαι
ἐν Ἰλιάδι κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς τρισκαιδεκάτης ῥαψῳδίας
διὰ τούτων τῶν ἐπῶν,

κρείττους β Arm.: κρ. οὗτοι cett. codd. et edd. || οὗτοι post θαυμασιώτεροι Lat. 44. φιλοσοφίαν βγ Arm. cett.: φαντασίαν A (cuius autem in mg. al. man. φιλοσοφίαν) et O 45. τοῖς πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ὁρῶσι γ || post μεγαλόνοιαν om. δὲ Arm. Lat. 47. ὠφελήσουσι G 1. τοὺς Arm. Lat.: καὶ τοὺς cett. omn. || pr. ἐν om. G || ἐν τῷ om. A 3. χρωμένους γ Arm.: χρόνους AβOPQ Lat. edd. 4. ἰατρὸν ante Ἱπποκράτην A Lat. cett.: om. Arm. 5. μακρά Q 6. om. καὶ Turn. || αἰνίττεσθαι β: αἰνίξεσθαι CK || κατ' ἀρχὴν Q 7. διὰ AβOPQ Arm. edd.:

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45. De Confus. 1. 417 αὐτόχθονες δὲ ὑμεῖς, κόνιν καὶ χοῦν ψυχῆς προτιμήσαντες.

1. De Profugis 1. 565, 12 κεχρημένος ἀφθόνοις ταῖς πρὸς περιουσίαν ὕλαις. —De Mutat. Nom. 1. 611 ἐν ἀφθόνοις δὲ ταῖς εἰς περιουσίαν ὕλαις.—De Mutat. Nom. 1. 592 κειμηλίων καὶ ἐπίπλων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης περιουσίας ἄφθονοι ὗλαι.

3. De Ios. 2. 47 θηρίον δὲ ἀτίθασσον ἡ λοχῶσα κενοδοξία, συναρπάζουσα καὶ διαφθείρουσα τοὺς χρωμένους.—De Exsec. 2. 431 τὰ πλήρη ταμεῖα τροφῶν καὶ χρημάτων κενωθήσονται, πόρος οὐδεὶς εὐοδώσει· τέχναι πᾶσαι, πραγματεῖαι πολύτροποι, βίων ἰδέαι μυρίων τοῖς χρωμένοις οὐδὲν ὄφελος.

4. De Mundi Op. 1. 25, 43 ὁ δ' ἰατρὸς Ἱπποκράτης ἡλικίας ἑπτὰ εἶναί φησι. —De Somn. 1. 621, 43 βραχὺς μὲν γὰρ ὁ βίος, ὡς ἔφη τις, ἡ δὲ τέχνη μακρά. —De Prov. (ed. J. B. Aucher) p. 54 Ἱπποκράτης Κῷος.

Q. O. P. L. 2. 447 οἱ δὲ . . . πολλὰ τῆς πρόσθεν ὀλιγωρίας ἑαυτοὺς κακίζουσιν, ὡς οὐ φεισάμενοι χρόνου, βίον δὲ τρίψαντες ἀβίωτον, ἐν ᾧ φρονήσεως ἐχήρευσαν.

6. L. A. C. 2. 557 Πρωτέως, ὃν εἰσήγαγεν Ὅμηρος.

Q. O. P. L. 2. 445 λόγος ἔχει . . . αἰνιττόμενος διὰ συμβόλου.—De Cherub. 1. 142, 26 Τίνα δέ ἐστιν, ἃ διὰ τῶν Χερουβὶμ . . . αἰνίττεται.—cp. Quis Rerum 1. 507, 29.

892 P. Μυσῶν τ' ἀγχεμάχων καὶ ἀγαυῶν Ἱππημολγῶν | M. 474
γλακτοφάγων τ' ἀβίων τε, δικαιοτάτων ἀνθρώπων,
ὡς τῆς μὲν περὶ βίον σπουδῆς καὶ χρηματισμὸν ἀδικίαν γεννώσης διὰ τὸ ἄνισον, δικαιοσύνην δὲ τῆς ἐναντίας προαιρέσεως, ἕνεκα ἰσότητος, καθ' ἣν | ὃ τῆς
φύσεως πλοῦτος ὥρισται καὶ παρευημερεῖ τὸν ἐν ταῖς

καὶ γ 9. μῦσῶν in ras. Q || τε BE : τὲ P || ἀγανῶν A : ἀγαθῶν CK : ἀγανῶν cett. || ἀγχ. καὶ ἀγ. reddit Arm. '*qui inter sese uiuunt et moriuntur et inter sese amant*' || 10. γλακτοφάγων τ' A : γαλακτοφάγων DM : γλακτοφάγων BE || τε καὶ δικ. GHIK || τἀνθρώπων Q 12. περὶ sup. scr. Q^2 || τὸν ante βίον add. β || καὶ ante ἀδικίαν add. β et forte Lat. 13. comma add. ante διὰ Mang. || διὰ] καὶ β Lat. : διὰ A Arm. cett. || δικαιοσύνην βOPQ edd. : δικαιοσύνης A (delente autem ης manu recentiori) γ Lat. : Arm. in uersu δικαιοσύνην sed in mg. aliquorum codicum δικαιοσύνης || καὶ τῆς Arm. : διὰ τῆς γPQ : καὶ ante τῆς om. Aβ edd. et ut uidetur Lat. : ante τῆς rasura duarum litt. O 14. om. ἕνεκα ἰσότητος Lat. 15. τῆς om. Q || ὥριστο β 16. τὸν

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12. De Somn. 1. 668 Ἀλλὰ σύ γε τοῦ μὲν καπνοῦ καὶ κύματος ἐκτὸς βαίνε, καὶ τὰς καταγελάστους τοῦ θνητοῦ **βίου σπουδὰς** ὡς τὴν φοβερὰν ἐκείνην χάρυβδιν ἀποδίδρασκε.—De Somn. 1. 674 ὁ **σπουδῆς** ἀκρίτου καὶ φιλονεικίας ἀλύγου καὶ **κενῆς δόξης** ἐραστής.

14. De Creat. Pr. 2. 363 μισήσας τὴν χορηγὸν σκότους καὶ πολέμων **ἀνισότητα**· βίον δὲ ἀνεπιβούλευτον ἔξω, τὴν ἀστασίαστον **ἰσότητα** τιμήσας.—L. A. C. 2. 558 **ἀνισότητα** τὴν **ἀδικίας** ἀρχὴν ἀνεκαίνισεν **ἰσότητι**, ἥτις ἐστὶ πηγὴ δικαιοσύνης.

15, 16. De Pr. et Poen. 2. 424 **πλοῦτος** δὲ ὁ μὲν **τῆς φύσεως εὐτελὴς** ἐστι τροφὴ **καὶ** σκέπη.—De Pr. et Poen. 2. 424 ἀσπασάμενοι τὰ φύσεως δῶρα, μὴ τὰ **τῆς κενῆς δόξης**.—Quis Rerum 1. 483, 30 τοῦ **φύσεως** ἀοιδίμου **πλούτου**.—De Somn. 1. 640, 10 τὸν ἀθλητὴν τῶν καλῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων . . . ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἄρτον καὶ ἱμάτιον, τὸν **φύσεως πλοῦτον**, αἰτούμενον, ἐπειδὴ τὸν ἐν ταῖς **κεναῖς δόξαις** ἐχλεύαζεν.—De Somn. 1. 664, 25 πλουτεῖν τὸν **φύσεως πλοῦτον**.—De Profugis 1. 565, 9 τὴν γὰρ **τῆς κενῆς δόξης** ἀφαίρεσιν πρόσθεσιν ἀληθείας εἶναι συμβέβηκεν. —De Somn. 1. 669, 24 θιασῶται **τῆς κενῆς δόξης**.—De Fortit. 2. 376 εἰ δέ τινες τὸν **τῆς φύσεως πλοῦτον** παρ' οὐδὲν θέμενοι τὸν **τῶν κενῶν δοξῶν** διώκουσι, **τυφλῷ** πρὸ **βλέποντος** σκηριπτόμενοι καὶ ἡγεμόνι **τῆς** ὁδοῦ χρώμενοι **πεπηρωμένῳ** πίπτειν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὀφείλουσιν.—V. M. 2. 105 ὑπολαβὼν πενίας ψυχικῆς ἔργον εἶναι τὸν ἐν ταῖς ὕλαις ἀποδέχεσθαι **πλοῦτον**, τοῦ μὲν **τυφλοῦ** κατεφρόνησε, τὸν δὲ **βλέποντα**, **τὸν τῆς φύσεως**, ἐξετίμησε.

15. De Mundi Op. 1. 19, 10 πάντων ὅσα λέλεκται **παρευημερησάντων**.—De Mundi Op. 41, 7 ἤρξατο κακία τὰς ἀρετὰς **παρευημερεῖν**.—De Ab. 2. 11 τὸν

92 P. κεναῖς δόξαις. Ὅταν οὖν ἐκστῶσι τῶν οὐσιῶν, ὑπ' M. 474
οὐδενὸς ἔτι δελεαζόμενοι, φεύγουσιν ἀμεταστρεπτὶ

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ex τῶν refinxit B: τῶν ἐν ταῖς PQ: τὸν Arm. cett. 17. ἔτι] ὡς β

ἐπὶ τοῖς θνητοῖς ἵμερον παρευημεροῦντος ἔρωτος οὐρανίου.—De Profugis 1. 565, 16 ἂν μὴ πάλιν τὰ ὀνείρατα καὶ φαντάσματα τῶν νομιζομένων καὶ φαινομένων ἀγαθῶν ὑπαναπλεύσαντα παρευημερήσῃ.—De Ab. 2. 32 τῶν παθῶν καὶ νοσημάτων παρευημερούντων τοὺς ὑγιαίνοντας λόγους.—cp. De Decal. 2. 181.

16 seq. De Pr. et Poenis 2. 410, 36 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐλπίδος νίκην ἀγὼν δεύτερός ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ μετάνοια ἀγωνίζεται, τῆς μὲν ἀτρέπτου καὶ ἀμετανοήτου καὶ ἀεὶ κατὰ ταὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἐχούσης φύσεως ἀμοιρήσασα, ζήλῳ δὲ καὶ ἔρωτι τοῦ βελτίονος ἐξαίφνης κατασχεθεῖσα, καὶ σπεύδουσα καταλιπεῖν μὲν τὴν σύντροφον πλεονεξίαν καὶ ἀδικίαν, μεθορμίσασθαι δὲ πρὸς σωφροσύνην καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετάς. Ἆθλα γὰρ ταῦτα προτίθεται διττὰ ἐπὶ διττοῖς κατορθώμασιν, ἀπολείψει μὲν αἰσχρῶν, αἱρέσει δὲ τῶν καλλίστων. Τὰ δὲ ἆθλα ἀποικία καὶ μόνωσις. Φησὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ τὰς μὲν τοῦ σώματος νεωτεροποίας ἀποδράντος, αὐτομολήσαντος δὲ πρὸς ψυχήν· Οὐχ εὑρίσκετο, διότι μετέθηκεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεός.' Αἰνίττεται δὲ καὶ ἐναργῶς, διὰ μὲν τῆς μεταθέσεως τὴν ἀποικίαν, διὰ δὲ τοῦ μὴ εὑρίσκεσθαι τὴν μόνωσιν· καὶ σφόδρα οἰκείως. Εἰ γὰρ τῷ ὄντι ἐπάνω τῶν παθῶν ἀψευδῶς ἔγνωκεν ἵστασθαι ἄνθρωπος, καταφρονήσας ἡδονῶν καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν, εὐτρεπιζέσθω φεύγων ἀμεταστρεπτὶ καὶ οἶκον καὶ πατρίδα καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους· ὅλκὸν γὰρ ἡ συνήθεια, ὡς δέος εἶναι, μὴ καταμείνας ἁλῷ, τοσούτοις ἐν κύκλῳ φίλτροις ἀποληφθείς, ὧν αἱ φαντασίαι τὴν ἐγγενομένην ἡσυχίαν τῶν αἰσχρῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων πάλιν ἀνακινήσουσι καὶ μνήμας ἐναύλους, ὧν ἐπιλελῆσθαι καλὸν ἦν, ἐνεργάσονται. Πολλοὶ γοῦν ἀποδημίαις ἐσωφρονίσθησαν, ἔρωτας ἐκμανεῖς καὶ λελυττηκότας θεραπευθέντες, οὐκέτι τῆς ὄψεως χορηγεῖν δυναμένης τῷ πάθει τῆς ἡδονῆς τὰ εἴδωλα· τῇ γὰρ διαζεύξει κατὰ κενοῦ βαίνειν ἀνάγκη, μηκέτι παρόντος ὑφ' οὗ διερεθισθήσεται. Κἂν μεταναστῇ μέντοι, τοὺς τῶν πολλῶν θιάσους ἐκτρεπέσθω, μόνωσιν ἀσπαζόμενος· πέφυκε γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς ὅμοια τοῖς οἴκοι δίκτυα, οἷς ἀνάγκη περιπείρεσθαι τοὺς ἀπροόπτως ἔχοντας καὶ ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν χαίρονταις ὁμιλίαις. Ὅ τι γὰρ ἄτακτον, ἄκοσμον, πλημμελές, ὑπαίτιον, τοῦτο ὄχλος ἐστί, μεθ' οὗ φέρεσθαι τῷ νῦν πρῶτον μετοικισαμένῳ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἀλυσιτελέστατον. Ὡς γὰρ τοῖς ἐκ νόσου μακρᾶς ἀρχομένοις ἀναλαμβάνειν εὐάλωτά πώς ἐστι τὰ σώματα, οὕτω καὶ ψυχῇ ὑγιαζομένῃ πλαδῶσιν οἱ νοεροὶ τόνοι καὶ κραδαίνονται, ὡς δέος εἶναι, μὴ παλινδρομήσῃ τὸ πάθος, ὃ πέφυκεν ἐκ τῆς εἰκαιοτέρων συνδιαιτήσεως ἀνερεθίζεσθαι.—Leg. Alleg. 1. 81, 44 καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ πολλάκις καταλιπὼν μὲν ἀνθρώπους συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους καὶ πατρίδα καὶ εἰς ἐρημίαν ἐλθών, ἵνα τι τῶν θέας ἀξίων κατανοήσω, οὐδὲν ὤνησα, ἀλλὰ σκορπισθεὶς ὁ νοῦς ἢ πάθει δηχθεὶς ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὰ ἐναντία. Ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ ἐν πλήθει μυριάνδρῳ ἐρημῶ τὴν διάνοιαν, τὸν ψυχικὸν ὄχλον σκεδάσαντος θεοῦ καὶ διδάξαντός με, ὅτι οὐ τόπων διαφοραὶ τό τε εὖ καὶ χεῖρον ἐργάζονται, ἀλλ' ὁ κινῶν θεὸς καὶ ἄγων ᾗ ἂν προαιρῆται τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄχημα.—De Sobr. 1. 394 ὁ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας ψυχῆς πρεσβύτερον καὶ τιμιώτερον ἀγαθὸν μήπω τέλειον εὑρημένος. Εἰ γὰρ εὕρητο, καὶ ὅλην Αἴγυπτον ἀμεταστρεπτὶ φεύγων ᾤχετο.—De Confus. 1. 411 τὰς εἰς τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν

892 P. καταλιπόντες ἀδελφούς, τέκνα, γυναῖκας, γονεῖς, πολυ- M. 474
ανθρώπους συγγενείας, | φιλικὰς ἑταιρείας, τὰς πατρί- 20

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18. ἀμεταστρεπτὶ· καταλ. Mang. 19. τέκνα post γυναῖκας Arm.: om. Lat. || γονεῖς, γυναῖκας β || γονεῖς tanquam γένος reddit Arm.

συνόδους ἀμεταστρεπτὶ φευκτέον.—Quod Deus Sit Im. 1. 290 ἴθι ἀμεταστρεπτὶ πρὸς τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ καὶ τούτων ἱκέτις γενοῦ, μέχρις ἂν ἀποδεξάμεναι τὸ συνεχὲς καὶ γνήσιον τῆς θεραπείας ἐν τῇ τῶν εὐαρεστησάντων αὐταῖς κατατάξωσι χώρᾳ. —Quis Rerum 1. 517, 18 ἀποδρασόμεθα ἀμεταστρεπτὶ καὶ μόνον οὐ τὰ ἀπόγεια ἀράμενοι τῆς τῶν ψευσμάτων καὶ σοφισμάτων χώρας ἐξαναχθησόμεθα.—De Sac. Ab. et C. 1. 188, 38 φυγάδας οἱ Λευῖται προσίενται, καὶ αὐτοὶ δυνάμει φυγάδες ὄντες. Ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι [sc. οἱ τὸν ἀκούσιον φόνον δράσαντες] τῶν πατρίδων ἐλαύνονται, οὕτω καὶ οὗτοι καταλελοίπασι τέκνα, γονεῖς, ἀδελφούς, τὰ οἰκειότατα καὶ φίλτατα, ἵν' ἀντὶ θνητοῦ τὸν ἀθάνατον κλῆρον εὕρωνται· διαφέρουσι δὲ ὅτι ἐκείνοις μὲν ἀβούλητος ἡ φυγὴ δι' ἔργον ἀκούσιον, τούτοις δὲ ὁ δρασμὸς ἑκούσιος δι' ἔρωτα τῶν ἀρίστων κ.τ.λ.—De Profugis 1. 559, 12 εἰς τὰς ἀπονεμηθείσας Λευῖταις μόνοις πόλεις φεύγειν διείρηται, πάνυ προσηκόντως· καὶ γὰρ Λευῖται τρόπον τινα φυγάδες εἰσίν, ἕνεκα ἀρεσκείας θεοῦ γονεῖς καὶ τέκνα καὶ ἀδελφοὺς καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν θνητὴν συγγένειαν ἀπολελοιπότες. Ὁ γοῦν ἀρχηγέτης τοῦ θιάσου τούτου λέγων εἰσάγεται τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρί. Οὐχ ἑώρακα ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς οὐ γινώσκω καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς ἀπογινώσκω [Deut. 33. 9] ὑπὲρ τοῦ δίχα μεθολκῆς θεραπεύειν τὸ ὄν. Ἡ δὲ ἀψευδὴς φυγὴ στέρησις τῶν οἰκειοτάτων καὶ φιλτάτων ἐστί . . . καὶ κτείνει ἕκαστος ἀδελφὸν καὶ πλησίον καὶ τὸν ἔγγιστα [Exod. 32. 27] . . . Οὕτω γὰρ μόνως θεραπευτικὸν γένοιτο τοῦ τῶν ὄντων ἀρίστου τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἄριστον· πρῶτον μὲν εἰ ἀναλυθείη ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχήν, διαζευχθέντος καὶ διακοπέντος αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν ἀνηνύτων ἐπιθυμιῶν κ.τ.λ.—De Mon. 2. 219 Ἀπολελοιπότες [sc. ἐπηλύται], φησί, πατρίδα καὶ φίλους καὶ συγγενεῖς δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ ὁσιότητα, μὴ ἀμοιρείτωσαν ἑτέρων πόλεων καὶ οἰκιῶν καὶ φίλων, ἀλλ' ἔστωσαν ἔφεδροι καταφυγαὶ τοῖς πρὸς εὐσέβειαν αὐτομολοῦσι. —De Poenit. 2. 406 πάγκαλον γὰρ καὶ συμφέρον αὐτομολεῖν ἀμεταστρεπτὶ πρὸς ἀρετήν, κακίαν ἐπίβουλον δέσποιναν ἀπολιπόντας.—De Pr. et Poen. 2. 427 ἀμεταστρεπτὶ φεύγειν διεγνωκότα φυγὴν οὐ τὴν ἐπονείδιστον λεγομένην, ἀλλὰ τὴν σωτήριον.

17. Quis Rerum 1. 486, 4 διανοίας πρὸς οὐδενὸς οὐκέτι δελεαζομένης τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν.—De Somn. 1. 672 πάντα νήφοντες τὸν αἰῶνα, ὡς ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἔτι τῶν εἰωθότων δελεάζειν ἀπατᾶσθαι.—Quis Rerum 1. 512, 34 εἶτα ὑπὸ μηδεμιᾶς δελεασθείς.

19. De Pr. et Poen. 2. 417 ὅλοις οἴκοις καὶ πολυανθρώποις συγγενείαις.—De Somn. 1. 670, 1 ὅλα τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰς ψυχάς, γύναιά τε καὶ τέκνα καὶ γονεῖς καὶ τὴν ἄλλων ἑταίρων καὶ συγγενῶν πολυάνθρωπον οἰκειότητα καὶ κοινωνίαν ἐκδίδονται.—De Sacrificant. 2. 258 τῶν μὲν ἐπηλύτων διὰ τόδε· καταλιπόντες οὗτοι τὰ πάτρια οἷς ἐνετράφησαν, ψεύδους πλασμάτων γέμοντα καὶ τύφου, γενόμενοι ἀληθείας ἐρασταὶ γνήσιοι, μετεχώρησαν πρὸς εὐσέβειαν· ἱκέται δὲ καὶ θεραπευταὶ τοῦ ὄντως ὄντος ἀξίως ὄντες τῆς προνομίας τῆς ἁρμοττούσης εἰκότως

892 P. δας ἐν αἷς ἐγεννήθησαν καὶ ἐτράφησαν· ἐπειδὴ τὸ M. 474
σύνηθες ὄλκὸν καὶ δελεάσαι δυνατώτατον. Μετοικί-
ζονται δὲ οὐκ εἰς ἑτέραν πόλιν, ὥσπερ οἱ πρᾶσιν
αἰτούμενοι παρὰ τῶν κεκτημένων, ἀτυχεῖς ἢ | κακό- 25
δουλοι, δεσποτῶν ὑπαλλαγήν, οὐκ ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοῖς

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20. ἑταιρίας AQ 21. ἐγεννήθησαν καὶ om. γ: ἐγεννήθησαν καὶ ἐτράφησαν AEMPQ Arm.: ἐτράφησαν γεννηθέντες BD 22. ὄλκὸν A Arm. γ: ἕλκον P: ἑλιικὸν (ubi κτι sup. scr. man. rec.) Q: ἕλκειν β: Lat. ὄγκος '*ponderosa*,' tanquam ὄλκὸν habuerit in textu nec bene legerit || δελεάσασθαι Q 23. δὲ post μετοικίζονται add. AγOPQ edd.: om. Arm. β: '*transmigrant ergo*' Lat. || post δὲ om. uerba οὐκ . . . πόλιν P, at est signum lacunae || ὥσπερ εἰ εἰς πρᾶσιν αἰτούμενοι παρὰ τ. κεκτ., ὡς ἀτυχεῖς ἢ ὡς δοῦλοι Arm.: '*ut solent uenditionibus subiecti, serui infelicissimi*' Lat. omittens παρὰ τ. κεκτ. || ὡς pro ὥσπερ Q || οἱ om. Q 24. post κεκτ. add. comma Turn.: om. Mang. || ἀτυχαῖς Q 25. κακότητα pro κακόδουλοι P || om. comma ante δεσπ. Turn. || ὑπαλλαγάς β || ἐλευθερίας B 26. αὐτοῖς DKQ ||

μεταλαμβάνουσι, καρπὸν εὑράμενοι τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν καταφυγῆς τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ βοήθειαν.—L. A. C. 2. 557 πολυανθρώπους οἰκίας καὶ συγγενείας.

21. Leg. Alleg. 1. 63, 42 ἐγέννησαν ἡμᾶς, ἔθρεψαν, ἐπαίδευσαν, πάντων αἴτιοι γεγόνασιν ἀγαθῶν.—V. M. 2. 81 ἐγεννήθη δὲ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ἐτράφη.—In Fl. 2. 524 οἰκεῖν ἕκαστοι πατρίδας νομίζοντες, ἐν αἷς ἐγεννήθησαν καὶ ἐτράφησαν.

21, 22. De Pr. et Poen. 2. 411 ὄλκὸν γὰρ ἡ συνήθεια.—Quod Det. Pot. Insid. 1. 209, 7 ὄλκὸς γὰρ ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ [sc. τοῦ κόσμου].—Quis Rerum 1. 512, 11 ἐπιθυμία μὲν γὰρ ὄλκὸν ἔχουσα δύναμιν.— De Profugis 1. 568, 19 τίς οὖν ἡ βάσανος; καθεῖναί τι δέλεαρ ὄλκῷ κεχρημένον δυνάμει.—De Post. Caini τὰ ἡδονῆς ὄλκοῦ δελέαστρα.—De Pl. Noe 1. 336 ὄλκαῖς . . . δυνάμεσιν.

22. Quis Rerum 1. 482 διάνοια . . . ἀεὶ φάσκουσα, ὅτι μετῳκισάμην τοῦ σώματος, ἡνίκα τῆς σαρκὸς ἠλόγουν ἤδη, καὶ τῆς αἰσθήσεως.

23. De Ab. 2. 14 δευτέραν δὲ ἀποικίαν στέλλεται λογίῳ πάλιν πεισθεὶς ὁ ἀστεῖος, οὐκέτι ἐκ πόλεως εἰς πόλιν ἀλλ' εἰς χώραν ἐρήμην.

25. De Somn. 1. 698, 5 ὥσπερ οἱ κακοὶ δοῦλοι. Τὸ γὰρ τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐπιεικὲς εἰς ἀναρχίαν ἐκτρέποντες, ἐπιμορφάζουσι τὸ ἀδέσποτον.—De Ios. 2. 47 Εὖ μέντοι τὸ φάναι 'πιπράσκεσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον·' ὁ μὲν γὰρ δημοκόπος καὶ δημηγόρος ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, καθάπερ τὰ πιπρασκόμενα τῶν ἀνδραπόδων, δοῦλος ἀντ' ἐλευθέρου γίνεται, διὰ τῶν τιμῶν, ἃς δοκεῖ λαμβάνειν, ἀπαχθεὶς ὑπὸ μυρίων δεσποτῶν. Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ 'θηριάλωτος' εἰσάγεται· θηρίον δὲ ἀτίθασσον ἡ λοχῶσα κενοδοξία, συναρπάζουσα καὶ διαφθείρουσα τοὺς χρωμένους. Οἱ δ' ὠνησάμενοι καὶ πιπράσκουσιν· οὐ γὰρ εἷς δεσπότης ὅχλος τῶν πολιτευομένων, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἑτέρων ἕτεροι, κατά τινας ἐφεδρείας καὶ διαδοχάς. Οἱ δὲ τρίπρατοι κακῶν

892 P. ἐκπορίζοντες· πᾶσα γὰρ πόλις καὶ ἡ εὐνομωτάτη γέμει M. 474
θορύβων καὶ κηρῶν καὶ ταραχῶν ἀμυθήτων, ἃς οὐκ ἂν
ὑπομείναι τις ἅπαξ ὑπὸ σοφίας ἀχθείς. Ἀλλὰ τειχῶν

προσεκπορίζοντες Q 27, 28. καὶ κηρῶν καὶ ταραχῶν O Mang.: καὶ κηρῶν om. Turn. codd. omnes secutus nisi O || καὶ ταραχῶν Armeni interpretis uix defuit libro qui forte θορ. καὶ ταρ. καὶ κηρῶν ἀμυθ. habuit 28. ὑπομείνοι A 29. ἀχθείς om. Arm. || ἅπαξ dat

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θεραπόντων τρόπου ἀλλάττουσι τοὺς κυρίους, οὐχ ὑπομένοντες τοὺς προτέρους διὰ τὴν ἀψίκορον καὶ φιλόκαινον τῶν ἠθῶν ἀνωμαλίαν.—De Hum. 2. 395, 41 Οἱ δὲ μὴ γένει δοῦλοι χρηστῆς ἐλπίδος μὴ εἰς ἅπαν ἀμοιρείτωσαν, ἀλλ' ἰέτωσαν ἐπὶ τὴν παλαιὰν ἄδειαν, ἧς διὰ καιροὺς ἀβουλήτους ἐστέρηντο. Κἂν ἐκ τριγενείας μέν,' φησί, 'δοῦλος ἑτέρου φόβῳ δεσποτικῶν ἀπειλῶν ἢ συνειδήσει τινῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, ἢ μηδὲν ἠδικηκώς, ἀμειλίκτῳ καὶ ὠμοθύμῳ χρώμενος ἄλλως δεσπότῃ καταφυγῇ χρῆται ὡς τευξόμενος ἐπικουρίας, μὴ περιΐδης—ἐκδιδόναι γὰρ ἱκέτας οὐχ ὅσιον, ἱκέτης δὲ καὶ ὁ δοῦλος, ὥσπερ ὡς ἱερὸν τὴν σὴν ἑστίαν καταπεφευγώς, ἐν ᾗ δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἀσυλίας τυγχάνειν—μάλιστα μὲν εἰς ἀδόλους ἐλθὼν καταλλαγὰς τὰς χωρὶς ἐνέδρας, εἰ δὲ μή, τὸ γοῦν πανύστατον πραθείς· ἀλλαγαὶ γὰρ αἱ τῶν δεσποτῶν ἄδηλον ὅπου τὴν ῥοπὴν ἕξουσιν, τοῦ δὲ ὁμολογουμένου κουφότερον τὸ ἄδηλον κακόν.'

27. Quod Det. Pot. Insid. 1. 216, 49 ἔν τινι τῶν εὐνομωτάτων πόλεων.—Quod Deus Sit Im. 1. 289, 27 ὧν ἡ φύσις κατεδίκασε ψυχῆς τρόπων, οἵτινες ἀκολασίας καὶ δειλίας καὶ ἀδικίας καὶ ἀσεβείας καὶ ἄλλων ἀμυθήτων κηρῶν γέμουσιν.—De Agric. 1. 307, 23 ὡς μὴ τῆς φαυλοτάτης τῶν κακοπολιτειῶν ὀχλοκρατίας, ἣ παράκομμα τῆς ἀρίστης δημοκρατίας ἐστίν, ἀναπλησθέντες θορύβοις καὶ ταραχαῖς καὶ ἐμφυλίοις στάσεσιν ἀεὶ χρώμενοι διατελῶμεν.—Leg. Alleg. 1. 112, 2 τὰ ῥήματα ταραχῆς καὶ συγχύσεως γέμει.—Leg. Alleg. 1. 118, 34 τῶν κινουμένων καὶ ταραχῆς γεμόντων.—De Sp. Leg. 2. 339 τῶν πόλεων αἱ εὐνομώταται.—De Decal. 2. 180 πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀποροῦντας, διὰ τί οὐκ ἐν πόλεσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐρήμῳ βαθείᾳ τοὺς νόμους ἐτίθει, λεκτέον πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι αἱ πολλαὶ τῶν πόλεων ἀμυθήτων κακῶν εἰσὶ μεσταὶ καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἀνοσιουργημάτων.—De Decal. 2. 182 εἰκότως οὖν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ πόλεις βλαβερωτάτων συνηθειῶν εἰς ἔρημον ἀπαγαγών, ἵνα κενώσῃ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀδικημάτων, ἤρξατο προσφέρειν ταῖς διανοίαις τροφάς. Αὗται δὲ τίνες ἂν εἶεν ὅτι μὴ νόμοι καὶ λόγοι θεῖοι.—Quis Rerum 1. 514, 18 πηρώσεις παντελεῖς καὶ κηρῶν σωρὸς ἄλλων ἀμυθήτων.—De Prov. ex Eus. Praef. Ev. 2. 638 εἰ δὲ σώματος θνητοῦ μεταλαχόντες καὶ κηρῶν γέμοντες ἀνθρωπίνων καὶ μετὰ τοσούτου πλήθους ἀδίκων ζῶντες.

29. Quod Deus Sit Im. 1. 273 τὸ καινουργηθὲν ἱερεῖον, ἤτοι παρ' ὅσον ἐπ' οὐδενὸς θνητοῦ βαίνειν ἅπαξ ἐπιθειάσας ἠξίου, ἢ παρ' ὅσον.

29, 30. De Profugis 1. 546, 26 ἤδη δὲ καὶ πατέρας οἶδα διὰ τὸ ἀβροδίαιτον, αὐστηρὸν καὶ φιλόσοφον βίον παίδων ἐκτραπομένους καὶ δι' αἰδῶ τὸν ἀγρὸν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως οἰκεῖν ἑλομένους.—Quis Rerum 1. 482 Τίς οὖν γενήσεται κληρονόμος; Οὐχ ὁ μένων ἐν τῇ σώματος εἱρκτῇ λογισμὸς καθ' ἑκούσιον γνώμην, ἀλλ' ὁ λυθεὶς τῶν δεσμῶν καὶ ἐλευθερωθεὶς καὶ ἔξω τειχῶν προεληλυθὼς καὶ εἰ οἷόν τε τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν καταλελοιπώς.

892 P. ἔξω | ποιοῦνται τὰς διατριβὰς ἐν κήποις ἢ μοναγρίοις M. 474, 30
ἐρημίαν μεταδιώκοντες, οὐ διά τινα ὠμὴν ἐπιτεταδευ-

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post ἂς Arm.: post σοφίας Q 30. post μοναγρίοις dat comma Arm. 31. ἠρεμίαν Arm.: ἐρημίαν codd. Lat. et edd. 31, 32. οὐ διά τινα ὠμὴν ἐπι. μισ.] Arm. aequiparat: οὐ τὴν μόνωσιν ἐπιτεταδεύκασι διὰ

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30. De Sobr. 1. 402 ὅπως ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις τοῦ Σὴμ ποιῆται τὰς διατριβάς.

30–34. De Ab. 2. 4 ὁ δὲ ἀστεῖος ἔμπαλιν ἀπράγμονος ζηλωτὴς βίου γεγονὼς ὑποχωρεῖ καὶ μόνωσιν ἀγαπᾷ, λανθάνειν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀξιῶν, οὐ διὰ μισανθρωπίαν, φιλάνθρωπος γάρ, εἰ καί τις ἄλλος, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ προβεβλῆσθαι κακίαν, ἣν ὁ πολὺς ὄχλος ἀσπάζεται, χαίρων μὲν ἐφ' οἷς στένειν ἄξιον, λυπούμενος δὲ ἐφ' οἷς γεγηθέναι καλόν. Ὧν ἕνεκα συγκλεισάμενος οἴκοι τὰ πολλὰ καταμένει, μόλις τὰς κλισιάδας ὑπερβαίνων, ἢ διὰ τοὺς ἐπιφοιτῶντας συνεχέστερον ἔξω πόλεως προελθὼν ἐν μοναγρίῳ ποιεῖται τὰς διατριβάς, ἥδιον συμβιωταῖς χρώμενος τοῖς ἅπαντος τοῦ γένους ἀνθρώποις ἀρίστοις, ὧν τὰ μὲν σώματα διέλυσεν ὁ χρόνος. Τὰς δ' ἀρετὰς αἱ ἀπολειφθεῖσαι γραφαὶ ζωπυροῦσιν, διά τε ποιημάτων καὶ τῶν καταλογάδην συγγραμμάτων, οἷς ἡ ψυχὴ πέφυκε βελτιοῦσθαι.

31. ἐρημίαν] Leg. Alleg. 1. 71, 31 ὅταν τι βουλώμεθα ἀκριβὲς νοῆσαι, εἰς ἐρημίαν ἀποδιδράσκομεν, καταμύομεν τὰς ὄψεις, τὰ ὦτα ἐπιφράττομεν, ἀποταττόμεθα ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν.—Leg. Alleg. 1. 81, 42 ἀλλ' οὐ μόνον οἱ ἐν ἐρήμῳ δάκνονται ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἐσκορπισμένοι· καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ πολλάκις καταλιπὼν μὲν ἀνθρώπους κ.τ.λ. (uide sup. l. 15).—De Sac. Ab. et C. 1. 171, 23 τῶν γὰρ περὶ τὸν Ἰοθὸρ ἐπιστατεῖ καὶ ἀφηγεῖται δογμάτων, ἄγων αὐτὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀχλικῶν τῆς πολιτείας σπουδασμάτων εἰς ἐρημίαν τοῦ μὴ ἀδικεῖν. Ἦγε γὰρ τὰ πρόβατα ὑπὸ τὴν ἔρημον [Exod. 3. 1].—Quis Rerum 1. 491, 1 φιλέρημος μὲν γὰρ ἡ θεία σοφία διὰ τὸν μόνον θεόν, οὗ κτῆμά ἐστιν, τὴν μόνωσιν ἀγαπῶσα—συμβολικῶς αὕτη τρυγὼν καλεῖται.—Qu. in Gen. Sermo iv. § 31 'Cur Lot sedebat in foribus Sodomorum?' [19. 1] Interpretatur Sodoma caecitas uel sterilitas. 'In foribus' autem 'sedere,' id proficienti nimis est familiare ad symbolicam rationem dandam. 'Porta' (s. 'fores') nec intus in ciuitate est neque extra ciuitatem: sic et qui proficere [προκόπτειν] nititur, non intus in uirtute est neque extra uirtutem, sed modo est in numero eorum, qui intus in ciuitate occupati sunt in solitis tumultibus animae, quos operatur sterilitas siue infoecunditas et caecitas; modo uero *tamquam in deserto*, aemulans purum zelum negotiis carentem et *contemplationem* ueritatis uitae. —De Prov. 2. 645 ἔξω γὰρ ἄστεος ἐν ἀγρῷ καὶ ἐρημίαις.—De Profugis 1. 565, 22 ἀπῄρκασι γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν [Gen. 27. 17], τὰς μὲν ἡμετέρων σπουδὰς ἐκλιπόντες, μετοικισάμενοι δὲ εἰς τὸν ἔρημον κακῶν, εὐσεβῶν χῶρον.—De Somn. 1. 631, 34 ὁ θεῖος λόγος . . . ἐρήμῃ ψυχῇ συνοδοιπορεῖν μέλλων.—De Ebr. 1. 382, 6 διὰ γοῦν τὴν πολλὴν ἐρημίαν ἑαυτῆς [ψυχῆς] ἀφρούρητος καὶ ἀφύλακτος.—In Fl. 2. 541 ἔξω τείχους προῆει καὶ διημέρευεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρημίας.—De Ab. 2. 14 δευτέραν δὲ ἀποικίαν στέλλεται λογίῳ πάλιν πεισθεὶς ὁ ἀστεῖος, οὐκέτι ἐκ πόλεως εἰς πόλιν, ἀλλ' εἰς χώραν ἐρήμην.—V. M. 2. 94 Δεῖν . . . ἐν ἐρήμῳ τὰς πατρίους θυσίας ἐπιτελεσθῆναι . . . τρόπῳ καὶ νόμῳ διαφεύγοντι τὴν κοινότητα.

892 P. μένην μισανθρωπίαν, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἀνομοίων τὸ M. 474

μισανθρωπίαν 32. διὰ ante τὰς add. AOP Lat. Turn.: om. cett. codd. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. 11. 17 Arm.: in textu retinet sed in annotat.

—V. M. 2. 167 πυλῶν γὰρ ἔξω προελθόντες τινὲς εἰς ἐρημίαν ἵνα ἐν τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ καὶ ἡσυχάζοντι εὔξωνται.

ἠρεμίαν] De Somn. 1. 692, 4 ἡ δὲ θεοῦ πόλις . . . Ἱερουσαλὴμ καλεῖται, ἧς μεταληφθὲν τοὔνομα, ὅρασις ἐστιν εἰρήνης. ὥστε μὴ ζήτει τὴν τοῦ ὄντος πόλιν ἐν κλίμασι γῆς, οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ξύλων ἢ λίθων δεδημιούργηται, ἀλλ' ἐν ψυχῇ ἀπολέμῳ καὶ ὀξυδορκούσῃ προτεθειμένῃ τὸν θεωρητικὸν καὶ εἰρηναῖον βίον . . . θεὸς μόνος ἡ ἀψευδεστάτη καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειάν ἐστιν εἰρήνη . . . Μηδὲν οὖν διαφερέτω σοι ἡ ὅρασιν εἰρήνης ἢ ὅρασιν θεοῦ τὸ αὐτὸ ὑποκείμενον ὀνομάζειν, ὅτι καὶ τῶν πολυωνύμων τοῦ ὄντος δυνάμεων οὐ θιασώτης μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔξαρχός ἐστιν εἰρήνη.—De Somn. 1. 688, 48 ἠρεμήσας ὁ νοῦς, ἡλίκον ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸν ἠρεμία, σαφῶς ἔγνω καὶ θαυμάσας αὐτῆς τὸ κάλλος ὑπέλαβεν, ὅτι ἡ θεῷ μόνῳ προσκεκλήρωται, ἢ τῇ μεταξὺ φύσει θνητοῦ καὶ ἀθανάτου γένους. —De Somn. 1. 678, 20 βαθείας δὲ εἰρήνης ἀναπλησθέντας τῆς ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, ἣ πρὸς ἀλήθειάν ἐστιν εἰρήνη, τῆς κατὰ τὰς πόλεις ἀρχέτυπον.—De Profugis 1. 572, 18 ἡ ἐν θεῷ ἀνάπαυσις, τὸ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν περιποιοῦσα τὴν ἀπόλεμον εἰρήνην· ἡ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ πόλεις ἀνακέκραται ἐμφυλίῳ πολέμῳ, ἡ δὲ ψυχῆς ἀμιγὴς διαφορᾶς ἁπάσης ἐστίν.—De Post. Caini 1. 231, 33 τὸ ὂν . . . τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως, ἠρεμίας, τῷ σπουδαίῳ μεταδίδωσι . . . ὅτι θεοῦ μὲν ἴδιον ἠρεμία καὶ στάσις.—De Ebr. 1. 372, 36 σοφὸς μέτοικος καὶ μετανάστης ἐστὶν ἀπὸ πολέμου πρὸς εἰρήνην, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ θνητοῦ καὶ πεφυρμένου στρατοπέδου πρὸς τὸν ἀπόλεμον καὶ εἰρηναῖον λογικῶν καὶ εὐδαιμόνων ψυχῶν βίον θεῖον.—De Confus. 1. 424, 37 ὅταν γὰρ ὁ νοῦς ἐπιστρέψῃ, τὸ ἀποκλῖνον καὶ ἀποστρεφόμενον αὐτοῦ πάλιν λύεται. Τούτου δὲ καιρός ἐστι τῆς καθαιρέσεως — τὸ παραδοξότατον, ᾗ φησιν — οὐ πόλεμος, ἀλλ' εἰρήνη· διανοίας γὰρ εὐσταθίᾳ καὶ ἠρεμίᾳ, ἣν εὐσέβεια γεννᾶν πέφυκεν, ἀνατρέπεται πᾶς λόγος, ὃν ἐδημιούργησεν ἀσέβεια.—Qu. in Gen. 4. § 47 Sapiens enim *pacis* est amans et nescius dimicationis atque feriatus, ut totus diuinis uacet contemplationibus. Improbus autem amat *ciuitatem et ciuilem turbam ac conturbationem* concursumque hominum et rerum; namque amor negotiorum, auaritia, hominibus complacentia atque studium dignitatis possidendae pretiosa illi sunt, et cessare ab iis uile putatum. Proficiens [ὁ προκόπτων] uero inter utrumque, se mouens ad *securam tranquillitatem* nec tamen ualens omnino declinare politicen, neque ut olim admirans ciuitatem tamquam magnum aliquod bonum, sed tantum restringens diminuensque participationem, uelut exiguam ac paruam recipit phantasiam, illam quae olim permagna putabatur.

μεταδιώκοντες] Leg. Alleg. 1. 87, 19 ἀγροικίαν καὶ ἀπαιδευσίαν . . . μεταδιώκουσα.—cp. De Cherub. 1. 140, 10; De Profugis 1. 565, 7.

31–34. De Profugis 1. 551, 1 μέμψαιτο δὲ ἂν οὖν δεύντως ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῖς ἀνεξετάστως ἀπολείπουσι τὰς ἐν τῷ πολιτικῷ βίῳ πραγματείας καὶ πορισμούς, καὶ δύξης καὶ ἡδονῆς καταπεφρονηκέναι λέγουσιν· ἀλαζονεύονται γάρ, οὐ καταφρονοῦσι, τὸ ῥυπᾶν καὶ σκυθρωπάζειν αὐστηρῶς τε καὶ αὐχμηρῶς ἀποζῆν δελέατα

892 P. ἦθος ἐπιμιξίας ἀλυσιτελεῖς καὶ βλαβερὰς εἰδότες. | M. 474

delet Mang. 33. ἐκ del. uult Mang. sed Arm. Euseb. ibid. et

προτίθεντες, ὡς δὴ κοσμιότητος καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ καρτερίας ἐρασταί. Τοὺς δὲ ἀκριβεστέρους ἀπατᾶν οὐ δύνανται, διακύπτοντας εἴσω καὶ μὴ τῷ ἐμφανεῖ παραγομένους· ταῦτα γὰρ προκαλύμματα ὄντα ἑτέρων ἀναστείλαντες τὰ ἐναποκείμενα ἔνδον, ὁποῖα ἄττα τὴν φύσιν ἐστίν, ἐθεάσαντο, καὶ εἰ μὲν εἴη καλά, ἐθαύμασαν, εἰ δὲ αἰσχρά, ἐχλεύασαν, καὶ τῆς ὑποκρίσεως ἐμίσησαν. Λέγωμεν οὖν τοῖς τοιούτοις· Τὸν ἄμικτον καὶ ἀκοινώνητον μονότροπόν τε καὶ μονωτικὸν βίον ζηλοῦτε; τί γὰρ τῶν ἐν κοινωνίᾳ καλῶν προεπεδείξασθε; Ἀργυρισμὸν ἀποστρέφεσθε; γενόμενοι γὰρ χρηματισταὶ δικαιοπραγεῖν ἠθελήσατε; Τῶν γαστρὸς καὶ μετὰ γαστέρα ἡδονῶν ἐπιμορφάζοντες ἀλογεῖν; ἡνίκα τὰς εἰς ταῦτα ἀφθόνους ὕλας εἴχετε, ἐμετριάσατε; Δύξης καταφρονεῖτε; γενόμενοι γὰρ ἐν τιμαῖς ἀτυφίαν ἠσκήσατε; Πολιτείαν ἐγελάσατε ὑμεῖς; ἴσως, ὡς χρήσιμόν ἐστι τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐ κατανοήσαντες; Πρότερον οὖν ἐγυμνάσασθε καὶ προεμελετήσατε τοῖς τοῦ βίου πράγμασιν ἰδίοις τε καὶ κοινοῖς, καὶ γενόμενοι πολιτικοί τε καὶ οἰκονομικοὶ δι' ἀδελφῶν ἀρετῶν οἰκονομικῆς τε καὶ πολιτικῆς κατὰ πολλὴν περιουσίαν, τὴν εἰς ἕτερον καὶ ἀμείνω βίου ἀποικίαν ἐστείλασθε; Τὸν γὰρ πρακτικὸν τοῦ θεωρητικοῦ βίον, προάγωνά τινα ἀγῶνος τελειοτέρου, καλὸν πρότερον διαθλῆσαι. Οὕτως ἐστὶν ὅκνου καὶ ἀργίας κατηγορίαν ἀποδράσασθαι. Οὕτω καὶ τοῖς Λευίταις τὰ μὲν ἔργα ἐπιτελεῖν ἄχρι πεντηκονταετίας διείρηται, ἀπαλλαγεῖσι δὲ τῆς πρακτικῆς ὑπηρεσίας σκοπεῖν ἕκαστα καὶ θεωρεῖν, τῆς ἐν τῷ πρακτικῷ βίῳ κατορθώσεως γέρας λαβόντας ἕτερον βίον, ὃς ἐπιστήμῃ καὶ θεωρίᾳ μόνῃ χαίρει. Καὶ ἄλλως ἀναγκαῖον, τοὺς τῶν θείων ἀξιοῦντας μεταποιεῖσθαι δικαίων τὰ ἀνθρώπεια πρότερον ἐκπληρῶσαι . . . Γνωρίσθητε οὖν πρότερον τῇ κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἀρετῇ, ἵνα καὶ τῇ πρὸς θεὸν συσταθῆτε. Τοιαῦτα ὑφηγεῖται τῷ ἀσκητικῷ ἡ ὑπομονή.—De Ab. 2. 14 οἱ γὰρ ζητοῦντες καὶ ἐπιποθοῦντες θεὸν ἀνευρεῖν, τὴν φίλην αὐτῷ μόνωσιν ἀγαπῶσι, κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο σπεύδοντες πρῶτον ἐξομοιοῦσθαι τῇ μακαρίᾳ καὶ εὐδαίμονι φύσει.

32. De Sp. Leg. 2. 322 πρὸς ἅπαντας ἠγριωμένος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐμφύτου, τάχα δὲ καὶ ἐπιτετηδευμένης μισανθρωπίας.—In Fl. 2. 521 ἐκ μαθήσεως τὸ πλέον ἢ φύσεως ἐπιτετηδευμένην ἀπόνοιαν.—De Sp. Leg. 2. 273 οἱ τὴν φύσιν ἄμικτοι καὶ ἀκοινώνητοι δι' ὑπερβολὴν μισανθρωπίας γεγονότες.

33. De Decal. 2. 201 κἂν πολυάνθρωποι μὲν τύχωσιν αἱ συγγένειαι διὰ τὰς ἐπιγαμίας καὶ τὰς ἄλλων πρὸς ἄλλους ἐπιμιξίας ἅψεται καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἁπάσης ἐν κύκλῳ βάδιζον τὸ ἀδίκημα.—De Iustit. 2. 366 Σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ σύμπαν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ὀρφανοῦ λόγον ἔχει, συγκρινόμενον τοῖς ἁπανταχῇ πᾶσι. Τὰ μὲν γάρ, ὁπότε μὴ θεήλατοι κατασκήπτοιεν συμφοραί, διὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐπιμιξίας οὐκ ἀπορεῖ βοηθῶν κοινοπραγοῦντα· τῷ δὲ ἥκιστά τις συναγωνίζεται νόμοις ἐξαιρέτοις χρωμένῳ. . . . Ἀλλ' ὅμως τῆς ὀρφανίας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐρημίας ἔλεον καὶ οἶκτόν φησι Μωσῆς ἀεὶ λαμβάνειν τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν ὅλων ᾧ προσκεκλήρωται, διότι τοῦ σύμπαντος ἀνθρώπων γένους ἀπενεμήθη οἷά τις ἀπαρχὴ τῷ ποιητῇ καὶ πατρί.

ἀλυσιτελεῖς] De Agric. 1. 307, 32 ἀλυσιτελεῖς δὲ οὐχ αὗται μόνον δεσποτεῖαι. —De Pr. et Poen. 2. 411 ὅτι γὰρ ἄτακτον, ἄκοσμον, πλημμελές, ὑπαίτιον τοῦτο ὄχλος ἔστι, μεθ' οὗ φέρεσθαι τῷ νῦν πρῶτον μετοικισαμένῳ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἀλυσιτελέστατον.

892 P. Πολλαχοῦ μὲν οὖν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐστὶ τὸ γένος· M. 474, 35

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codd. omnes prae se ferunt 35–45. πολλαχοῦ—εὐκρασίας excerpsit Eusebius Hist. Eccles. ii. 17 || ante τὸ add. τοῦτο

Q. O. P. L. 2. 457 οὗτοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κωμηδὸν οἰκοῦσι, τὰς πόλεις ἐκτρεπόμενοι διὰ τὰς τῶν πολιτευομένων χειροήθεις ἀνομίας, εἰδότες ἐκ τῶν συνόντων ὡς ἀπ' ἀέρος φθοροποιοῦ νόσον, ἐγγινομένην προσβολὴν ψυχαῖς ἀνίατον.

34. Leg. Alleg. 1. 45 καὶ ἄρκτος ἑπτὰ ἄστροις συμπληροῦται κοινωνίας καὶ ἑνώσεως ἀνθρώπων, οὐκ ἐπιμιξίας αὐτὸ μόνον, οὖσα αἰτία.

35. De Agric. 1. 300, 12 πολλαχοῦ μὲν οὖν τῆς νομοθεσίας τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ἐπαληθεύουσαν εὑρήσομεν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ προτεθέντι κεφαλαίῳ.—De Pl. Noe 1. 347 τὸν τέσσαρα ἀριθμὸν πολλαχοῦ μὲν τῆς νομοθεσίας, μάλιστα δὲ ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ.

De Agric. 1. 322, 3 τὴν οἰκουμένην σχεδὸν ἅπασαν.—De Sp. Leg. 2. 300 πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης μέγα πνεῖ ἡδονή.

τὸ γένος] De Sac. Ab. et C. 1. 164 ὁ δὲ αὐτομαθοῦς ἐπιστήμης ἀξιωθεὶς Ἰσαὰκ ἐκλείπει μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς ὅσον σωματοειδὲς αὐτοῦ τῇ ψυχῇ συνύφανται, προστίθεται δὲ καὶ προσκληροῦται, οὐκέθ' ὡς οἱ πρότεροι, λαῷ, γένει δὲ καθάπερ φησὶν Μωϋσῆς [Gen. 35. 29]· γένος μὲν γὰρ ἓν τὸ ἀνωτάτω, λαὸς δὲ ὄνομα πλειόνων. Ὅσοι μὲν οὖν μαθήσει καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ προκύψαντες ἐτελειώθησαν προσκληροῦνται πλείοσιν . . . οἱ δὲ ἀνθρώπων μὲν ὑφηγήσεις ἀπολελοιπότες, μαθηταὶ δὲ θεοῦ εὐφυεῖς γεγονότες, τὴν ἄπονον ἐπιστήμην ἀνειληφότες, εἰς τὸ ἄφθαρτον καὶ τελειώτατον γένος μετανίστανται.—De Essaeis 2. 632 ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἡ προαίρεσις οὐ γένει—γένος γὰρ ἐφ' ἑκουσίοις οὐ γράφεται—διὰ δὲ ζῆλον ἀρετῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας ἵμερον.

35 seq. De Sept. 2. 279 ὅσοι γὰρ ἢ παρ' Ἕλλησιν ἢ παρὰ βαρβάροις ἀσκηταὶ σοφίας, ἀνεπιλήπτως καὶ ἀνυπαιτίως ζῶντες, μήτ' ἀδικεῖν μήτ' ἀντιδικεῖν αἱρούμενοι, τὰς τῶν φιλοπραγμόνων ὁμιλίας ἐκτρεπόμενοι καὶ τὰ χωρία ἐν οἷς ποιοῦνται τὰς διατριβὰς προβέβληνται, δικαστήρια καὶ βουλευτήρια καὶ ἀγορὰς καὶ ἐκκλησίας, καὶ συνόλως ὅπου τις τῶν εἰκαιοτέρων ἀνθρώπων θίασος ἢ σύλλογος, οἷα βίον ἀπόλεμον καὶ εἰρηναῖον ἐζηλωκότες, θεωροὶ τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πάντων ἄριστοι . . . οἷα χρηστοὶ τῷ ὄντι κοσμοπολῖται γενόμενοι, οἳ τὸν μὲν κόσμον ἐνόμισαν εἶναι πόλιν, πολίτας δὲ τοὺς τῆς σοφίας ὁμιλητάς, ἀρετῆς ἐγγραφούσης, ἣ πεπίστευται τὸ κοινὸν πολίτευμα πρυτανεύειν. Γέμοντες οὖν καλοκἀγαθίας καὶ τῶν περὶ σῶμα καὶ ἐκτὸς ἀλογεῖν ἐθιζόμενοι . . . εἰκότως ἐνευφραινόμενοι ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ἅπαντά γε τὸν βίον ἑορτὴν ἄγουσιν. Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ὀλίγος εἰσὶν ἀριθμός, ἐμπύρευμα κατὰ πόλεις ὑποτυφόμενοι σοφίας, ἕνεκα τοῦ μὴ κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς σβεσθεῖσαν ἀρετὴν ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ἀφανισθῆναι.

De Mutat. Nom. 1. 583, 21 οὗτος δὲ πᾶς ὁ θίασος [sc. ἀγαθῶν καὶ σοφῶν] τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀφθόνου κτῆσιν ἑαυτὸν ἐκὼν ἀφῄρηται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν σαρκὶ φίλων ὀλιγώρηκεν . . . σπάνιον δὲ καὶ τὸ γένος καὶ μόλις εὑρισκόμενον, πλὴν οὐκ ἀδύνατον γενέσθαι. Δηλοῖ δὲ τὸ χρησθὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἐνὼχ λόγιον τόδε. Εὐηρέστησε δὲ Ἐνὼχ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ οὐχ εὑρίσκετο. [Gen. 5. 24]. Ποῦ γὰρ σκεψάμενός τις εὕρῃ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τοῦτο; ποῖα πελάγη διαβαλών; τίνας νήσους, τίνας ἠπείρους

892 P. ἔδει γὰρ ἀγαθοῦ τελείου μετασχεῖν καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα M. 474
καὶ τὴν Βάρβαρον· πλεονάζει δὲ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καθ'

Lat. et Mang. secutus B: om. τοῦτο codd. Arm. Turn. 36. ἔδει] εἰ ἐπειδὴ γὰρ (corr. ἔδει man. rec.) Q || τελείου ἀγαθοῦ Lat. Arm. || καὶ τὴν ante Ἑλλάδα om. Arm. Turn.: add. cett. omn. || 38. καθεκάστην Q ||

ἐλθών, παρὰ βαρβάροις ἢ παρ' Ἕλλησιν; Ἢ οὐχὶ καὶ μέχρι νῦν τῶν φιλοσοφίᾳ τετελεσμένων εἰσί τινες, οἳ λέγουσιν ἀνύπαρκτον εἶναι σοφίαν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸν σοφόν; μηδένα γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀνθρώπων γενέσεως ἄχρι τοῦ παρόντος βίου κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς ἀνυπαίτιον νομισθῆναι, καὶ γὰρ ἀδύνατον εἶναι θνητῷ σώματι ἐνδεδεμένον εἰς ἅπαν εὐδαιμονῆσαι. Ταῦτα δέ, εἰ μὲν ὀρθῶς λέγεται, σκεψόμεθα ἐν καιρῷ. Νυνὶ δὲ ἀκολουθήσαντες τῷ λογίῳ φήσομεν, ὅτι ἔστι μὲν ὑπαρκτὸν πρᾶγμα σοφία, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὁ ἐραστὴς αὐτῆς σοφός· ὑπάρχων δὲ ὅμως ἡμᾶς τοὺς φαύλους διαλέληθεν, ἀγαθὸν γὰρ οὐ θέλει κακῷ συνέρχεσθαι. Διὰ τοῦτο λέγεται· Οὐχ εὑρίσκετο ὁ εὐαρεστήσας τρόπος τῷ θεῷ, ὡς ἂν δήπου ὑπαρκτὸς μὲν ὤν, ἀποκρυπτόμενος δὲ καὶ τὴν εἰς ταὐτὸ σύνοδον ἡμῶν ἀποδιδράσκων, ἐπειδὴ καὶ μετατεθῆναι λέγεται, τὸ δέ ἐστι μεταστῆναι καὶ μετοικίαν στείλασθαι τὴν ἀπὸ θνητοῦ βίου πρὸς τὸν ἀθάνατον.—Q. O. P. L. 2. 456 οὐκ ἐρυθριῶμεν ἔνδειαν σοφίας ἀνθρώπων γένει καταγγέλλοντες, ἣν δυνατὸν ἦν ἐκφυσήσαντας καθάπερ ἐν ὕλῃ σπινθῆρα τυφόμενον, ζωπυρῆσαι. . . . Διὰ τοῦτο πλουσίων μὲν καὶ ἐνδόξων καὶ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς χρωμένων μεστὴ γῆ καὶ θάλαττα, φρονίμων δὲ καὶ δικαίων καὶ ἀστείων ὀλίγος ἀριθμός. Τὸ δὲ ὀλίγον, εἰ καὶ σπάνιον, οὐκ ἀνύπαρκτον. Μάρτυς δὲ ἡ Ἑλλὰς καὶ ἡ βάρβαρος. Ἐν τῇ μὲν γὰρ οἱ ἑπτὰ σοφοὶ προσονομασθέντες ἑπτὰ σοφοὶ ἤνθησαν . . . κατὰ δὲ τὴν βάρβαρον . . . ἐν Πέρσαις μὲν τὸ Μάγων . . . ἐν Ἰνδοῖς δὲ τὸ Γυμνοσοφιστῶν.

37. V. M. 2. 137 ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο θαυμασιώτερον, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸ μὴ μόνον Ἰουδαίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους σχεδὸν ἅπαντας, καὶ μάλιστα οἷς ἀρετῆς πλείων λόγος, πρὸς τὴν ἀποδοχὴν αὐτῶν [scilicet legum Iudaicarum] καὶ τιμὴν ὠσιῶσθαι. Γέρας γὰρ τοῦτ' ἔλαχον ἐξαίρετον, ὃ μηδενὶ πρόσεστιν ἑτέρῳ. Σημεῖον δέ, τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν βάρβαρον, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, οὐδεμία πόλις ἐστίν, ἣ τὰ ἑτέρας νόμιμα τιμᾷ, . . . Ἀλλ' οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει τὰ ἡμέτερα [i. e. Iudaica]· πάντας γὰρ ἐπάγεται καὶ συνεπιστρέφει, βαρβάρους, Ἕλληνας, ἠπειρώτας, νησιώτας, ἔθνη τὰ ἑῷα, τὰ ἑσπέρια, Εὐρώπην, Ἀσίαν, ἅπασαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἀπὸ περάτων ἐπὶ πέρατα. Τίς γὰρ τὴν ἱερὰν ἐκείνην ἑβδόμην οὐκ ἐκτετίμηκεν κ.τ.λ. —V. M. 2. 139 δεινὸν ἡγησάμενοί τινες, εἰ οἱ νόμοι παρὰ τῷ ἡμίσει τμήματι τοῦ ἀνθρώπων γένους ἐξετασθήσονται μόνῳ τῷ βαρβαρικῷ, τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν εἰς ἅπαν ἀμοιρήσει, πρὸς ἑρμηνείαν τὴν τούτων ἐτράποντο [sc. lxx uiri] . . . διὸ καὶ μέχρι νῦν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἑορτὴ καὶ πανήγυρις ἄγεται κατὰ τὴν Φάρον νῆσον, εἰς ἣν οὐκ Ἰουδαῖοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παμπληθεῖς ἕτεροι διαπλέουσι. — De Ios. 2. 46 παρὰ μὲν Ἑβραίοις . . . παρὰ δὲ Ἕλλησι . . . τὸ ἄμικτον καὶ ἀκοινώνητον οὐ μόνον Ἑλλήνων πρὸς βαρβάρους ἢ βαρβάρων πρὸς Ἕλληνας.

38. V. M. 2. 114 τοῦ γὰρ πλεονάζοντος [sc. τῆς κέγχρου] ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἡμέραις.

892 P. ἕκαστον τῶν ἐπικαλουμένων νομῶν, καὶ μάλιστα περὶ M. 474
τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. Οἱ δὲ πανταχόθεν | ἄριστοι, καθ- 40
άπερ εἰς πατρίδα θεραπευτῶν, ἀποικίαν στέλλονται
πρός τι χωρίον ἐπιτηδειότατον, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ λίμνης
Μαρέας κείμενον ἐπὶ γεωλόφου χθαμαλωτέρου, σφόδρα

νόμων pr. A Arm. Lat.: *νομῶν* cett. codd. et edd. nisi in I *νομῶν* sed subt. *νς* et in marg. scr. *μοναχῶν* 40. *πατρίδα, θεραπευτῶν* A Turn.: *πατρίδα θεραπευτῶν*, PQ Arm. Euseb. Mang. 41. *στέλλονται ἀποικίαν* P 42. *ἐπιτηδειότατον χωρίον* Arm. et forte Lat. || *ὑπὲρ*] *ἐπὶ* P || *Μαρέας* A Arm.: *Μαρείας* βOP: *Μαρίας* γQ edd. 43. post *Μαρέας*

De Ios. 2. 63 *ἐξῄει γνωρισθησόμενος ἅπασι τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις καὶ τοὺς* **λεγομένους νομοὺς** *ἐπιὼν κατὰ πόλεις πολὺν αὐτοῦ πόθον ἐνειργάζετο τοῖς ὁρῶσιν.*

40. De Cherub. 1. 139, 4 *τῷ γὰρ μήπω κραταιῶς ὑπὸ κακίας καταληφθέντι δέδοται μετανοήσαντι* **καθάπερ εἰς πατρίδα** *τὴν ἀρετήν, ἀφ' ἧς ἐξέπεσεν, κατελθεῖν.*—De Somn. 1. 628, 32 *μετανάσται τινὲς ἐγένοντο τὴν μὲν* **πατρῴαν** *γῆν* **καταλιπόντες,** *τὴν δὲ ξένην* **ὡς πατρίδα** *οἰκήσαντες.*—De Profugis 1. 551, 27 *τὴν εἰς ἕτερον καὶ ἀμείνω βίου* **ἀποικίαν ἐστείλασθε.**—De Confus. 1. 416, 31 *οἱ κατὰ Μωϋσῆν σοφοὶ πάντες εἰσάγονται παροικοῦντες, αἱ γὰρ τούτων ψυχαὶ* **στέλλονται μὲν ἀποικίαν** *δήποτε τὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ· εἰώθασι δὲ ἕνεκα τοῦ φιλοθεάμονος καὶ φιλομαθοῦς εἰς τὴν περίγειον φύσιν* **ἀποδημεῖν . . . τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀποικίαν στειλαμένοις** *ἀντὶ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἡ ὑποδεξαμένη δήπου* **πατρίς,** *ἡ δ' ἐκπέμψασα μένει τοῖς ἀποδεδημηκόσιν, εἰς ἣν καὶ ποθοῦσιν ἐπανέρχεσθαι.*

41. De Pr. et Poen. 2. 410 *τὰ δὲ ἆθλα ἀποικία καὶ μόνωσις* [sc. *αὐτομολήσαντος πρὸς ψυχήν*].—De Ab. 2. 11 *ἅμα τῷ κελευσθῆναι μετανίστατο καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ πρὸ τοῦ σώματος τὴν* **ἀποικίαν ἐστέλλετο.**—De Sp. Leg. 2. 275 *χῆραι . . . ὅτε τὴν πρὸς γάμον* **ἀποικίαν ἐστέλλοντο.**—De Sept. 2. 292 *τῆς μεγίστης* **ἀποικίας . . . ἣν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἐστείλαντο.**—De Nobilit. 2. 443 *καλὴν* **ἀποικίαν στειλαμένοις** *πρὸς ἔμψυχον τῷ ὄντι καὶ ζῶσαν πολιτείαν.*—De Congr. 1. 531 **ἀποικίαν στέλλεται** *τὴν πρὸς κακίαν.*—De Iustit. 2. 365 *οὐ σατράπαις καὶ τυράννοις καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης* **ἐναψαμένοις τὸ κράτος,** *ἀλλ' ἐπηλύτῳ καὶ ὀρφανῷ καὶ χήρᾳ. Τῷ μέν, ὅτι τοὺς* **συγγενεῖς,** *οὓς μόνους εἰκὸς ἔχειν, συναγωνιστὰς ἐχθροὺς ἀσυμβάτους εἰργάσατο ἑαυτῷ, μεταναστὰς εἰς ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἑνὸς τιμίου τιμὴν ἀπὸ* **μυθικῶν πλασμάτων** *καὶ πολυαρχίας, ἃ* **γονεῖς** *καὶ πάπποι καὶ πρόγονοι καὶ πάντες* **οἱ ἀφ' αἵματος τοῦ στειλαμένου** *τὴν καλὴν* **ἀποικίαν** *ταύτην ἐξετίμησαν.*

41 seq. Wendland N. E. Fr. p. 24 *προεξητακότας καιρῶν ἰδιότητας,* **χώρας ἐπιτηδειότητα, κατάστασιν** *ἀέρων, πνευμάτων διαφόρας.*—V. M. 2. 139 [de lxx uiris] *ἐσκόπουν τὸ καθαρώτατον τῶν περὶ τὸν τόπον* **χωρίων** *ἔξω πόλεως· τὰ γὰρ ἐντὸς τείχους, ἅτε παντοδαπῶν πληρωθέντα ζῴων, διὰ νόσους καὶ τελευτὰς καὶ τὰς ὑγιαινόντων οὐκ εὐαγεῖς πράξεις ἦν ὕποπτα . . . τοῦτον ἐξ ἁπάντων τῶν ἐν κύκλῳ κρίνοντες* **ἐπιτηδειότατον** *εἶναι τὸν τόπον ἐνησυχάσαι καὶ ἐνηρεμῆσαι, καὶ μόνῃ τῇ ψυχῇ πρὸς μόνους ὁμιλῆσαι τοὺς νόμους.*

42. *Μαρέας*] In Fl. 2. 523 *οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄδηλον, ὅτι ἡ περὶ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῶν*

892 P. εὐκαίρως ἀσφαλείας τε ἕνεκα καὶ ἀέρος | εὐκρασίας. M. 474
Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀσφάλειαν αἱ ἐν κύκλῳ παρέχουσιν ἐπαύ- 45
λεις τε καὶ κῶμαι· || τὴν δὲ περὶ τὸν ἀέρα εὐκρασίαν M. 475
αἱ ἔκ τε τῆς λίμνης ἀνεστομωμένης εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καὶ
τοῦ πελάγους ἐγγὺς ὄντος ἀναδιδόμεναι συνεχεῖς αὖραι·

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add. comma Arm. || χθαμαλώτερον M : χθαμαλωτέρου Arm. cett. 44. εὐκαίρου codd. edd.: εὐκαίρως Euseb. et Arm. || τε codd. Turn.: om. Mang. 46. παρέχουσιν] περιέχουσιν Q || τε καὶ κῶμαι om. Lat. 1. αἱ ante ἐκ om. βγPQ edd.: add. A Arm. || ἔκ τε codd. excepto A 2. ἀνεστομωμέναι Armenum legisse puto || τὴν om. G || καὶ αἱ τοῦ

προσευχῶν φήμη, λαβοῦσα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς **Ἀλεξανδρείας**, διαδοθήσεται μὲν εὐθὺς εἰς τοὺς ἐν **Αἰγύπτῳ νομούς**, δραμεῖται δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν **Αἰγύπτου** πρὸς ἀνατολὰς καὶ ἔθνη τὰ ἑῷα, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ὑποταινίου καὶ **Μαρείας**, αἳ Λιβύης εἰσὶν ἀρχαί, πρὸς δυσμὰς καὶ ἔθνη τὰ ἑσπέρια. Ἰουδαίους γὰρ χώρα μία διὰ **πολυανθρωπίαν** οὐ χωρεῖ. Ἧς αἰτίας ἕνεκα τὰς πλείστας καὶ εὐδαιμονεστάτας τῶν ἐν Εὐρώπῃ καὶ Ἀσίᾳ κατά τε νήσους καὶ ἠπείρους ἐκνέμονται, μητρόπολιν μὲν τὴν ἱερόπολιν ἡγούμενοι, καθ' ἣν ἵδρυται ὁ τοῦ ὑψίστου θεοῦ νεὼς ἅγιος· ἃς δὲ ἔλαχον ἐκ πατέρων καὶ πάππων καὶ προπάππων καὶ τῶν ἔτι ἄνω προγόνων οἰκεῖν ἕκαστοι **πατρίδας** νομίζοντες, **ἐν αἷς ἐγεννήθησαν καὶ ἐτράφησαν**· εἰς ἐνίας δὲ καὶ κτιζομένας **εὐθὺς ἦλθον ἀποικίαν στειλάμενοι**, τοῖς κτίσταις χαριζόμενοι.

43. Quod Det. Pot. Insid. 1. 191 τὰς πεζομαχίας καὶ ἱππομαχίας οὐκ ἐν **γεωλόφοις** ἔθος ἐστι ποιεῖσθαι· πλείους γὰρ ἐκ τῆς **ἀνεπιτηδειότητος τῶν χωρῶν** αἱ βλάβαι.

De Mon. 2. 224 ὁ **νεὼς . . . ἐν χθαμαλωτέρῳ κείμενος**.

44. De Ab. 2. 14 πυθόμενος οὖν Ἀβραὰμ ἄφθονον εὐθηνίαν ἐν **Αἰγύπτῳ** καὶ εὐετηρίαν, τοῦ μὲν ποταμοῦ ἐν καιρῷ λιμνάσαντος τὰ πεδία ταῖς πλημμύραις, τῶν δὲ τὸν σπόρον εὔσταχυν ἐνεγκόντων καὶ ἀναθρεψαμένων **εὐκρασίαις** πνευμάτων. —De Mon. 2. 217 πελαγῶν ἀναχύσεις καὶ **εὐκρασίαν ἀέρος** καὶ τῶν ἐτησίων ὡρῶν τροπάς.—De Sacrificant. 2. 260 **πελάγη** τε καὶ πηγὰς καὶ ποταμοὺς καὶ **ἀέρος εὐκρασίαν** ἀνέμων τε εἰς τὰς ἐτησίους ὥρας.

46. L. A. C. 2. 597 κελεύει τὰς **ἐπαύλεις** αὐτῷ πάσας περιανοιχθῆναι.—De Ab. 2. 21 **ἐπαύλεις** δὲ καὶ οἰκίαι καὶ τείχη καὶ ὅσα ἐν οἰκοδομαῖς ἰδιωτικὰ καὶ δημόσια πάντα συγκατεπίμπρατο.—De Sept. 2. 290 αἱ μὲν [sc. οἰκίαι] κατὰ πόλεις τειχῶν ἐντός εἰσιν, αἱ δὲ **ἐν ἀγρῷ ἔξω τείχους ἐπαύλεις**, . . . μοῖρα γὰρ **ἐπαύλεις** κτημάτων. . . . Αἱ γὰρ πόλεις, ὅτ' ἐκληροδοτεῖτο ἡ χώρα, κατὰ φυλὰς οὐ διενεμήθησαν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἦσαν συνῳκοδομημέναι, κατὰ τὰς ἐν ἀγροῖς **ἐπαύλεις** τῶν οἰκητόρων **ποιουμένων τὰς διατριβάς**.—V. M. 2. 133 παισὶ μὲν καὶ γυναιξὶν **οἰκίας**, **ἐπαύλεις** δὲ θρέμμασι κατασκευασάντων ἡμῶν, ἵνα μηδὲν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς δεινὸν πάθωσιν ἐν ἀτειχίστοις καὶ ἀφρουρήτοις προκαταληφθέντες.—In Fl. 2. 542 ἐκ τῆς **ἐπαύλεως** ἔξω προελθών.

893 P. λεπταὶ μὲν αἱ ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους, παχεῖαι δὲ αἱ ἀπὸ τῆς M. 475
λίμνης, | ὧν ἡ μίξις ὑγιεινοτάτην κατάστασιν ἀπερ-
γάζεται. Αἱ δὲ οἰκίαι τῶν συνεληλυθότων, σφόδρα
μὲν εὐτελεῖς εἰσι, πρὸς δύο τὰ ἀναγκαιότατα σκέπην
παρέχουσαι, πρός τε τὸν ἀφ' ἡλίου φλογμὸν καὶ τὸν
ἀπ' ἀέρος | κρυμόν. Οὔτε γὰρ ἐγγύς, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς
ἄστεσιν· ὀχληρὸν γὰρ καὶ δυσάρεστον τοῖς ἐρημίαν
μεταδιώκουσιν αἱ γειτνιάσεις· οὔτε πόρρω, δι' ἣν ἀσ-
πάζονται κοινωνίαν, καὶ ἵνα, εἰ λῃστῶν γένοιτο ἔφοδος,
ἀλλήλοις ἐπιβοηθῶσιν· ἐν ἑκάστῃ δὲ ἐστὶν οἴκημα
ἱερόν, | ὃ καλεῖται σεμνεῖον καὶ μοναστήριον, ἐν ᾧ
μονούμενοι τὰ τοῦ σεμνοῦ βίου μυστήρια τελοῦνται,

Armenus 4. om. τοῦ A || αἱ ante ἀπὸ om. Q || post λίμνης addunt uerba ἀνεστομωμένης εἰς τὴν θάλατταν γO edd.: om. AβPQ Arm. Lat. || clausulas transponere uidetur Lat.: παχεῖαι μὲν αἱ ἀ. τ. λ., λεπταὶ δὲ αἱ ἐκ πελ. 5. μίξης A || ὑγιεινοτάτην ex -άτης corr. man. rec. Q 8. πρὸς δύο usque ad παρέχουσαι om. Lat. 9. ἀπ' ἀέρος AEPQ: cett. codd. et edd. ἀπὸ ἀέρος 10. γὰρ β Arm.: cett. codd. et edd. δὲ || ἐν τοῖς Q Arm.: αἱ ἐν τοῖς cett. codd. et edd. 11. ἠρεμίαν Arm.: ἐρημίαν Lat. codd. et edd. || ante μεταδιώκουσιν add. ἐζηλωκόσι καὶ βγOQ Edd.: om. AP Arm. et ut uidetur Lat. 13. γίνοιτο D et alt. man. M 14–22. ἐν ἑκάστῃ . . . τελειοῦνται excerpsit Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* ii. 17 || ἐν ἑκάστῃ δὲ ἐστὶν οἴκημα ἱερὸν AO Arm.: ἑκάστῳ δέ ἐστιν οἴκημα ἱερόν βγPQ Lat. Turn.: ἐν ἑκάστῃ δὲ οἰκίᾳ ἐστὶν ἱερὸν

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3. De Congr. i. 535, 48 ἵνα τὰς ὑπὸ φρονήσεως καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς ἀναδιδομένας αὔρας ὁ μόνος ἐπικρίνῃ σοφός.—De Somn. i. 628, 10 τὴν ἀπὸ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς ἀναδιδομένην ἡδεῖαν αὔραν ὁ παιδείας ἐραστὴς ἰχνηλατεῖ.—De Somn. i. 642, 30 τὰς ἀναδιδομένας ἐκ γῆς ἀναθυμιάσεις λεπτυνομένας ἐξαιροῦσθαι συμβέβηκεν.—De Gig. i. 263, 33 τί δέ, ὑπότε ἀπήμων καὶ ἀβλαβὴς εἴη, ὑποῖον ἐν ταῖς βορείοις μάλιστα αὔραις εἴωθε γίνεσθαι, οὐ καθαρωτέρου σπῶντα τοῦ πνεύματος, πρὸς πλείονα καὶ κραταιοτέραν διαμονὴν ἐπιδίδωσιν. —De Prov. ex Eus. Praep. Ev. 2. 647 αἱ γῆς καὶ ὕδατος ἐπάλληλοι καὶ συνεχεῖς ἀναθυμιάσεις.

15. De Profugis i. 559, 42 τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποβαλούσης . . . τὸ ἄλογον . . . εἶθ' ἑξῆς τοῦ λογισμοῦ διοικίσαντος καὶ διαζεύξαντος τὸν ἐγγυτάτω δοκοῦντα εἶναι τὸν προφορικὸν λόγον—ἵν' ὁ κατὰ διάνοιαν ἀπολειφθῇ μόνος, ἔρημος σώματος,

893 P. μηδὲν εἰσκομίζοντες, μὴ ποτόν, μὴ σιτίον, μηδέν τι M. 475
τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα πρὸς τὰς τοῦ σώματος χρείας ἀναγκαῖα,
ἀλλὰ νόμους καὶ λόγια θεσπισθέντα διὰ προφητῶν, | 20
καὶ ὕμνους, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα οἷς ἐπιστήμη καὶ εὐσέβεια
συναύξονται καὶ τελειοῦνται. Ἀεὶ μὲν οὖν ἄληστον
ἔχουσι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ μνήμην, ὡς καὶ δι' ὀνειράτων

Mang. || forte ἱερὸν οἴκημα tr. Arm. Lat. 16. εἰσκομίζοντες post σιτίον forte Lat. 17. σῖτον β Mang.: σιτίον AγPQ Turn. || μηδέν τι Mang. codd. secutus: μηδέτι Eus. Turn.: Arm. legisse uidetur μηδ' ἕν τι 18. ἀναγκαῖον sic P 20. τἄλλα BDMQ 21. τελειοῦνται] τελειοῦται H (sed συναύξονται idem exhibet): τελοῦνται BDM || μὲν

ἔρημος αἰσθήσεως, ἔρημός τε λόγου προφορᾶς. Ἀπολειφθεὶς γάρ, τῇ κατὰ τὴν μόνωσιν διαίτῃ χρώμενος, τὸ μόνον ὂν καθαρῶς καὶ ἀμεθέλκτως ἀσπάσεται.

16. Leg. Alleg. 1. 93, 4 τῶν ἀπορρήτων μυστηρίων.—De Cherub. 1. 147, 34 ταῦτα, ὦ μύσται, κεκαθαρμένοι τὰ ὦτα, ὡς ἱερὰ ὄντως μυστήρια ψυχαῖς ταῖς ἑαυτῶν παραδέχεσθε καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν ἀμυήτων ἐκλαλήσατε . . . ἐγὼ παρὰ Μωϋσεῖ τῷ θεοφιλεῖ μυηθεὶς τὰ μέγαλα μυστήρια.—cp. de Cherub. 1. 146, 40—De Gig. 1. 270, 12 Μωϋσῆς ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς καὶ τοῦ σωματικοῦ παντὸς στρατοπέδου πήξας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκηνήν . . . προσκυνεῖν τὸν θεὸν ἄρχεται καὶ εἰς τὸν γνόφον τὸν ἀειδῆ χῶρον εἰσελθὼν αὐτοῦ καταμένει, τελούμενος τὰς ἱερωτάτας τελετάς. Γίνεται δὲ οὐ μόνον μύστης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱεροφάντης ὀργίων καὶ διδάσκαλος θείων, ἃ τοῖς ὦτα κεκαθαρμένοις ὑφηγήσεται.—V. M. 2. 157 τὰς ἁρμοττούσας θεραπευταῖς καὶ λειτουργοῖς θεοῦ τελετὰς ἔμελλον ἱεροφαντεῖσθαι.

17. μὴ ποτόν] uid. ad 476, 38.

19. De Sept. 2. 292 κατὰ τὰ χρησθέντα λόγια.—De Nobilit. 2. 442 λόγια τὰ χρησθέντα, οἷς ποδηγετούμενος ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ἑνὸς ἀοκνοτάτῃ σπουδῇ ζήτησιν ἥει.—De Sp. Leg. 2. 343 χρησθέντα θεῖα λόγια.—Quis Rerum 1. 473 θεσπισθέντος λογίου τοιούτου ὁ σοφὸς ἤκουσεν.—Quod Det. Pot. Insid. 1. 200, 45 τὸ χρησθὲν λόγιον.—Quis Rerum 1. 486, 47 διὰ τῶν θεσπισθέντων.—De Somn. 1. 655, 30 τὸ θεσπισθὲν λόγιον.—V. M. 2. 108 θεσπίζει προφητεύων.

21. De Prov. ex Eus. Praef. Ev. 2. 642 ζῷα καὶ φυτὰ τρέφει καὶ αὔξει καὶ τελειοῖ.—De Post. Caini 1. 250 ἀένναον καὶ συνεχῆ φορὰν ποτίμων λόγων καὶ δογμάτων, οἷς τὰς φιλοθέους τρέφει καὶ συναύξει ψυχάς.—Quod Deus Sit Im. 1. 285 μὴ ὑετῶν ὡς σπέρματα καὶ φυτὰ συναυξόντων.—Quod Deus Sit Im. ἄγιον . . . ὅπερ ἦν τὰς ἐν τῷ ἡγεμονικῷ τῶν ἀρετῆς δογμάτων κεφαλαιώδεις ἀνατολὰς συναύξοντα.

ἄληστον] De Somn. 1. 650, 15 τῶν θεσμωδουμένων εἰς ἄληστον μνήμην.—De Mutat. Nom. 1. 619, 36 ἀλήστου μνήμης ἐγχαράττων βεβαιότατον εἶδος.—De Pr. S. 2. 233 ἐθιζόμενοι γὰρ ἀεὶ καὶ τῆς ἀναγκαίας τροφῆς ἀπάρχεσθαι, τὴν θεοῦ μνήμην ἄληστον ἕξουσιν.—De Hum. 2. 403 ἄληστον θεοῦ μνήμην ἀγαλματοφορεῖ.

893 P. μηδὲν ἕτερον ἢ τὰ κάλλη τῶν θείων ἀρετῶν καὶ δυνά- M. 475
μεων φαντασιοῦσθαι· πολλοὶ οὖν καὶ ἐκλαλοῦσιν ἐν
ὕπνοις | ὀνειροπολούμενοι τὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς φιλοσοφίας 25

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om. E ‖ οὖν om. β et forte Lat. AβOPQ Arm. Mang.: om. γ Turn. οὖν AOPQGI edd.: γοῦν BM: γ' οὖν D: om. CKH 23. ἕτερα Q ‖ ἀρετῶν καὶ 24. πολλοὶ οὖν] πολλάκις I ‖ 25. ἱερᾶς]

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23. De Post. Caini 1. 242, 34 τὰ . . . τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς κάλλη θεοειδέστατα. —D. A. S. I. 2. 242 τῶν θείων δυνάμεων καὶ ἀρετῶν.—De Somn. 1. 645 καὶ ἐγχρίων, μήποτε ἀπείπῃς, ἕως ἐπὶ τὸ κεκρυμμένον ἱερῶν λόγων φέγγος ἡμᾶς μυσταγωγῶν ἐπιδείξῃς κατάκλειστα καὶ ἀτελέστοις ἀόρατα κάλλη.

24. De Somn. 1. 679 φαντασιοῦται δὲ ἑκάτερος τὰ οἰκεῖα.—De Pr. et Poen. 2. 414 φαντασιωθῆναι τὸν ποιητὴν καὶ ἡγεμόνα τοῦδε τοῦ παντός.—Leg. Alleg. 1. 55, 40 πολλάκις ἐν βεβήλοις ὄντες χωρίοις τινες κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ἐν ἱερωτάτοις φαντασιούμενοι τὰ ἀρετῆς.—Leg. Alleg. 1. 99, 21 ἐφαντασιώθη καὶ ἐτυπώθη.—Quod Det. Pot. Insid. 1. 221, 34 φαντασιώσῃ τὸν ἀγέννητον.—cp. Quis Rerum 1. 482, 51 et 1. 488, 25; De Somn. 1. 643, 27. —De Somn. 1. 679, 29 μᾷ νυκτὶ φαντασιούμενοι τοὺς ὀνείρους.—De Pr. et Poen. 2. 421 τοῦτο τὸ γένος [sc. σοφὸν] οὐ μακρὰν ἀπῴκισται θεοῦ, φαντασιούμενον ἀεὶ τὰ αἰθέρια κάλλη καὶ ποδηγετούμενον ὑπ' ἔρωτος οὐρανίου.—De Somn. 1. 644 τῷ φαντασιουμένῳ τὸ ὄναρ.—De Sac. Ab. et C. 1. 173, 15 ὁ θεὸς δορυφορούμενος ὑπὸ δυεῖν τῶν ἀνωτάτω δυνάμεων, ἀρχῆς τε αὖ καὶ ἀγαθότητος, εἷς ὢν ὁ μέσος, τριττὰς φαντασίας ἐνειργάζετο τῇ ὁρατικῇ ψυχῇ, ὧν ἑκάστη μεμέτρηται μὲν οὐδαμῶς· ἀπερίγραφος γὰρ ὁ θεός, ἀπερίγραφοι καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ· μεμέτρηκεν δὲ τὰ ὗλα.

ἐκλαλοῦσιν] De Sac. Ab. et C. 1. 173, 32 τῶν τελείων μύστις γενομένη τελετῶν μηδενὶ προχείρως ἐκλαλῇ τὰ θεῖα μυστήρια.

25. De Mundi Op. 1. 20, 4 τοῖς καθ' ἑκάστην ἀρετὴν ἀοιδίμοις θεωρήμασιν. —De Sacrificant. 2. 253 σοφία καὶ τὰ σοφίας δόγματα.—Quod Det. Pot. Insid. 1. 204, 29 τῆς σοφίας δόγματά τε καὶ θεωρήματα.—Quod Det. Pot. Insid. 1. 216, 44 δογμάτων θείων.—De Congr. 1. 542, 36 τὴν ἀοίδιμον νουθεσίαν.— De Mon. 2. 219 ὁ σοφίας ἵμερος . . . δογμάτων ἀοιδίμων καὶ περικαλλεστάτων ἀναπίμπλησι τοὺς φοιτητὰς καὶ γνωρίμους αὐτῆς.

De Somn. 1. 646, 28 διαυγῶς ἴδῃ ἃ πρότερον ἀμυδρῶς ὠνειροπόλει.—De Somn. 1. 672, 39 ἐπειδὰν δὲ πρὸς ἀμείνω βίον μεταβάλῃ καὶ μηκέτ' ἐνυπνιάζηται, μηδὲ ταῖς κεναῖς τῶν κενοδόξων φαντασίαις εἰλυσπώμενος κακοπαθῇ, μηδὲ νύκτα καὶ σκότος καὶ πραγμάτων ἀδήλων καὶ ἀτεκμάρτων συντυχίας ὀνειροπολῇ.—De Somn. 1. 662 τῶν γὰρ τὸ καλὸν δι' ἑαυτὸ αἱρετὸν νομιζόντων καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις φαντασίας εἰλικρινεστέρας καὶ καθαρωτέρας ἐξ ἀνάγκης εἶναι συμβέβηκεν.— L. A. C. 2. 595 [Γάϊος] νομίζων τὴν ἐκθέωσιν, ἣν ὠνειροπόλει, μίαν ταύτην πόλιν καὶ γεγεννηκέναι καὶ συναυξῆσαι.—De Mig. Ab. 1. 466 τοτὲ μὲν ἐν τοῖς βαθέσιν ὕπνοις—ἀναχωρήσας γὰρ ὁ νοῦς καὶ τῶν αἰσθήσεων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα κατὰ τὸ σῶμα, ὑπεξελθών, ἑαυτῷ προσομιλεῖν ἄρχεται, ὡς πρὸς κάτοπτρον ἀφορῶν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ ἀπορρυψάμενος πάνθ' ὅσα ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὰς αἰσθήσεις φαντασιῶν ἀπεμάξατο, ταῖς περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἀψευδεστάταις διὰ τῶν ὀνείρων μαντείαις

893 P. ἀοίδιμα δόγματα. Δὶς δὲ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν εἰώθα- M. 475
σιν εὔχεσθαι, περὶ τὴν ἕω καὶ περὶ τὴν ἑσπέραν· ἡλίου μὲν ἀνίσχοντος εὐημερίαν αἰτούμενοι, τὴν ὄντως εὐημερίαν, φωτὸς οὐρανίου τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ἀναπλησθῆναι· | δυομένου δέ, ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ τῶν 30
αἰσθήσεων καὶ αἰσθητῶν ὄχλου παντελῶς ἐπικουφισθεῖσαν, ἐν τῷ ἑαυτῆς συνεδρίῳ καὶ βουλευτηρίῳ

θείας Arm. 27. *ἡμέραν* iterat Q || *περὶ*] *πρὸς* Q 28. *εὐημερίας* Turn. || *τὴν ὄντος* O 29. *οὐρανίου φωτὸς* Arm. Lat. || *αὐτῶν* om. Arm. 30. *ὑπὲρ* om. Q || *τούτου τὴν* ex *τοῦ τὴν* corr. man. rec. Q 31. *αἰσθητοῦ* Q || *ὄγκου* ABCP Edd.: *ὄγκον* GHK: *ὄχλου* DEMQ Arm. et O ubi in marg. *ὄγκου* || *κουφισθεῖσαν* β 32. *συνεδρίῳ, καὶ βουλευτήριον γενομένην, ἀληθείας* B: *συνεδρίῳ καὶ*

ἐνθουσιᾷ—, τοτὲ δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐγρηγόρσεσιν.—De Somn. 1. 664 [de Iosepho] *ἐνυπνιαστὴς καὶ* **ὀνειροπόλος** *. . . τῆς κενῆς δόξης.*

26. D. A. S. I. 2. 239 **δὶς δὲ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν** *ἐπιθυμῶται τὰ πάντων εὐωδέστατα θυμαμάτων εἴσω τοῦ καταπετάσματος,* **ἀνίσχοντος ἡλίου καὶ δυομένου.**

29. De Congr. 1. 534, 31 *φέγγος* **οὐράνιον.**—De Pl. Noe 1. 335, 41 *αἱ ἀρετῆς* **ἀκτῖνες** *ἀναλάμψασαι τὸ* **διανοίας** *χωρίον ὅλον μεστὸν αὐγῆς καθαρᾶς ἀπεργάζονται.* —De Ab. 2. 18 *τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς ῥητῆς ἀποδόσεως ὧδε λέλεκται· τῆς δὲ δι' ὑπονοιῶν ἀρκτέον. Σύμβολα τὰ ἐν φωναῖς τῶν* **διανοίᾳ** *μόνῃ καταλαμβανομένων ἐστίν. Ἐπειδὰν οὖν ἡ ψυχὴ καθάπερ ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ θεῷ περιλαμφθῇ καὶ ὅλη δι' ὅλων νοητοῦ* **φωτὸς ἀναπλησθεῖσα** *ταῖς ἐν κύκλῳ κεχυμέναις αὐγαῖς ἄσκιος γένηται, τριττὴν* **φαντασίαν** *ἑνὸς ὑποκειμένου καταλαμβάνει.*

30–33. De Sacrificant. 2. 256 *ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἐγρηγορότες εὖ πάσχομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθεύδοντες, τοῦ μεγαλοδώρου καὶ φιλοδώρου θεοῦ μεγάλην ἐπικουρίαν, ὕπνον τῷ θνητῷ γένει παρασχόντος ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ σώματός τε καὶ ψυχῆς, τοῦ μὲν σώματος τῶν μεθημερινῶν πόνων ἀφιεμένου, τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς* **ἐπικουφιζομένης** *τὰς φροντίδας καὶ ἀναχωρούσης εἰς* **ἑαυτὴν** *ἀπὸ τοῦ* **τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὄχλου** *καὶ θορύβου, καὶ δυναμένης τότε γοῦν ἰδιάζειν καὶ ἐνομιλεῖν ἑαυτῇ.*—Leg. Alleg. 1. 134, 3 *ὁ* **τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὄχλος.**—De Ebr. 1. 382, 36 *καθίσας οὖν ὁ νοῦς ἐν τῷ* **αὐτοῦ συνεδρίῳ.**—De Somn. 1. 627 *κινεῖται γὰρ ἡμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ πολλάκις μὲν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς, ὅλον τὸν σωματικὸν* **ὄγκον** *ἐκδῦσα καὶ τὸν* **τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὄχλον** *ἀποδρᾶσα, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐπαμπισχομένη.*—De Pr. et Poen. 2. 412, 49 *λογισμοῦ τε καὶ αἰσθήσεως· ἑκατέρῳ γὰρ ἴδιον* **συνέδριον** *καὶ δικαστήριον προσκεκλήρωται.*— De Confus. 1. 417, 41 *πάριτε οὖν, οἱ λογισμοὶ πάντες, βουλευτῶν τινα τρόπον εἰς τὸ ψυχῆς* **συνέδριον.**—Quod Det. Pot. Insid. 1. 199 *ἑρμηνεύς ἐστιν* [*ἡ διάνοια*] **ὧν ἐν τῷ ἑαυτῆς βουλευτηρίῳ** *βεβούλευκεν.*—De Decal. 2. 197 *ἐν τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς* **βουλευτηρίῳ συνεδρεύοντων** *καὶ συνεξεταζόντων τῶν νόμων.*—cp. De Pr. et Poen. 2. 413, 1.—L. A. C. 2. 577 *ὁ* **Πετρώνιος** *. . . συγκαλέσας ὡς ἐν* **συνεδρίῳ** *τοὺς τῆς*

893 P. γενομένην, ἀλήθειαν ἰχνηλατεῖν. Τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ M. 475
μέχρις ἑσπέρας διάστημα σύμπαν ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς | ἄσκη- 35
σις· ἐντυγχάνοντες γὰρ τοῖς ἱεροῖς γράμμασι, φιλο-
σοφοῦσι τὴν πάτριον νομοθεσίαν ἀλληγοροῦντες· ἐπειδὴ

βουλευτήριον τῆς ἀληθείας γινομένην D || *γινομένην, ἀληθείας* M 33–476. 1 *τὸ δὲ ἐξ—τρόπον* excerpsit Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* ii. 17 33. *δὲ* om. Q 34. *μέχρι ἑσπ.* A : *μέχρις ἑσπ.* γ Euseb. Turn.: *μέχρι τῆς ἑσπ.* βOP Mang.: *μέχρις τῆς* Q || *συμπᾶσα* I || *αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν* Euseb.: *ἐ. α.* Arm. cett. || *ἱερωτάτοις* γ Turn.: *ἱεροῖς* cett. et Euseb. 36. post *φιλοσοφοῦσι* add. comma O || *νομοθεσίαν* Arm. Euseb. apud

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ψυχῆς ἅπαντας λογισμοὺς τὴν ἑκάστου γνώμην διηρεύνα.—De Congr. 1. 540 *ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ . . . χρωμένη μὲν ἐκείναις* [*ταῖς* **αἰσθήσεσι**] *ὡς ἐν δικαστηρίῳ ὑπηρέτεσι.*

33. De Somn. 1. 628 *τὴν ἀπὸ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς ἀναδιδομένην ἡδεῖαν αὔραν ὁ παιδείας ἐραστὴς* **ἰχνηλατεῖ**.—De Ios. 2. 56 *τὸ* **ἀληθὲς ἰχνηλατῆσαι**.—De Pr. et Poen. 2. 414 *ὁ ἀσκητὴς τελειοῦται . . . μηδενὰ πόνον ἢ κίνδυνον παρελθών, εἴπως δυνηθείη τὴν ἀξιέραστον* **ἀλήθειαν ἰχνηλατῆσαι**.—De Mundo 2. 617 *τοῖς* **ἰχνηλατοῦσι τὸ ἀληθές**.—cp. De Mundo 2. 622.

34. De Mutat. Nom. 1. 599, 44 *τὰ χρόνων* **διαστήματα**.—Leg. Alleg. 1. 44, 3 **σύμπας** *ὁ χρόνος ἡμερῶν καὶ νυκτῶν ἐστι* **διάστημα**.—cp. De Sac. Ab. et C. 1. 190, 25.—De Mig. Ab. 1. 457 *τὰς πλείους μοίρας τῶν χρονικῶν* **διαστημάτων**.

35. De Decal. 2. 186, 22 *τοὺς* **ἐντυγχάνοντας ταῖς ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς**.—De Sac. Ab. et C. 1. 178, 35 *ὡς δέον παλαιὸν μὲν μάθημα χρόνῳ μηδὲν ἀρνεῖσθαι, πειρωμένους καὶ* **γράμμασι** *σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν* **ἐντυγχάνειν**, *καὶ γνώμαις καὶ διηγήσεσιν ἀρχαιολογούντων παρεῖναι.*—De Somn. 1. 631, 25 *τὸ λόγοις τοιούτοις* **ἐντυγχάνειν ἱεροῖς**.—De Cherub. 1. 161, 39 *χρησμοί, οὓς ἐν* **ἱεραῖς** *βίβλοις* Μωῦσῆς *ἀνέγραψεν.*—Quis Rerum 1. 514, 34 *τοῖς* **ἐντυγχάνουσι ταῖς ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς**.—De Sobr. 1. 395, 7 *τῶν* **ἐντετευχηκότων ταῖς ἱερωτάταις** *βίβλοις.*—De Iustit. 2. 359 *τοῖς πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν* **γράμμασιν** *ἐστηλιτευμένοις* **ἐντυγχάνοντες**.—cp. De Iustit. 2. 363.—V. M. 2. 136 *Συνίσασι δὲ οἱ ταῖς* **ἱεραῖς** *βίβλοις* **ἐντυγχάνοντες**, *ἃς οὐκ ἂν εἰ μὴ τοιοῦτος ἐπεφύκει συνέγραψεν.*—De Decal. 2. 186 *τοὺς* **ἐντυγχάνοντας ταῖς ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς**.

36. V. M. 2. 168 *εἰσέτι νῦν* **φιλοσοφοῦσι ταῖς ἑβδόμαις** *Ἰουδαῖοι τὴν* **πάτριον φιλοσοφίαν**, *τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον ἀναθέντες ἐπιστήμῃ καὶ θεωρίᾳ τῶν περὶ φύσιν.*—De Somn. 1. 675 *καθεδεῖσθε ἐν τοῖς συναγωγίοις ὑμῶν, τὸν εἰωθότα θίασον ἀγείροντες, καὶ ἀσφαλεῖς τε* **ἱερὰς** *βίβλους ἀναγινώσκοντες . . . καὶ* **τῇ πατρίῳ φιλοσοφίᾳ** *διὰ μακρηγορίας ἐνευκαιροῦντές τε καὶ ἐνσχολάζοντες.*—L. A. C. 2. 568 *ἐπίστατο οὖν* [*Γάϊος*] *καὶ προσευχὰς ἔχοντας καὶ συνιόντας εἰς αὐτάς, καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς ἱεραῖς* **ἑβδόμαις**, *ὅτε δημοσίᾳ* **τὴν πάτριον** *παιδεύονται* **φιλοσοφίαν**.

37–40. Q. O. P. L. 2. 458 *τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα διὰ* **συμβόλων** *ἀρχαιοτρόπῳ ζηλώσει παρ' αὐτοῖς* **φιλοσοφεῖται** [de Essaeis loquitur].—De Somn. 1. 628 **ῥητῶς** *μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς* **ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς** *δηλοῦται.*—Quis Rerum 1. 514, 48 *ἔν γε ταῖς δι' ὑπονοιῶν ἀποδύσεσιν.*—Quod Det. Pot. Insid. 1. 221, 6 *ὅπερ*

893 P. σύμβολα τὰ τῆς ῥητῆς ἑρμηνείας νομίζουσιν ἀποκεκρυμ- M. 475
μένης φύσεως, ἐν ὑπονοίαις δηλουμένης. Ἔστιν δὲ
αὐτοῖς καὶ συγγράμματα | παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἳ τῆς 40
αἱρέσεως ἀρχηγέται γενόμενοι πολλὰ μνημεῖα τῆς ἐν
τοῖς ἀλληγορουμένοις ἰδέας ἀπέλιπον, οἷς καθάπερ
τισὶν ἀρχετύποις χρώμενοι || μιμοῦνται τῆς προαιρέ- M. 476
σεως τὸν τρόπον· ὥστε οὐ θεωροῦσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ

Ruf. 'patrum leges in allegoricam intelligentiam deducentes': *φιλοσοφίαν* codd. edd. omnes : *σοφίαν* Eusebii nonnulli codd.: 'sapientiae titulos' Lat. 38. *νομίζουσιν ἀποκεκρυμμένης* desunt in P ubi sign. lac. || *νομίζουσιν ἀποκ. φ.* Euseb. AβOQ Arm. : *νομίζουσι φ. ἀπ. γ* et edd. 39. *ἔστιν δὲ* A : *ἔστι δ' β* || *συγγραμ. παλ.* desunt in P ubi signum lacunae || *συγγράμμασι* Q 40. ante *ἀνδρῶν* add. *τῶν* P || post *αἱρέσεως* add. *αὐτῶν* Euseb. 41. *τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἀλληγορουμένοις* ACEMOPQ Euseb. Arm. Turn. : *τῆς ἀλληγορουμένης* BD Mang. et forsan Lat. || *τισὶν* om. Arm. 1. post *προαιρέσεως* add. *αὐτῶν* Arm.; confer Lat. || *ὥστε* ACPQ : cett. codd. et edd. *ὥστ'* || 3. *τὸν* ante *θεὸν* om. Mang. secutus PQEO : cett.

αἰνίττεται δι' ὑπονοιῶν.—Quod Det. Pot. Insid. 1. 223, 15 *τροπικώτερον καὶ δι' ὑπονοιῶν.*—De Pl. Noe 1. 335 *Ἰτέον οὖν ἐπ' ἀλληγορίαν τὴν ὁρατικοῖς φίλην ἀνδράσι· καὶ γὰρ οἱ χρησμοὶ τὰς εἰς αὐτὴν ἡμῖν ἀφορμὰς ἐναργέστατα προτείνουσι.* —De Ios. 2. 46 *ἄξιον μέντοι μετὰ τὴν ῥητὴν διήγησιν καὶ τὰ ἐν ὑπονοίαις προσαποδοῦναι· σχεδὸν γὰρ τὰ πάντα ἢ τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς* **νομοθεσίας ἀλληγορεῖται.**

39. De Ab. 2. 5 *συμβιωταῖς χρώμενος τοῖς ἅπαντος τοῦ γένους ἀνθρώπων ἀρίστοις, ὧν τὰ μὲν σώματα διέλυσεν ὁ χρόνος, τὰς δὲ ἀρετὰς αἱ ἀπολειφθεῖσαι γραφαὶ ζωπυροῦσιν, διά τε ποιημάτων καὶ τῶν καταλογάδην* **συγγραμμάτων,** *οἷς ἡ ψυχὴ πέφυκε βελτιοῦσθαι.*—De Mundo 2. 609 *διὰ παντὸς τοῦ* **συγγράμματος.**

40. Quis Rerum 1. 483 *τοὺς προφήτας ὠνόμασαν οἱ* **παλαιοὶ** *ὁρῶντας.*—De Mundo 2. 621 *ἔστι δὲ οὔτε νέον τὸ λεγόμενον οὐθ' ἡμέτερον ῥῆμα, ἀλλὰ* **παλαιῶν καὶ σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν.**—De Iustit. 2. 361 *δόγματα* **παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν.**

αἱρέσεως] De Sac. Ab. et C. 1. 165, 39 *κατὰ τὴν τῶν βίων* **αἵρεσιν.**

ἀρχηγέται] De Mutat. Nom. 1. 588, 7 *ἀνδρὶ σοφῷ τῷ γένους ἀνθρώπων* **ἀρχηγέτῃ.**—cp. De Mutat. Nom. 1. 591, 37; De Profugis 1. 557, 1.—De Profugis 1. 559, 17 *ὁ* **ἀρχηγέτης** *τοῦ θιάσου τούτου* [sc. Λευϊτῶν].—V. M. 2. 177 *τοὺς* **ἀρχηγέτας** *μάλιστα τῆς ἀσεβείας.*—De Mutat. Nom. 1. 588.—De Ab. 2. 40.

41. De Ios. 2. 44 **μνημεῖα καλοκἀγαθίας** *οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν πανταχοῦ* **τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπέλιπον.**

41, 42. Q. O. P. L. 2. 455 *ἐφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἔτι εἰσὶν ὥσπερ εἰκόνες ἀπὸ* **ἀρχετύπου γραφῆς** *σοφῶν* **ἀνδρῶν καλοκἀγαθίας τυπωθέντες.**

893 P. ποιοῦσιν ἄσματα καὶ ὕμνους εἰς τὸν θεὸν διὰ παντοίων M. 476
μέτρων καὶ μελῶν ἃ ῥυθμοῖς σεμνοτέροις ἀναγκαίως
χαράττουσιν. Τὰς | μὲν οὖν ἓξ ἡμέρας χωρὶς ἕκαστοι 5
μονούμενοι παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ἐν τοῖς λεχθεῖσι μοναστηρίοις
φιλοσοφοῦσι, τὴν αὔλειον οὐχ ὑπερβαίνοντες, ἀλλ'
οὐδὲ ἐξ ἀπόπτου θεωροῦντες· ταῖς δὲ ἑβδόμαις συνέρ-

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retinent quos sequitur Turn. || παντοίων] τοιούτων Q 5. οὖν om. Arm. || χωρὶς om. Arm. Lat. 6. ἐν τοῖς λ. μον. om. Lat. 7. αὔλιον in αὔλειον corr. man. rec. in A: αὔλιον DM || οὐδ' ἐξ βQ 8. δ'

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4. De Cherub. 1. 154 τὸ σάββατον, ἑρμηνεύεται δ' ἀνάπαυσις, θεοῦ φησιν εἶναι Μωϋσῆς . . ., οὐχὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἀπτόμενος φυσιολογίας ἀναγκαίας.

De Mon. 2. 215 πρὸς δὲ τὸ εὐπαράγωγον μέλεσι καὶ ῥυθμοῖς καὶ μέτροις ἐνήρμοσαν τὸ ψευδές.—De Somn. 1. 652 παρὰ δὲ τῆς μουσικῆς ῥυθμοὺς καὶ μέτρα τά τε ἐναρμόνια καὶ χρωματικὰ καὶ διατονικά, συνημμένα τε αὖ καὶ διεζευγμένα μέλη.

De Mutat. Nom. 1. 610 σοφιστείᾳ μαντικῇ τὴν θεοφόρητον προφητείαν προεχάραξε.—De Somn. 1. 658 τὸν δὲ θεὸν οὐκ ἐπιλείψεις εὐδαιμονίζουσα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὕμνους ἱεροπρεπεῖς στήλαις ἐγχαράξεις. ἵνα μὴ μόνον λέγῃς εὐτρόχως, ἀλλὰ καὶ ᾄδῃς μουσικῶς τὰς τοῦ ὄντος ἀρετάς.

7. In Fl. 2. 541 οἴκοι συγκλεισάμενος ἐφώλευε μηδὲ τὴν αὔλειον ὑπερβαίνειν θαρρῶν.—De Ab. 2. 5 συγκλεισάμενος οἴκοι τὰ πολλὰ καταμένει, μόλις τὰς κλισιάδας ὑπερβαίνων.—Leg. Alleg. 1. 95, 20 ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις τοῦ θαλάμου ἐκτὸς μέν ἐστιν ὁ ἀνδρών, ἐντὸς δὲ ὁ αὐλών, καὶ ἡ αὔλειος ἐκτὸς μὲν τῆς αὐλῆς, εἴσω δὲ τοῦ πυλῶνος.—De Congr. 1. 520, 37 ἐν μὲν οἰκίαις αὔλειοι πρόκεινται κλισιάδων, ἐν δὲ πόλεσι τὰ προάστεια.—In Fl. 2. 530 γύναια κατάκλειστα μηδὲ τῆς αὐλείου προερχόμενα καὶ θαλαμευόμεναι παρθένοι.—Q. O. P. L. 2. 446 πέραν ὅρων ἀνθρώπους ἐληλαμένους, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐπιβῆναι τῆς χώρας ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐξ ἀπόπτου τὸ πατρῷον ἔδαφος θεάσασθαι δυναμένους.—V. M. 2. 148 ὡς μηδεὶς ἐξ ἀπόπτου δύναιτο τῶν μὴ ἱερωμένων καταθεᾶσθαι τὰ ἅγια.—V. M. 2. 82 δι' ἔθους ἔχουσαν οἴκοι καταμένειν καὶ μηδὲ τὰς κλισιάδας ὑπερβαίνειν.—De Profugis 1. 558, 7 ἵν' ὡς μιαροὶ καὶ ἀκάθαρτοι μηδ' ἐξ ἀπόπτου τὴν ἱερὰν φλόγα . . . θεάσωνται. —L. A. C. 2. 579 ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Πετρώνιος ἐξ ἀπόπτου κατεφάνη πᾶσαι αἱ τάξεις . . . προσπίπτουσιν εἰς ἔδαφος.—De Ebr. 1. 377 Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν ἱερὰν ἐξ ἀπόπτου φλόγα θεάσασθαι τῷ τοιούτῳ θέμις.

8. De Mutat. Nom. 1. 618, 4 ἐν ἱερᾷ ἑβδόμῃ, ἣν σάββατον καλεῖ.

8–14. Q. O. P. L. 2. 458 [De Essaeis] ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἑβδόμαις διαφερόντως· ἱερὰ γὰρ ἡ ἑβδόμη νενόμισται, καθ' ἣν τῶν ἄλλων ἀνέχοντες ἔργων καὶ εἰς ἱεροὺς ἀφικνούμενοι τόπους, οἳ καλοῦνται συναγωγαί, καθ' ἡλικίας ἐν τάξεσιν ὑπὸ πρεσβυτέροις νέοι καθέζονται, μετὰ κόσμου τοῦ προσήκοντος ἔχοντες ἀκροατικῶς. Εἶθ' ὁ μὲν τὰς βίβλους ἀναγινώσκει λαβών, ἕτερος δὲ τῶν ἐμπειροτάτων, ὅσα μὴ γνώριμα παρελθὼν ἀναδιδάσκει.—Fragm. ex Eus. Praep. Ev. 2. 630 ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἔργου μεγάλου καὶ θαυμαστοῦ τινος φήθη δεῖν ὁ νομοθέτης, αὐτοὺς μήτ' ἄλλα

893 P. χονται καθάπερ εἰς κοινὸν σύλλογον, καὶ καθ' ἡλικίαν M. 476
ἐξῆς καθέζονται | μετὰ τοῦ πρέποντος σχήματος, εἶσω 10
894 P. τὰς χεῖρας ἔχοντες, τὴν μὲν δεξιὰν μεταξὺ στέρνου καὶ
γενείου, τὴν δὲ εὐώνυμον ὑπεσταλμένην παρὰ τῇ
λαγόνι. Παρελθὼν δὲ ὁ πρεσβύτατος καὶ τῶν δογ-
μάτων ἐμπειρότατος διαλέγεται, καθεστῶτι μὲν | τῷ 15
βλέμματι, καθεστώσῃ δὲ τῇ φωνῇ, μετὰ λογισμοῦ
καὶ φρονήσεως, οὐ δεινότητα λόγων, ὥσπερ οἱ ῥήτορες

ἑβδόμαις β : δὲ post ἑβδόμαις sup. scr. man. rec. Q 9. ἑξῆς om. Arm. 10, 11. εἶσω τ. χ. ἔχ. om. Lat. 12. δ' β ‖ τῇ] τῷ β 13. ὁ πρεσβύτερος β Lat. '*senior*': ὁ πρεσβύτατος A cett. codd. sed Arm.=παρελθὼν δὲ πρεσβυτερός τις καὶ τῶν ‖ τῶν om. β 14. μὲν] γε μὴν Q 16. δεινότητι Lat. β : δεινότητος Q : δεινότητα

μόνον ἱκανοὺς εἶναι δρᾶν ὡσαύτως, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ τῶν πατρίων νόμων καὶ ἐθῶν ἐμπείρως ἔχειν. Τί οὖν ἐποίησε ταῖς ἑβδόμαις ταύταις ἡμέραις; Αὐτοὺς εἰς ταὐτὸν ἠξίου συνάγεσθαι καὶ καθεζομένους μετ' ἀλλήλων, σὺν αἰδοῖ καὶ κόσμῳ τῶν νόμων ἀκροᾶσθαι, τοῦ μηδένα ἀγνοῆσαι χάριν. Καὶ δῆτα συνέρχονται μὲν ἀεὶ καὶ συνεδρεύουσι μετ' ἀλλήλων· οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ σιωπῇ, πλὴν εἴ τι προσεπιφημίσαι τοῖς ἀναγινωσκομένοις νομίζεται. Τῶν ἱερέων δέ τις ὁ παρὼν ἢ τῶν γερόντων εἰς ἀναγινώσκει τοὺς ἱεροὺς νόμους αὐτοῖς καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐξηγεῖται μέχρι σχεδὸν δείλης ὀψίας· κἀκ τοῦδε ἀπολύονται, τῶν τε νόμων τῶν ἱερῶν ἐμπείρως ἐχόντες, καὶ πολὺ δὴ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἐπιδεδωκότες.—De Sept. 2. 282 Ἀναπέπταται γοῦν ταῖς ἑβδόμαις μυρία κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν διδασκαλεῖα φρονήσεως καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ ἀνδρείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν· ἐν οἷς οἱ μὲν ἐν κόσμῳ καθέζονται, σὺν ἡσυχίᾳ τὰ ὦτα ἀνωρθιακότες, μετὰ προσοχῆς πάσης, ἕνεκα τοῦ διψῆν λόγων ποτίμων, ἀναστὰς δέ τις τῶν ἐμπειροτάτων ὑφηγεῖται τὰ ἄριστα καὶ συνοίσοντα, οἷς ἅπας ὁ βίος ἐπιδώσει πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον.

9. σύλλογον] Quod Deus Sit Im. 1. 289 φιλοπαθὴς νοῦς ... ἀκοὴν παραδέξασθαι θείαν ἀδυνατῶν, ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀπεσχοινισμένος, ἐν ᾗ σύλλογοι καὶ λόγοι περὶ ἀρετῆς ἀεὶ μελετῶνται.—De Sacrificant. 2. 261 προανέργει πάντας τοὺς ἀναξίους ἱεροῦ συλλόγου.—De Somn. 1. 683.

10–13. De Somn. 1. 675 εἰ πολεμίων ἔφοδος αἰφνίδιον γένοιτο ... μεθ' ἡσυχίας πάσης οἴκοι διατρίψετε; ἢ μετὰ τοῦ συνήθους σχήματος προελεύσεσθε, τὴν μὲν δεξιὰν εἶσω χεῖρα συναγαγόντες, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμπεχόνης παρὰ ταῖς λαγόσι πήξαντες, ἵνα μηδ' ἄκοντές τι τῶν εἰς τὸ σωθῆναι παράσχησθε;

15. De Ab. 2. 26 ὁ δὲ οὐδεμίαν ἐνδειξάμενος τροπήν, οὔτε κατὰ τὸ σῶμα οὔτε κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν, σταθερῷ μέντοι τῷ βλέμματι, σταθερωτέρῳ δὲ τῷ λογισμῷ πρὸς τὴν πεῦσιν ἀποκρινόμενος.

894 P. ἢ οἱ νῦν σοφισταί, παρεπιδεικνύμενος, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν M. 476
τοῖς νοήμασι διηρευνηκὼς καὶ διερμηνεύων ἀκρίβειαν,
ἥτις οὐκ ἄκροις ὠσὶν ἐφιζάνει, | ἀλλὰ δι' ἀκοῆς ἐπὶ 20
ψυχὴν ἔρχεται καὶ βεβαίως ἐπιμένει. Καθ' ἡσυχίαν
δὲ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ἀκροῶνται, τὸν ἔπαινον νεύμασιν
ὄψεως ἢ κεφαλῆς παραδηλοῦντες αὐτὸ μόνον. Τὸ δὲ
κοινὸν τοῦτο σεμνεῖον εἰς ὃ ταῖς ἑβδόμαις συνέρχονται

A cett. codd. Arm. edd. 17. ἢ οἱ νῦν] forsan legerit Arm. καὶ οἱ νῦν || post ῥήτορες add. ἐνδεικνύμενος, et om. παρεπιδεικνύμενος P || παρεπιδεικνύμενοι Lat. forsan et Arm. habuerit 18. ταν in τὴν corr. C || διηρευνηκὼς Turn., sic in mg. C, sed in uersu διηρμηνευκὼς 19. ἄκροιν Turn. 20. ψυχὰν K 21. δὲ om. Q: δ' O 21, 22. ἀκροῶνται τὸν ἔπαινον, νεύμασιν Turn. 23. παραδεικνῦντες

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17. De Post. Caini 1. 244 φιλοσοφίαν, οὐχ ἣν μέτεισιν ὁ νῦν ἀνθρώπων **σοφιστικὸς** ὅμιλος· λόγων γὰρ οὗτοι τέχνας μελετήσαντες κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας τὴν πανουργίαν σοφίαν ἐκάλεσαν.—De Congr. 1. 529, 3 **σοφισταὶ** δὲ ἀντὶ φιλοσόφων ἀνευρίσκονται.—De Iud. Pr. 2. 627 τοσαύτην τέχνην ἢ δεινότητα **λόγων** ἢ σύνεσιν.

De Mon. 2. 220 **παρεπεδείκνυτο** δημοσίᾳ τὸ ἀνοσιούργημα.—L. A. C. 2. 559 λογισμὸν ἐν φρενοβλαβείᾳ **παρεπιδεικνύμενος.**

De Agric. 1. 322 μυρίοι οὖν τῶν λεγομένων **σοφιστῶν** θαυμασθέντες **κατὰ πόλεις** καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην σχεδὸν ἅπασαν ἐπὶ τιμῇ ἐπιστρέψαντες ἕνεκα ἀκριβολογίας καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰς **εὑρέσεις** δεινότητος ἀνὰ κράτος τοῖς πάθεσι κατεγήρασαν καὶ κατέτριψαν τὸν βίον, οὐδὲν ἰδιωτῶν ἠμελημένων καὶ φαυλοτάτων διενεγκόντες ἀνθρώπων.

18. Leg. Alleg. 1. 106, 26 τίς οὖν ἐστιν ὁ χαρακτὴρ εἰσόμεθα, ἐὰν τὴν ἑρμηνείαν πρὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος **ἀκριβώσωμεν.**—De Sac. Ab. et C. 1. 163, 6 τὴν ἐμφαινομένην φιλοσοφίαν **ἀκριβοῦν.**

19. De Post. Caini 1. 226 χρὴ τῶν ἐν ταῖς **διερμηνευθείσαις** βίβλοις ὑπὸ Μωϋσέως τροπικώτερον ἀκούειν.—De Mig. Ab. 1. 438 αἱ τῶν **διερμηνευομένων** φύσεις πραγμάτων.—De Circ. 2. 211 ἀρχαιολογούμενα παρὰ θεσπεσίοις ἀνδράσιν, οἷ τὰ Μωσέως οὐ παρέργως **διηρμήνευσαν.**—cp. de Concup. 2. 358.

20. De Congr. 1. 531, 6 ἐπιθυμίαις, ἡδοναῖς, ἃ **διὰ** τῶν αἰσθήσεων **ἐπ' αὐτὴν** [sc. τὴν ψυχὴν] **ἔρχεται.**—De Congr. 1. 542, 2 τὰ δὲ τῆς κυρίας **εἰς** ψυχὴν **ἔρχονται.**—De Prov. ex Eus. Praep. Ev. 2. 637 Ἕδει δὲ καὶ τοὺς φιλοσόφους ἰατρικὴν ὁμολογοῦντας ἐπιτηδεύειν τῆς φύσει βασιλίδος **ψυχῆς** . . . εἶσω δὲ **προσιόντας** ἅπτεσθαι διανοίας αὐτῆς.

23. **αὐτὸ μόνον**] Quod Det. Pot. Insid. 1. 196 ἐστεφανώθησαν ἀμαχεὶ μηδ' **αὐτὸ μόνον** κονισάμενοι.—cp. Quis Rerum 1. 487.—De Profugis 1. 560 οὐκ **αὐτὸ μόνον** πόλις.—cp. De Profugis 1. 562, 7; De Somn. 1. 644.

894 P. διπλοῦς ἐστι | περίβολος, ὁ μὲν εἰς ἀνδρῶνα, ὁ δὲ εἰς M. 476, 25
γυναικωνῖτιν ἀποκριθείς. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ γυναῖκες ἐξ
ἔθους συνακροῶνται, τὸν αὐτὸν ζῆλον καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν
προαίρεσιν ἔχουσαι. Ὁ δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν οἴκων τοῖχος,
τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἐδάφους ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἢ τέσσαρας πήχεις εἰς τὸ |

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pro παραδηλοῦντες Q ‖ αὐτὸ] αὐτῷ DM γ 24. διπλοῦς ex διπλοῦ corr. man. rec. Q 25. γυναικωνίτιν PQ 26. καὶ γὰρ γυναῖκες I ‖ συνακρῶνται Mang. 28. οἴκων A : cett. codd. et edd.

24, 25. De Mutat. Nom. 1. 585 ἐντεῦθεν ὁρμηθεὶς τήν τε σκηνὴν **δυσὶ περιβόλων** ὁρίοις συνύφαινε, μέσον ἀμφοῖν κάλυμμα θείς, ὅπως διακρίνηται τῶν εἴσω τὰ ἔξω.—De Mon. 2. 223 ἐπειδὴ εἷς ἐστι θεός, καὶ ἱερὸν εἶναι μόνον . . . τούτου τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὁ μὲν ἐξωτάτω **περίβολος** καὶ μήκει καὶ πλάτει μέγιστος ὢν τέσσαρσι στοαῖς εἰς πολυτέλειαν ἠσκημέναις ὠχύρωται.—In Fl. 2. 524 οἱ δὲ [sc. Ἰουδαῖοι] . . . μόνοι τῶν ὑφ' ἥλιον ἅμα ταῖς προσευχαῖς ἀπεστεροῦντο τὴν εἰς τοὺς εὐεργέτας εὐσέβειαν . . . οὐκ ἔχοντες ἱεροὺς **περιβόλους** οἷς ἐνδιαθήσονται τὸ εὐχάριστον.—L. A. C. 2. 596 τὸν βραχὺν οὕτως **περίβολον** αὐτῷ καθιερωθέντα καὶ καθοσιωθέντα χρησμοῖς καὶ λογίοις θεσφάτοις.

25–35. De Sp. Leg. 2. 327 Ἀγοραὶ καὶ βουλευτήρια καὶ δικαστήρια καὶ θίασοι καὶ σύλλογοι πολυανθρώπων ὁμίλων καὶ ὁ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ βίος διὰ λόγων καὶ πράξεων κατὰ πολέμους καὶ κατὰ εἰρήνην ἀνδράσιν ἐφαρμόζουσι· θηλείαις δὲ οἰκουρία καὶ ἡ ἔνδον μονή, παρθένοις μὲν εἴσω κλισιάδων τὴν μεσαύλιον ὅρον πεποιημέναις, τελείαις δὲ ἤδη **γυναιξὶ** τὴν αὔλιον . . . Μηδὲν οὖν ἔξω τῶν κατ' οἰκονομίαν πολυπραγμονείτω **γυνή**, ζητοῦσα μοναυλίαν, μηδ' οἷα νομὰς κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐν ὄψεσιν ἀνδρῶν ἑτέρων ἐξεταζέσθω· πλὴν εἰς ἱερὸν ὁπότε δέοι βαδίζειν, φροντίδα ποιουμένη καὶ τότε μὴ πληθούσης ἀγορᾶς, ἀλλ' ἐπανεληλυθότων οἴκαδε τῶν πλείστων, ἐλευθέρας τρόπον καὶ τῷ ὄντι ἀστῆς, ἐν ἠρεμίᾳ θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσα καὶ εὐχὰς εἰς ἀποτροπὴν κακῶν καὶ μετουσίαν ἀγαθῶν.—De Essaeis 2. 634 Ἐσσαίων γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἄγεται **γυναῖκα**, διότι φίλαυτον ἡ γυνὴ καὶ ζηλότυπον οὐ μετρίως.—De Nobilit. 2. 443 Ταύτην τὴν εὐγένειαν οὐ μόνον θεοφιλεῖς ἄνδρες, ἀλλὰ καὶ **γυναῖκες ἐζήλωσαν**, ἀπομαθοῦσαι μὲν ἀμαθίαν τὴν σύντροφον περὶ τιμῆς τῶν χειροκμήτων, παιδευθεῖσαι δὲ τὴν περὶ μοναρχίας ἐπιστήμην, ᾗ μοναρχεῖται ὁ κόσμος. Θάμαρ ἦν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Παλαιστίνης Συρίας γύναιον, ἐν οἰκείᾳ πόλει τραφὲν πολυθέῳ, γεμούσῃ ξοάνων καὶ ἀγαλμάτων, καὶ συνόλως ἀφιδρυμάτων. Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ καθάπερ ἐκ σκότους βαθέος ἐδυνήθη βραχεῖαν αὐγὴν ἀληθείας ἰδεῖν, θανάτου κινδύνῳ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ηὐτόνησεν, ὀλίγα φροντίσασα τοῦ ζῆν, εἰ μὴ μέλλοι καλῶς ζῆν· τὸ δὲ καλῶς ἀνέφερεν ἐπ' οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ ἐπὶ **τὴν θεραπείαν καὶ ἱκεσίαν** τοῦ ἑνὸς αἰτίου. Καίτοι δυσὶν ἀδελφοῖς ἀμφοτέροις πονηροῖς ἐν μέρει γημαμένη . . . ἀλλ' ὅμως ἀκηλίδωτον **διαφυλάξασα** τὸν ἑαυτῆς βίον ἴσχυσε καὶ προσηκούσης τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς εὐφημίας ἐπιλαχεῖν καὶ τοῖς μεθ' αὐτὴν ἅπασιν εὐγενείας ἀρχὴ γενέσθαι.

894 P. ἄνω συνῳκοδόμηται θωρακίου τρόπον· τὸ δὲ ἄχρι τέγους M. 476, 30
ἀνάγειον ἀχανὲς ἀνεῖται, δυοῖν ἕνεκα· τοῦ τε τὴν πρέ-
πουσαν αἰδῶ τῇ γυναικείᾳ φύσει διατηρεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῦ
τὴν ἀντίληψιν ἔχειν εὐμαρῆ καθεζομένας ἐν ἐπηκόῳ,
μηδενὸς τὴν τοῦ διαλεγομένου | φωνὴν ἐμποδίζοντος. 35
Ἐγκράτειαν δὲ ὥσπερ τινὰ θεμέλιον προκαταβαλλό-

οἰκιῶν 29. τέτταρας DQM || εἰς τὰ Q 30. εὖ ᾠκοδόμηται Arm.: συνῳκοδόμηται codd. et edd.: Lat. ᾠκοδόμηται om. συν: συνῳκοδόμητο β || θωρακίου AM: θωρακείου cett. codd. et edd. || θωρακίου τρόπον] forsan legerit Arm. θωράκιον om. τρόπον: Lat. 'vice thoracis' 31. δὲ post ἄχρι tr. β || στέγους M Mang. || ἀνάγειον AOGHKQ Turn.: ἀνώγεων I: ἀνώγεον β Mang.: ἀνάγνον ut uidetur C: ἀνάγαιον P || ἀχανὲς] τ' ἀχανὲς B: τάχ' ἂν MD sed in mg. man. rec. ἀχανὲς || ἀνεῖται ABDMγOPQ Turn.: ἀνίεται E Mang. 34. καθεζομένας ἐν ἐπηκόῳ om. Lat. || ὑπηκόῳ G || μηδενὸς AOQ Arm. forsan Lat.: ὡς μηδενὸς cett. codd. et edd. 35. ἐγκράτειαν usque 48 ἐθισθέντες laudat Euseb.

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30. De Sp. Leg. 2. 324 ἀδίκημα δρῶσι . . . ὅσοι κατασκευάζοντες οἰκίας ἰσόπεδα καταλείπουσι τὰ **τέγη**, περιστεφανοῦν **θωρακίοις** δέον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ κατακρημνισθῆναι λαθόντα.—De Pr. et Poen. 2. 427 ἐδικαίωσε γὰρ ὁ θεὸς γέρας τοῖς σπουδαίοις παρασχεῖν εὖ συνῳκοδομημένην καὶ συνηρμοσμένην ἐκ θεμελίων **ἄχρι στέγους οἰκίαν**.

31. De Sp. Leg. 2. 324 ὀρύγματα γῆς εἰώθασί τινες εὖ μάλα βαθύνειν . . . εἶθ' ὑπονόμους εὑρύναντες ἀφανεῖς [?**ἀχανεῖς**], δέον τὰ στόμα ἢ περιοικοδομῆσαι ἢ περιπωμάσαι . . . **ἔασαν ἀχανῆ**.

De Mon. 2. 224 αἱ δὲ εὐρυχωρίαι καὶ τὸ ἀναπεπταμένον καὶ **ἀνειμένον** πάντῃ, **μηδενὸς** τὰς ὄψεις **ἐμποδίζοντος**, πρὸς τὴν τῶν εἰσιόντων καὶ ἐνδιατριβόντων ἀκριβῆ θέαν ἱεροπρεπωδέστατον.

36. De Gig. 1. 266, 43 αὕτη γὰρ **καθάπερ τις θεμέλιος** ἀγνοίας καὶ ἀμαθίας πρῶτος καὶ μέγιστος **ὑποβέβληται** ᾧ τῶν εἰρημένων ἕκαστον **ἐποικοδομεῖται**. —De Cherub. 1. 157 ἵνα δὲ βέβαιος καὶ περικαλλέστατος εἴη ὁ οἶκος, **θεμέλιοι** μὲν **ὑποβεβλήσθωσαν** εὐφυΐα καὶ διδασκαλία, **ἀρεταὶ** δὲ μετὰ καλῶν πράξεων **ἐποικοδομείσθωσαν** αὐτῷ.—De Mutat. Nom. 1. 610, 35 πάντα τὰ ἀκούσματα καὶ μαθήματα **ἐποικοδομεῖται καθάπερ θεμελίῳ προκαταβεβλημένῳ**, φύσει παιδείας δεκτικῇ.—De Somn. 1. 639, 35 **ἐγκράτειαν**, ὀλιγύδειαν, καρτερίαν ὥσπερ κρηπῖδάς τινας ὅλου τοῦ βίου **καταβεβλημένοι ψυχῆς** ἀσφαλεῖς ὑποδρόμους, οἷς ἀκινδύνως καὶ **βεβαίως** ἐνορμιεῖται· χρημάτων καὶ ἡδονῆς καὶ δόξης κρείττους, **σιτίων καὶ ποτῶν** καὶ αὐτὸ μόνον τῶν **ἀναγκαίων**, ἐφ' ὅσον μὴ νεωτερίζειν ἄρχεται λιμός, ὑπερόπται· **πεῖναν** δέχεσθαι καὶ **δίψος θάλπος** τε καὶ **κρύος** καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα δυσκαρτέρητα ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς κτήσεως ἑτοιμότατοι· ζηλωταὶ τῶν εὐποριστοτάτων, ὡς μηδ' ἐπ' **εὐτελῇ χλαίνῃ** ποτὲ δυσωπηθῆναι, τὸ ἐναντίον δὲ τὰς **πολυτελεῖς**

894 P. μενοι τῇ ψυχῇ, τὰς ἄλλας ἐποικοδομοῦσιν ἀρετάς. M. 476
Σιτίον δὲ ἢ ποτὸν οὐδεὶς ἂν αὐτῶν προσενέγκαιτο πρὸ
ἡλίου δύσεως, ἐπειδὴ τὸ μὲν φιλοσοφεῖν | ἄξιον φωτὸς 40
κρίνουσιν εἶναι, σκότους δὲ τὰς τοῦ σώματος ἀνάγκας·
ὅθεν τῷ μὲν ἡμέραν, ταῖς δὲ νυκτὸς βραχύ τι μέρος

H. E. ii. 17: προκαταβαλόμενοι Arm. BEKP edd. 36, 37. προκαταβαλλόμενοι· τῆς ψυχῆς τὰς A; sed cett. codd. et edd. Euseb. Arm. quoque uersio ita legunt: προκ. τῇ ψυχῇ, τὰς: Lat. prae se fert τῆς ψυχῆς, τὰς 38. σιτίον δὲ codd. Arm. edd.; σιτίον om. δὲ Lat. et Euseb. || οὐδεὶς ἂν AγOPQ: οὐδ' ἂν εις B sed rec. man. supra vs. ἂν εἰς scr.: οὐδ' ἂν εἰς D: οὐδένα ἂν E sed in mg. corr. οὐδεὶς: οὐδενὸς ἂν M || προενέγκαιτο CHK 39. ἐπεὶ Euseb. 40. εἶναι om. Arm. || σκότος Q 41. τοῦ σώματος Euseb. Arm. Latinaque uersiones: σωματικὰς codd. et edd. || ὅθεν τὸ μὲν, sed τὸ supr. scr. man. rec., Q || ἡμέραν AγPQ Arm. Euseb.: ἡμέρας β edd. 42. νυκ-

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ὄνειδος καὶ μεγάλην τοῦ βίου ζημίαν νομίσαι.—De Somn. i. 660 ταῦτα μὲν δὴ θεμελίων τρόπον, προκαταβεβλήσθω. Τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τῆς σοφῆς ἀρχιτέκτονος ἀλληγορίας, ἑπόμενοι παραγγέλμασιν ἐποικοδομῶμεν.—De Confus. i. 405 εἰ τὰ τῆς συμπάσης μέρη γῆς ἐποικοδομηθείη προκαταβληθέντι βραχεῖ θεμελίῳ.

De Gig. i. 267 αὕτη γὰρ [sc. ἡ σαρκῶν φύσις] καθάπερ τις θεμέλιος ἀγνοίας καὶ ἀμαθίας πρῶτος καὶ μέγιστος ὑποβέβληται, ᾧ τῶν εἰρημένων ἕκαστον ἐποικοδομεῖται.

38. De Pl. Noe i. 351 οὐ γὰρ θανάσιμον φάρμακον προσενέγκαιτο ἄν.—V. M. 2. 113 τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὴν τότε ἀνάγκην τε καὶ χρῆσιν αὐτάρκη κατασκευάσαντες μεθ' ἡδονῆς προσηνέγκαντο.

V. M. 2. 138 τίς δὲ τὴν λεγομένην νηστείαν οὐ τέθηπε καὶ προσκυνεῖ . . . Ἐν ᾗ μὲν γὰρ πολὺς ἄκρατος καὶ τράπεζαι πολυτελεῖς καὶ ὅσα περὶ ἑδωδὴν καὶ πόσιν ἄφθονα πάντα, δι' ὧν αἱ ἀκόρεστοι γαστρὸς ἡδοναὶ συναύξονται, προσαναρρηγνῦσαι καὶ τὰς ὑπογαστρίους ἐπιθυμίας· ἐν ᾗ δὲ οὐ σιτίον οὐ ποτὸν ἔξεστι προσενέγκασθαι, καθαραῖς ὅπως διανοίαις μηδενὸς ἐνοχλοῦντος μηδὲ ἐμποδίζοντος σωματικοῦ πάθους . . . ἑορτάζωσιν.

40. De Somn. i. 636 ἡ οὐ νυκτὶ μὲν καὶ σκότῳ κρύπτεται πάντα ὡς ἧττον ἢ μηδ' ὅλως αἰδεῖσθαι, ἡμέρᾳ δὲ καὶ φωτὶ ἀνακαλύπτεται, ὡς τότε μᾶλλον ἐρυθριᾶν ἀναγκάζεσθαι.—De Sacrificant. 2. 260 ὀλιγωρεῖν ἀληθείας καὶ τὰ νύκτα καὶ σκότος κεκληρωμένα μεταδιώκειν παρέντας τὰ φωτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἄξια.—Quod Det. Pot. Insid. i. 210 ἡ ὄψις . . . ὁράτω τὰ φωτός, μὴ σκότους ἄξια.

41. Leg. Alleg. i. 117 σωματικαῖς ἀνάγκαις μὴ χρῆσθαι.—cp. Leg. Alleg. i. 95, 30.—Quis Rerum i. 512, 34 ταῖς σώματος ἀνάγκαις.

Leg. Alleg. i. 61 οὐχ ὁρᾷς, ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἐγκρατέστατοι ἀνάγκῃ τοῦ θνητοῦ παραγίνονται ἐπὶ σιτία καὶ ποτά, ἐξ ὧν αἱ γαστρὸς ἡδοναὶ συνίστανται.

42. De Prov. ex Eus. Praep. Ev. 2. 642 βραχὺ γὰρ οὗτοι μέρος.

894 P. ἔνειμαν. Ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὑπομιμνήσ- M. 476
κονται τροφῆς, οἷς πλείων ὁ πόθος ἐπιστήμης ἐνίδρυ-
ται· τινὲς δὲ οὕτως | ἐνευφραίνονται καὶ τρυφῶσιν ὑπὸ 45
σοφίας ἑστιώμενοι, πλουσίως καὶ ἀφθόνως τὰ δόγματα

τὸς β. τι μ. AOPQ Arm. Euseb.: βραχύ τι μέρος om. νυκτὸς β: βραχύ τι μέρος τῆς νυκτός Lat. γ Turn. Mang. || καὶ om. Arm. Turn. 44. πλεῖον GDI || ὁ om. β, puto et Arm. omisisse || ἐπιστήμης πόθος Arm. Lat. 45. ἐνευφραίνονται Euseb. A(?)GHIKMOPQ Lat.: ἀνευφραίνονται BCDE Turn. Mang. || ἑστιώμενοι] εὐφραινόμενοι P

De Somn. 1. 677 ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐπιλάμψαι ποτὲ τούτοις γινομένοις ἥλιος, ἐπεὶ βαθὺ μὲν σκότος κακοῖς, τηλαυγὲς δὲ φῶς ἀγαθοῖς ἐφαρμόζει.

44. De Pr. et Poen. 2. 421 πλησίον δέ ἐστι καὶ ἐγγυτάτω τρισὶ μέρεσι τοῖς καθ' ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ἐνιδρυμένον στόματι καὶ καρδίᾳ καὶ χερσί.—De Decal. 2. 189 ταῖς ἑκάστων διανοίαις ἐνιδρύσθαι.—De Prov. ex Eus. Praep. Ev. 2. 646 σωτηρίας δὲ πόθος ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς οὐ λογικαῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλόγοις ἐνίδρυται. —De Sac. Wendland N. E. Fr. p. 13 ἡ δ' ἀψευδὴς καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν εὐφροσύνη φρόνησίς ἐστιν ἐνιδρυμένη ψυχῇ βεβαίως.

45. De Post. Caini 1. 232, 10 ἐνευφραίνεται καὶ ἐντρυφᾷ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀμιγέσι καὶ ἀκράτοις.—De Agric. 1. 307 οἱ μὲν γὰρ τρυφᾶν ἐν ἀφθόνοις ὕλαις ἀναπείθουσιν.—De Sacrificant. 2. 257 οἰκτροὶ δὲ καὶ κακοδαίμονες, ὅσοι μὴ τὸν ἀρετῆς πόνον εὐωχήθησαν· καὶ κακοδαιμονέστατοι διετέλεσαν, οἱ εἰς ἅπαν ἄγευστοι καλοκἀγαθίας, παρὸν καὶ ἐνευφρανθῆναι καὶ ἐντρυφῆσαι δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ὁσιότητι.

45–48. V. M. 2. 146 σιτίων τε καὶ ποτῶν ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας ἐξῆς ἠλόγησε, δῆλον ὅτι τροφὰς ἔχων ἀμείνους τὰς διὰ θεωρίας.—Leg. Alleg. 1. 115, 19 οὕτω καταφρονητικῶς ἔσχηκεν [sc. ὁ σοφὸς] αὐτῆς [sc. τῆς γαστέρος] ὥστε οὐδὲ ἀναγκαῖα σιτία ἢ ποτὰ προσίεται, θεωρίᾳ τῶν θείων τρεφόμενος.—De Somn. 1. 628, 18 μακάριοι μὲν οὖν, οἷς ἐξεγένετο τῶν σοφίας φίλτρων ἀπόνασθαι καὶ τῶν θεωρημάτων καὶ δογμάτων αὐτῆς ἑστιαθῆναι, καὶ ἀνευφρανθεῖσιν ἔτι διψῆν, ἄπληστον καὶ ἀκόρεστον ἐπιφερομένοις ἵμερον ἐπιστήμης.—De Sp. Leg. 2. 299 ἀεὶ θείοις λογίοις συγκινούμενος καὶ δόγμασιν, ὧν ἀπλήστως καὶ ἀκορέστως ἔχων ἐνευφραινόμην.—De Iustit. 2. 359 μὴ μόνον ἐγρηγορότες ἀλλὰ καὶ κοιμώμενοι φαντασίαις τῶν δικαίων ἐνευφραίνωνται.—De Sept. 2. 279 εἰκότως ἐνευφραινόμενοι ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ἅπαντά γε τὸν βίον ἑορτὴν ἄγουσιν.—L. A. C. 2. 591 φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἄκροις χείλεσι γευσάμενος, ἀλλ' ἐπιπλέον ἑστιαθεὶς καὶ σχεδόν τι καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἑστιώμενος.

46. Leg. Alleg. 1. 54, 4 ὁ δὲ πλαστὸς οὐδὲ ἐργάζεται τὰς ἀρετὰς οὐδὲ φυτεύει, ἀλλὰ μόνον εἰσάγεται εἰς τὰ δόγματα, ἀφθονίᾳ θεοῦ, μέλλων αὐτίκα φυγὰς ἀρετῆς ἔσεσθαι.—De Confus. 1. 408, 46 εἰς χορηγίας ἀφθόνους.—De Post. Caini 1. 260, 28 χορηγὸς δέ ἐστι τούτου τοῦ δόγματος.—V. M. 2. 136 πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τρυφὴ πλεονάσασα χορηγίαις καὶ περιουσίαις ἀφθόνοις καθεῖλε νόμους.

De Hum. 2. 392 καὶ τίς ἂν εἴποι τῶν μὴ χείλεσιν ἄκροις ἀπογευσαμένων τῆς νομοθεσίας, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πλέον ἑστιαθέντων καὶ ἐντρυφήσαντων ἡδίστοις ἅμα καὶ καλλίστοις δόγμασιν.

894 P. χορηγούσης, ὡς καὶ πρὸς διπλασίονα χρόνον ἀντέχειν M. 476
καὶ μόλις δι' ἓξ ἡμερῶν ἀπογεύεσθαι τροφῆς ἀναγ-
καίας· ἐθισθέντες, ὥσπερ φασὶ τὸ τῶν τεττίγων ||
γένος, ἀέρι τρέφεσθαι, τῆς ᾠδῆς ὡς οἶμαι τὴν ἔνδειαν M. 477
ἐξευμαριζούσης. Τὴν δὲ ἑβδόμην, πανιέρόν τινα καὶ
πανέορτον εἶναι νομίζοντες, ἐξαιρέτου γέρως ἠξιώκασιν·
ἐν ᾗ μετὰ τὴν ψυχῆς ἐπιμέλειαν | καὶ τὸ σῶμα λιπαί- 5
νουσιν, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ τὰ θρέμματα, τῶν συνεχῶν

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47. καὶ om. Q Arm.: cett. codd. Lat. Euseb. edd. praebent || om. πρὸς Arm. et Eusebii codices quidam 48. μόλις] B μόνης: μόγις Euseb. (ed. Laem.) || om. ἀναγκαίας Lat. 1. γένος γMPQ et fortasse E: γένους ABD Turn. Mang. || ἀέρι] ἄρτι BD || ὡς A: ὥς γε cett. codd. et edd. 3. πανέρωτον pro πανέορτον EM || εἶναι νομ. A Arm.: νομ. εἶναι cett. codd. et edd. 4. τὴν ψυχῆς AγO Turn.: τὴν τῆς ψ. cett. codd. Mang. 6. post

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48. De Sept. 2. 281 ἡ δι' ἓξ ἡμερῶν ἱερὰ ἑβδόμη.

49. Q. O. P. L. 2. 446 ἀρετῆς αὖρᾳ, καθάπερ ἀέρι φασὶ τοὺς τέττιγας, τρεφομένους.—Quis Rerum 1. 506 πάσης οὖν βαρυδαιμονίας ἀναπεπληρῶσθαι νομιστέον ἐκείνας, αἵτινες ἐν ἀέρι καὶ αἰθέρι τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ τραφεῖσαι μετανέστησαν, τὸν θείων ἀγαθῶν κύρον οὐ δυνηθεῖσαι φέρειν ἐπὶ τὸ θνητῶν καὶ κακῶν χωρίον γῆν. —De Somn. 1. 625 ὁ δὲ οὐρανὸς ἀεὶ μελῳδεῖ, κατὰ τὰς κινήσεις τῶν ὄντων ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν πάμμουσον ἁρμονίαν ἀποτελῶν· ἧς εἰ συνέβαινε τὴν ἠχὴν εἰς τὰς ἡμετέρας φθάνειν ἀκοάς, ἔρωτος ἂν ἀκάθεκτοι καὶ λελυττηκότες ἵμεροι καὶ ἄπαυστοι καὶ μανιώδεις ἐγένοντο οἵστροι καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἠνάγκασαν ἀπέχεσθαι, τρεφομένους μηκέθ' ὡς θνητοὶ τοῖς σιτίοις καὶ τοῖς ποτοῖς διὰ φάρυγγος ἀλλ' ὡς οἱ μέλλοντες ἀπαθανατίζεσθαι δι' ὧτων τῆς μουσικῆς τελείας ἐνθέαις ᾠδαῖς. Ὧν ἀκροατὴν Μωϋσῆν [Exod. 24, 18] ἀσώματον γενόμενον λόγος ἔχει τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας καὶ τὰς ἴσας νύκτας μήτε ἄρτου μήτε ὕδατος ψαῦσαι τὸ παράπαν.

2. De Conc. 2. 351 ἐξευμαρίζων τὸ πάθος.—V. M. 2. 91 θεοῦ . . . τὰ λίαν φοβερὰ . . . ἐξευμαρίζοντος.

3, 4. De Somn. 1. 625 ἄνθρωπος ἐξαιρέτου παρὰ τὰ ἄλλα ζῷα γέρως ἔλαχε. —De Congr. 1. 535, 3 γέρας ἐξαίρετον δούς.—cp. De Profugis 1. 563, 36. —V. M. 2. 113 γέρας δὲ ἐξαίρετον ἡ ἱερὰ ἑβδομὰς εἶχεν.

5. De Somn. 1. 666 τί δὲ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλαίας ἐκθλιβομένου καρποῦ πλέον ἔδει ζητεῖν πρὸς ἀλείμματα; καὶ γὰρ λεαίνει καὶ κάματον σώματος λύει καὶ εὐσαρκίαν ἐμποιεῖ.

6. De Sept. 2. 282 ἵνα τοὺς συνεχεῖς καὶ ἀτρύτους πόνους χαλάσῃ καὶ τὰ σώματα μεμετρημέναις ἀνέσεσιν ἀνακτησάμενος καινώσῃ πάλιν πρὸς τὰς αὐτὰς ἐνεργείας.—De P. C. [A. M.] § 34 τοῖς τὴν ἱερὰν ἑβδόμην φυλάττουσι συμβαίνει . . . ὠφελεῖσθαι σῶμα καὶ ψυχήν· τὸ μὲν ἀναπαύλαις ἐκ τῶν συνεχῶν καὶ ἀτρύτων πόνων, τὴν δ' ὑπολήψεσιν ἀρίσταις περὶ θεοῦ ὡς κοσμοποιοῦ.

894 P. πόνων ἀνίεντες. Σιτοῦνται δὲ πολυτελὲς οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ M. 477
ἄρτον εὐτελῆ, καὶ ὄψον ἅλες, οὓς οἱ ἁβροδίαιτοι παραρ-
τύουσιν ὑσσώπῳ, ποτὸν δὲ ὕδωρ ναματιαῖον αὐτοῖς
ἐστί. Ἃς | γὰρ ἡ φύσις ἐπέστησε τῷ θνητῷ γένει 10

θρέμματα comma praebent A Arm. Lat. Turn.: om. Mang. 7. ἀλλ' βQ: ἀλλὰ cett. codd. et edd. 8. ἅλες AγQ et ut uid. Arm. edd.: ἅλας β: ἁλᾶς sic P ubi ε sup. scr. pr. man. || ἅλες ὄψον Arm. Lat. || pro ἁβροδίαιτοι Arm. prae se fert μάγειροι uel σιτοπόνοι uel ὀψαρτυταί, idem tamen uocabulum 483. 7 ad uerbum exprimet: ἁβροδιαίτατοι γ Turn. Mang. 9. δὲ om. Lat. edd.: δ' βγQ: δὲ A? OP Arm. || Arm. ordinem uerborum non eundem praebet: ἔστι δὲ ποτὸν αὐτοῖς ὕδωρ ναματιαῖον, confer Lat. '*potus eis aqua fontanea*' || ἐστί A: ἐστίν cett. 10. φύσις om. ἡ

7, 8. De Vict. 2. 239 συνεπιτίθεται δὲ τοῖς ἄρτοις λιβανωτὸς καὶ ἅλες.

7–21. De Pr. et Poen. 2. 424 πλοῦτος ὁ τῆς φύσεως εὐτελής ἐστι [sc. τοῖς ἑπομένοις θεῷ] τροφὴ καὶ σκέπη. Τροφὴ μὲν οὖν ἄρτος καὶ ναματιαῖον ὕδωρ . . . σκέπης δὲ διττὸν εἶδος, τὸ μὲν ἀμπεχόνη, τὸ δὲ οἰκία, διὰ τὰς ἀπὸ κρυμοῦ καὶ θάλπους παρακολουθούσας ζημίας. ὧν ἑκατέρα, εἴ τις ἐθελήσειε τὴν περίεργον καὶ περιττὴν ἀφελεῖν πολυτέλειαν, εὐποριστότατον. Οἱ δὲ ἂν ζηλώσωσι τὰ λεχθέντα ἀσπασάμενοι τὰ φύσεως δῶρα, μὴ τὰ τῆς κενῆς δόξης, ὀλιγύδειαν καὶ ἐγκράτειαν ἀσκήσαντες, ἔξουσι κατὰ πολλὴν περιουσίαν καὶ τὸν τῆς ἁβροδιαίτου τροφῆς πλοῦτον οὐκ ἐπιτηδεύσαντες.—De Ios. 2. 63 ἀκράτου δίχα ζῶσιν ἄνθρωποι ναματιαίῳ ὕδατι ποτῷ χρώμενοι.—Qu. in Exodum Sermo 2. § 18: Cur dicit: 'Benedicam panem tuum et aquam, et auertam infirmitates a te'? [23, 25]. Cibum et sanitatem subsignat: cibum per 'panem et aquam,' sanitatem uero per 'auersionem infirmitatum.' Secundo religiosam abstinentiam enunciat perceptione necessariorum ciborum, haec tantum dicens, quod *cibus* sit *incomptus panis superfluis carens*, et *potus aqua scaturiens*: his positis sanitas erit. Tertio tam uitae, quam bonae uitae memoriam facit: siquidem ad uiuendum necessaria sunt panis et aqua, ad bene uero uiuendum apathia et integritas morum. Quarto uidetur Scriptura causam sanitatis declarare frugalitatem uictus [i.e. εὐτέλειαν]: quoniam uini compotationes et comessationes dapum, quae per auiditatem et gulam aguntur, ob abusum expletionis [potius διὰ τὸ πολυτελές] efficiunt morbum causasque magnarum infirmitatum. Quinto doctrinam nobis dignissimam rite docet, admonens, quod nec panis neque aqua per se nutriunt, sed aliquando etiam damnum ferunt magis quam utilitatem, nisi diuinum uerbum istis quoque concedat perutilem uirtutem. Quamobrem et dixit: 'Benedicam pani tuo et aquae tuae'; eo quod non sunt sufficientes per se solum nutrire sine diuina conciliatione cum anima.

10. Quis Rerum 1. 480, 29 τὴν τροφὸν καὶ τιθηνὸν τοῦ θνητοῦ γένους, αἴσθησιν.

895 P. δεσποίνας, πεῖνάν τε καὶ δίψαν, ἀπομειλίσσονται, τῶν M. 477
εἰς κολακείαν ἐπιφέροντες οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ αὐτὰ τὰ χρήσιμα, ὧν ἄνευ ζῆν οὐκ ἔστιν. Διὰ τοῦτο ἐσθίουσι μὲν ὥστε μὴ πεινῆν, πίνουσι δὲ ὥστε μὴ διψῆν, πλησμονὴν | ὡς ἐχθρόν τε καὶ ἐπίβουλον ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος 15
ἐκτρεπόμενοι. Ἐπειδὴ καὶ σκέπης διττὸν εἶδος, τὸ μὲν

Mang. || *ἐπέστησε* ADγMPQ Arm.: *ὑπέστησε* BEO edd. || *τῷ κοινῷ γένει καὶ θνητῷ δεσποίνας* BD 11. *δίψαν τε καὶ πεῖναν* Arm. 12. *φέροντες β* || *ἀλλὰ* A: edd. *ἀλλ'* || *αὐτὰ* om. I 13. *ἔστιν* A 14. *διψᾶν* IM 15, 16. *ψυχῆς τε καὶ σ. ἐκτ.* AEOPQ omissoque *τε* BDM Arm. Lat. Mang.: *ἐκτ. ψ. καὶ σώμ.* C Turn. 16. *ἐπειδὴ καὶ* AQ Arm.: *ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ* P: *ἐπειδὴ δὲ* omisso *καὶ* O: *ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ* cett. codd. et edd. || *εἶδος*] *γένος β* || add. *τὸ* ante *εἶδος*

δεσποίνας] Quis Rerum 1. 479, 1 *ἡ ζωὴ ἡ σὺν αἰσθήσει . . . ἣν* **δέσποιναν** *μὲν οἱ πολλοί.*—Quod Deus Sit Im. 1. 279, 44 *χαλεπῆς καὶ ἀργαλεωτάτης* **δεσποίνης**, *τῆς ἀνάγκης.*—De Hum. 2. 397 *τοῦ τῆς τροφῆς εἴδους τὰς πικρὰς* **δεσποίνας**, **δίψαν τε καὶ πεῖναν**, *ἐκφεύγειν,*—De Conc. 2. 349 *αἱ ἀμείλικτοι καὶ ἀπαραγόρητοι* **δέσποιναι** *τοῦ σώματος,* **δίψα καὶ πεῖνα**, *κατατείνουσιν αὐτό.* —De Somn. 1. 665 **Σιτίοις** *καὶ ποτοῖς τρεφόμεθα, κἂν ᾖ* **εὐτελεστάτη** *μάζα καὶ* **ὕδωρ ναματιαῖον**. *Ἔτι οὖν ἡ* **κενὴ δόξα** *προσεπέθηκεν ἀμήτων καὶ μελιπήκτων πεμμάτων γένη μυρία καὶ οἴνων ἀμυθήτων πολυέργους καὶ παμποικίλους κράσεις, πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν ἡδονῆς μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς μετουσίαν τροφῆς παρηρτυμένας. . . . Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ ταῦτα ὁ γαστρίμαργος μόνον ὁρμᾷ, σύμμαχον δὲ τὴν* **κενὴν δόξαν** *λαβὼν καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ λίχνον πάθος ἐγείρας* **ὀψαρτύτας** *καὶ τραπεζοποιούς, εὐδοκίμους τὴν τέχνην ἀναζητεῖ καὶ περιβλέπεται κ.τ.λ.*—De Cherub. 1. 152 *δουλεύσεις τὸν αἰῶνα* **χαλεπαῖς δεσποίναις**, *οἰήσεσιν, ἐπιθυμίαις, ἡδοναῖς.*—V. M. 2. 110 *θεὸν . . . ἐπιστάμενον τὴν ζῴων καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀσθένειαν καὶ τὰς τοῦ σώματος ἀνάγκας ἐκ τροφῆς ἠρτημένου καὶ* **δεσποίναις** **χαλεπαῖς** *συνεζευγμένου, βρώσει καὶ πόσει.*

13. De Prov. ex Eus. Praep. Ev. 2. 636 *οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ὅμοιον τροφῆς, ἧς ἄνευ* **ζῆν ἀδύνατον**, *εὐπορία χρημάτων. Μία τούτων ἐστὶ βάσανος ἐναργεστάτη λιμός, ᾧ τὸ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀναγκαῖον καὶ χρήσιμον δοκιμάζεται.*

15, 16. D. A. S. I. 2. 248 *τὴν χαλεπωτέραν τῶν ἐν τῷ σώματι παθῶν νόσον* **ψυχῆς ἐκτρεπόμενος.**—De Essaeis 2. 633 *ὀλιγοδείας ἐρασταί, πολυτέλειαν ὡς* **ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος** *νόσον,* **ἐκτρεπόμενοι.**—Q. O. P. L. 2. 455 *τὸν τῶν εἰκαιοτέρων* **ἐκτρεπόμενοι** *πολὺν ὅμιλον.*—Leg. Alleg. 1. 100, 48 *τὸ σῶμα . . . πονηρόν τε καὶ* **ἐπίβουλον τῆς ψυχῆς.**

16. Leg. Alleg. 1. 68 *τοῦ δὲ βοηθοῦ ἐστι διττὸν τὸ* **εἶδος**, *τὸ μὲν ἐν πάθεσι τὸ δὲ αἰσθήσει.*—D. A. S. I. 2. 238 *ἐσθῆτας τὴν ἀναγκαιοτάτην σκέπην σωμάτων.*

895 P. ἐσθής, τὸ δὲ οἰκία, περὶ μὲν οὖν οἰκίας εἴρηται πρότερον, M. 477
ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀκαλλώπιστος καὶ αὐτοσχέδιος, πρὸς τὸ
χρειῶδες αὐτὸ μόνον εἰργασμένη· | καὶ ἐσθὴς δὲ ὁμοίως 20
εὐτελεστάτη, πρὸς ἀλέξημα κρυμοῦ τε καὶ θάλπους,
χλαῖνα μὲν ἀντὶ λασίου δορᾶς παχεῖα χειμῶνος,
ἐξωμὶς δὲ θέρους, ἡ ὀθόνη. Συνόλως γὰρ ἐξασκοῦσιν

O || 17. περὶ μὲν οὖν A Arm.: περὶ μὲν cett. codd. et edd. || τῆς οἰκίας Q 18. πρότερον, ὅτι om. C 20. ἀλέξημα (sic) P 21. ἀπὸ β Lat. Mang.: ἀντὶ AγOPQ Arm. Turn. 22. παχεῖα post δορᾶς add. omnes nisi O Arm. et? Lat. || ἐξ ὠμῆς DM || ἡ ὀθόνη Arm.: ἡ ὀθόνη codd. et edd. 23. ὀθώνη Q || ἐξασκοῦσιν A: γὰρ καὶ ἀσκοῦσιν Q: cett. codd. et edd. ἀσκοῦσιν

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18. De Cherub. 1. 146, 43 οἱ τὴν ἀληθῆ καὶ οὖσαν ὄντως **ἀκαλλώπιστον εὐσέβειαν** μετὰ **ἀτυφίας ἀσκοῦντες**.—De Somn. 1. 665 ἀπανθρακίσαντας καὶ **αὐτοσχεδίως** ὀπτήσαντας πυρί, τρόπον ἡρωϊκῶν ὄντως ἀνδρῶν.

20–23. De Somn. 1. 666 ἀμπεχόνη πρὸς τὰς ἀπὸ **κρυμοῦ καὶ θάλπους** ἐγγινομένας βλάβας **τῷ** σώματι κατεσκευάσθη.—De Mutat. Nom. 1. 616, 9 **ἐσθὴς** γὰρ τὰς ἀπὸ **κρυμοῦ καὶ θάλπους** ἀνείργει βλάβας.—De Sp. Leg. 2. 273 καίτοι τῶν ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις ἡγεμονίαις οὐκ ὀλίγοι μέχρι νῦν εἰσὶν οἱ παμπληθεῖς ἔχοντες παρασκευὰς καὶ **χορηγίας ἀφθόνους**, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀεννάου τινὸς **πηγῆς πλούτου ῥέοντος** αὐτοῖς ἀδιαστάτως, ὅμως ἐφ' ἃ καὶ οἱ πένητες ἡμεῖς ἔστιν ὅτε τρέπονται, κεραμιαίας κύλικας καὶ ὀβολιαίους **ἄρτους** καὶ ἐλαίας ἢ τυρὸν ἢ λάχανα **προσόψημα** καὶ **θέρους** μὲν περίζωμα καὶ λινῆν ὀθόνην. **χειμῶνος δὲ χλαῖναν** ἀρραγῆ καὶ στρυφνήν, καὶ τὰ πρὸς κοίτην ἔστιν ὅτε χαμαίστρωτα, πολλὰ χαίρειν φράσαντες **κλίναις ἐλεφαντίναις**, ἢ **χελώνης** ἢ **χρυσοῦ** πεποιημέναις καὶ **στρωμναῖς** ἀνθοβαφέσι καὶ **ἐσθῆσι** καὶ **ἀλουργίσι**, καὶ **πεμμάτων** μελιπήκτων περιεργίαις καὶ τραπεζῶν πολυτελείαις.—De Essaeis 2. 633 κοινὴ δὴ οὐ τράπεζα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ **ἐσθὴς** αὐτοῖς ἐστιν· προκεῖνται γὰρ **χειμῶνι** μὲν στρυφναὶ **χλαῖναι**, **θέρει δὲ ἐξωμίδες εὐτελεῖς**, ὡς εὐμαρᾶς ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ, ἣν ἂν ἐθελήσοι λαβεῖν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰ ἐνὸς ἁπάντων καὶ τὰ πάντων ἔμπαλιν ἑνὸς ὑπείληπται.

21. V. M. 2. 143 φλόγα **λασίῳ** ὕλῃ κεχυμένην.

22. De Somn. 1. 653 ἡ δέ ἐστι [sc. **λινῆ** uel βύσσος] σύμβολον ε τονίας, ἀφθαρσίας, αὐγοειδεστάτου φέγγους· ἀρραγέστατον γὰρ ἡ **ὀθόνη** καὶ ἐξ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἀποθνησκόντων γίνεται.

23. De Pl. Noe 1. 342 οὐδὲ **συνόλως** ἐν αἰσθήσεως ὀργάνοις τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι. —cf. 1. 351 et passim.

23, 24. De Pr. et Poen. 2. 412, 19 **ἀληθείᾳ** δὲ **τῦφος** ἀντίπαλον.—De Pr. et Poen. 2. 412, 31 ἐκ **τύφου** μεθαρμοσάμενος πρὸς **ἀλήθειαν**.—De Somn. 1. 667 παγκάλως προσθήκην τὸν **ἀτυφίας μὲν** ἐχθρόν, **τύφου δὲ** ἑταῖρον ἀνόμασεν ὁ ἱερὸς

895 P. ἀτυφίαν, εἰδότες τύφου μὲν τὸ ψεῦδος ἀρχήν, ἀτυφίας δὲ M. 477
ἀλήθειαν, | ἑκάτερον δὲ πηγῆς λόγον ἔχον· ῥέουσι γὰρ 25
ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ ψεύδους αἱ πολύτροποι τῶν κακῶν ἰδέαι,
ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας αἱ περιουσίαι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνθρω-
πίνων τε καὶ θείων. Βούλομαι δὲ καὶ τὰς κοινὰς συνό-
δους αὐτῶν καὶ | ἱλαρωτέρας ἐν συμποσίοις διαγωγὰς 30
εἰπεῖν, ἀντιτάξας τὰ τῶν ἄλλων συμπόσια. Οἱ μὲν
γὰρ ὅταν ἄκρατον ἐμφορήσωνται, καθάπερ οὐκ οἶνον

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24. Lat. sensum praebet: *τῦφον μὲν τοῦ ψεύδους ἀρχὴν ἀτυφίαν δὲ ἀληθείας* quae legenda esse puto || *ἀρχήν* om. P, at est signum lacunae 25. *λόγον*] *τρόπον* Arm. 26. *μὲν* om. I || *ψεύδους*] *τύφου* P || *αἱ* om. Arm. || *κακῖῶν* Q || *τῶν* ante *ἀγ.* om. Arm. 28. *τῶν* addit ante *ἀνθρωπίνων* P Arm. 30. *ἐν συμπ. διαγ.* om. P, sed signum lacunae || *εἰπεῖν*] *εἰ που* E, sed in mg. corr. *εἰπεῖν* 31, 32. *ὅταν ἄκρατον ἐμφορήσωνται* om. P, sed signum lacunae

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λόγος . . . τῷ **ἀληθεῖ καὶ ἀτύφῳ** *βίῳ παρανέβλαστεν ὁ κατεψευσμένος καὶ* **τετυφωμένος.**—De Decal. 2. 181 *ὁ πάντων ἐπιβουλότατος . . .* **τῦφος.**

25, 26. Q. O. P. L. 2. 468 *ἥδ' ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ καὶ* **πηγὴ** *τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, ἀφ' ἧς αἱ κατὰ μέρος* **ῥέουσιν** *ὠφέλειαι.*—cp. De Cherub. 1. 154 *τῆς τοῦ καλοῦ* **πηγῆς** *ἑαυτοῦ.*—De Cherub. 1. 161 *ἀεννάους χαρίτων* **πηγὰς** *ἀναχέων.*—De Profugis 1. 560 *λόγον θεῖον, ὃς σοφίας ἐστὶ* **πηγή.**—De Sac. Ab. et C. 1. 175, 5 *ἡ* **πηγὴ** *τῆς σοφίας, ὁ θεός.*—Quod Det. Pot. Insid. 1. 207 *ἡ δὲ ἐκ τῆς λογικῆς* **ἀπορρυεῖσα πηγῆς** *τὸ πνεῦμα.*—De Pl. Noe 1. 342 *τέχνην,* **πηγῆς** *τρόπον ἀεὶ κινουμένην καὶ θεωρημάτων παντοίων ἰδέας ἀνομβροῦσαν.*—De Ebr. 1. 359 *τὸ ἀρχέκακον* [sc. *ἀπαιδευσία*] *ἀφ' ἧς ὥσπερ ἀπὸ* **πηγῆς ῥέουσιν** *αἱ τοῦ βίου πράξεις.* —V. M. 2. 111 *φυλαὶ . . . δώδεκα, ὧν ἑκάστη* **πηγῆς** *ἔξει* **λόγον εὐσεβοῦσα** *χορηγούσης εὐσεβείας ἀεννάους καὶ ἀνελλιπεῖς καλὰς πράξεις.*

27. De Ios. 2. 52 **πλουσίῳ** *προσθέμενος διὰ* **τὴν περιουσίαν.**

29–32. In Fl. 2. 537 *θίασοι κατὰ τὴν πόλιν εἰσι πολυάνθρωποι, ὧν κατάρχει τῆς κοινωνίας οὐδὲν ὑγιές, ἀλλ'* **ἄκρατος** *καὶ μέθη καὶ* **παροινίαι** *καὶ ἡ τούτων ἔκγονος ὕβρις·* **σύνοδοι** *καὶ κλῖναι προσονομάζονται ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων.*—In Fl. 2. 518 *τάς τε ἑταιρείας καὶ* **συνόδους,** *αἳ ἀεὶ ἐπὶ προφάσει θυσιῶν εἱστιῶντο, τοῖς πράγμασιν* **ἐμπαροῖνουσαι** *διέλυεν* [sc. *ὁ Φλάκκος*].—L. A. C. 2. 591 *τὸ βούλημα τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ . . . ἵνα* **ἐπιτρέπωσι** [sc. *οἱ ἐπίτροποι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπικρατειῶν*] *τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις μόνοις εἰς τὰ συναγώγια* **συνέρχεσθαι·** *μὴ γὰρ εἶναι ταῦτα* **συνόδους ἐκ μέθης καὶ παροινίας** *ἐπὶ συστάσει ὡς λυμαίνεσθαι τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης, ἀλλὰ* **διδασκαλεῖα σωφροσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης.**

30. *ἀντιτάξας*] De Sac. Ab. et C. 1. 172, 23 *πρὸς ἕκαστον ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος* **ἀντιταχθείς.**

32. De Hum. 2. 403, 5 *οἱ πολὺν ἄκρατον ἐμφορησάμενοι.*—Leg. Alleg. 1. 124, 3 *ὅταν οὖν ἁπλήστως* **ἐμφορηθήσεται** *τούτων ἡ ἡδονή.*—Quis Rerum

895 P. πίνοντες, ἀλλὰ παρακινηματικόν τι καὶ μανιῶδες καὶ M. 477
εἰ ἔτι τι χαλεπώτερον ἐπ᾽ ἐκστάσει λογισμοῦ φυσικόν, |

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32. *πιόντες* Arm. 33, 34. ita reddit Arm. admodum deprauata : *ἀλλὰ καθάπερ παρακινηματικὸν καί τι μανιῶδές τι καὶ εἰ ἔτι τι εἴη χαλεπώτερον* 33. *παρακινηματικόν* EMPQO : *περικινηματικὸν* A : *παρακινητικόν* BDγ edd. || *τι* om. AO : *τε* E : cett. codd. et edd. praebent *τι* || *καί τι μανιῶδες καὶ εἴ τι* (*τι* post *εἴ* in rasura a rec. man.) *χαλεπώτερον* Q : *καὶ εἴ τι μανιῶδες καὶ ἔτι χαλ.* P : *καὶ μανιῶδες καὶ εἴ τι χαλ.* Mang. ceteros secutus codd. || *καὶ ἔτι χαλ.* Turn. 34. *ἐπ᾽*] *ἐν* BDE || *ἐπεκτάσει* (sic) M || *φυσικὸν* APQ Arm. : *φυσικόν* (sic) M : cett. codd. et edd. *φυσικοῦ* : deest *φυσικόν*, sed lacuna fere septem litt. inest O : Lat. 'inusitatum'

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1. 488, 10 *αἴσθησιν δὲ ἀκόρεστον*, **ἐμφορουμένην** *μὲν ἀεὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν*.—De Profugis 1. 551, 35 *καὶ ἐὰν ἐπ᾽* **ἄκρατον** *μέντοι καὶ πολυτελεῖς τραπέζας ἴῃς θαρρῶν ἴθι . . . τὰς ἁπλήστους διοίξας ἐπιθυμίας ἀκόσμως* **ἐμφορήσεται**.—cp. De Somn. 1. 678.—De Ab. 2. 22 *τὰ γαστριμαργότατα . . . τροφῶν ἀπλήστως* **ἐμφορεῖται**.—De M. M. 2. 269 *βαρυδαιμονίας* **ἐμπεφορημένος ἀκράτου**.—De Sp. Leg. 2. 330 *τῷ* **ἄκρατον** *εἰς παροινίαν ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ πλησίον* **ἐμφορουμένῳ**.—V. M. 2. 159 **ἐμφορηθέντες ἀκράτου** *διπλῇ μέθῃ κατέσχοντο τῇ μὲν ἐξ οἴνου τῇ δὲ καὶ ἀφροσύνης*.—De Pl. Noe 1. 351 *φάρμακον δέ, εἰ καὶ οὐ θανάτου,* **μανίας** *γοῦν* **ἄκρατον** *εἶναι αἴτιον συμβέβηκε. Διὰ τί δὲ οὐχὶ καὶ μανίαν λεκτέον θάνατον, ὡς τὸ κράτιστον ἀποθνήσκει τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ὁ νοῦς ; Ἀλλά μοι δοκεῖ τις ἂν εἰκότως τὸν διακρίνοντα καὶ διαλύοντα ψυχήν τε καὶ σῶμα, ὡς κουφότερον, ἀντὶ βαρυτέρου τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἔκστασιν, εἴ τις ἦν αἵρεσις ἀνενδοιάστως ἐλέσθαι. Διὰ τοῦτο μέντοι καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς περὶ τὸν οἶνον ἐργασίας μαινομένην ἐκάλεσαν οἱ πρῶτοι, καὶ τὰς ἐξ αὐτοῦ κατασχέτους γενομένας βάκχας μαινάδας, ἐπεὶ μανίας καὶ παραφροσύνης αἴτιος τοῖς ἁπλήστως* **ἐμφορουμένοις** *ὁ οἶνος*.—De Ebr. 1. 377 **ἄκρατον** *καὶ πᾶν* **ἀφροσύνης** *φάρμακον*.

Quis Rerum 1. 508 **ἔκστασις** *ἡ μέν ἐστι* **λύττα μανιώδης** *παράνοιαν ἐμποιοῦσα κατὰ γῆρας ἢ μελαγχολίαν ἤ τινα ὁμοιότροπον ἄλλην αἰτίαν, ἡ δὲ σφοδρὰ κατάπληξις ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐξαπιναίως καὶ ἀπροσδοκήτως συμβαίνειν εἰωθόσιν, ἡ δὲ ἠρεμία διανοίας, ἐπειδὴ πέφυκέ ποτε ἡσυχάζειν, ἡ δὲ πασῶν ἀρίστη* **ἔνθεος** *κατοχή τε καὶ μανία, ᾗ τὸ προφητικὸν γένος χρῆται*.—De Somn. 1. 639 *οὐ γὰρ ἀξιοῖ* [sc. *ὁ νομοθέτης*] *τὸν ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελούμενον* **ἀβροδιαίτῳ** *βίῳ χρῆσθαι καὶ τρυφᾶν, ζηλοῦντα τὰς τῶν λεγομένων μὲν εὐδαιμόνων πρὸς ἀλήθειαν δὲ κακοδαιμονίας γεμόντων σπουδάς τε καὶ φιλοτιμίας, οἷς πᾶς ὁ βίος ὕπνος καὶ ἐνύπνιόν ἐστι, κατὰ τὸν ἱερώτατον νομοθέτην. οὗτοι μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν ὅταν τὰ ἐν δικαστηρίοις καὶ βουλευτηρίοις καὶ θεάτροις καὶ πανταχοῦ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀδικήματα διεξέλθωσιν, οἴκαδε ἀφικνοῦνται τὸν ἑαυτῶν οἶκον οἱ δυστυχεῖς καταστρέψοντες, οὐ τὸν τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων, ἀλλὰ τὸν συμφυᾶ τῆς ψυχῆς οἶκον, τὸ σῶμα, τροφὰς ἀμέτρους καὶ ἐπαλλήλους εἰσφοροῦντες καὶ πολὺν* **ἄκρατον** *ἄρδοντες, ἕως οὗ βύθιος μὲν ὁ λογισμὸς οἴχηται, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ γαστέρα,* **πλησμονῆς** *ἔκγονα, πάθη διαναστάντα,* **λύττῃ** *χρώμενα ἀκαθέκτῳ καὶ προσπεσόντα καὶ ἐμπλακέντα τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσι, τὸν πολὺν*

895 P. *κράζουσι καὶ λυττῶσι τρόπον κυνῶν ἀτιθάσων καὶ* M. 477, 35
ἐπανιστάμενοι δάκνουσιν ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀποτρώγουσι
ῥῖνας, ὦτα, δακτύλους, ἕτερα ἄττα μέρη τοῦ σώματος,
ὡς τὸν ἐπὶ Κύκλωπος καὶ τῶν Ὀδυσσέως ἑταίρων μῦθον
ἀποδεδειχέναι τούτους ἀληθῆ, | ψωμούς, ἧ φησιν ὁ 40
ποιητής, ἐσθίοντας ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ὠμότερον ἢ ἐκεῖνος.

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35. *κράζουσι* βQ Arm. Lat.: *ἀράσσουσι* A (ubi tamen *σσο* sup. ras. man. rec. scr.) γP edd. || *τρόπον κυνῶν* APQ Arm. Lat.: *τρόπῳ τινῶν* β: *κυνῶν τρόπον* γ edd. || *ἀτιθάσσων* M Mang.: *ἀτιθάσων* Q 37. *ἕτερα* APQ: *ἕτερ'* edd. || *ἄττα* PQ: *ἔτι* Arm. ut uid. || *μέρη*] *μέλη* B 38. *τῶν* om. P 39. *ἀποδεδεῖχθαι τούτοις* Arm. 40. Arm. ordo uerborum *ψωμοὺς ἀνθρώπων ἐσθίοντας, ἧ φ. ὁ π.*: eadem uerba Lat. om. || *ψωμῶν* BD *ψωμοὺς* M || pro *ἧ* dant *ἡ* AD, sed saepius

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οἶστρον ἀπερεύγοντα λωφήσῃ· νύκτωρ δέ, ὁπότε καιρὸς εἴη πρὸς κοῖτον τραπέσθαι, **πολυτελεῖς κλίνας** *καὶ εὐανθεστάτας* **στρωμνὰς εὑτρεπισάμενοι** *μαλακῶς σφόδρα κατακλίνονται, τὴν γυναικῶν ἐκμιμούμενοι τρυφήν, αἷς ἡ φύσις ἐπέτρεψεν ἀνειμένῃ χρῆσθαι διαίτῃ . . . τοιοῦτος οὐδὲ εἷς γνώριμος τοῦ ἱεροῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' οἱ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἄνδρες, σωφροσύνης καὶ κοσμιότητος καὶ αἰδοῦς ἐρασταί,* **ἐγκράτειαν,** *ὀλιγόδειαν, καρτερίαν ὥσπερ κρηπῖδάς τινας ὅλου τοῦ βίου* **καταβεβλημένοι** *ψυχῆς ἀσφαλεῖς ὑποδρόμους, οἷς ἀκινδύνως καὶ βεβαίως ἐνορμιεῖται· χρημάτων καὶ ἡδονῆς καὶ δόξης κρείττους,* **σιτίων καὶ ποτῶν** *καὶ αὐτὸ μόνον τῶν* **ἀναγκαίων,** *ἐφ' ὅσον μὴ νεωτερίζειν ἄρχεται λιμός, ὑπερόπται· πεῖναν δέχεσθαι καὶ* **δίψος θάλπος** *τε καὶ* **κρύος** *καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα δυσκαρτέρητα ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς κτήσεως ἑτοιμότατοι· ζηλωταὶ τῶν εὐποριστοτάτων, ὡς μηδ' ἐπ' εὐτελεῖ χλαίνῃ ποτὲ δυσωπηθῆναι, τὸ ἐναντίον δὲ τὰς πολυτελεῖς ὄνειδος καὶ μεγάλην τοῦ βίου ζημίαν νομίσαι.*

35 seq. De Pl. Noe 1. 353 *τὸ* **ἄκρατον** *οὐχ ὁμοίως οἱ νῦν τοῖς πάλαι προσφέρονται.* **Νῦν** *μὲν γὰρ ἄχρι τοῦ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν παρεθῆναι πίνουσιν ἀθρόως καὶ ἀπνευστὶ χαίροντες, ἔτι καὶ προσφέρειν τοῖς* **οἰνοχοουμένοις κελεύοντες,** *καὶ ἂν διαμέλλωσιν ἀγανακτοῦντες, ὅτι τὸν θερμὸν λεγόμενον παρ' αὐτοῖς ποτὸν περιψύχουσι, καὶ τὸ* **παράκομμα** *τῶν γυμνικῶν, τὸν* **παροίνιον ἀγῶνα** *πρὸς τοὺς συνόντας ἐπιδείκνυνται* [? *ἀποδείκνυνται*], *ἐν ᾧ μεγάλα καὶ καλὰ ἀλλήλους ἀντι-***δρῶσιν, ὦτα, ῥῖνας** *καὶ χειρῶν ἄκρους* **δακτύλους,** *καὶ ὁποῖα δ' ἂν* [? *δὴ ἂν*] *τύχῃ* **μέρη τοῦ σώματος** *ἀπεσθίοντες.*—De Somn. 1. 681, 1 *δυοῖν γοῦν συμποσίων τὸ μὲν πέπλησται γέλωτος, παιδιᾶς* **ἐπαγγελλομένων,** *ἀγαθὰ ἐλπιζόντων, χαριεντιζομένων* **εὐθυμίας, εὐφημίας, ἱλαρότητος, εὐφροσύνης,** *ἀδείας, τὸ δὲ συννοίας, κατηφείας, προσκρουσμάτων, λοιδοριῶν, τραυμάτων, βριμουμένων, ὑποβλεπομένων, ὑλακτούντων, ἀγχόντων, καταπαγκρατιαζόντων,* **ἀκρωτηριαζόντων ὦτα καὶ ῥῖνας** *καὶ ἅπερ ἂν τύχῃ* **τοῦ σώματος,** *τὴν τοῦ παντὸς τοῦ βίου* **μέθην** *καὶ* **παροινίαν** *ἐν* **ἀνιέρῳ ἀγῶνι** *μετὰ* **αἰσχρουργίας** *τῆς πάσης* **ἐπιδεικνυμένων.**

37. L. A. C. 2. 565 *τέθριππον . . .* **ἠκρωτηριασμένον ὦτα** *καὶ οὐρὰς καὶ βάσεις καὶ ἕτερα οὐκ ὀλίγα.*

895 P. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐχθροὺς ὑποτοπήσας ἠμύνετο· οἱ δέ, M. 477
συνήθεις καὶ φίλους, ἐστὶν δὲ ὅτε καὶ συγγενεῖς ἐφ'
ἁλῶν καὶ τραπέζης, ἄσπονδα ἐν σπονδαῖς ἐργασάμενοι,
τῶν | ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ὅμοια, καὶ παρακόπ- 45
τοντες ὥσπερ νόμισμα δόκιμον ἄσκησιν, οἱ ἀντὶ
ἀθλητῶν ἄθλιοι· τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐπιφημιστέον. Ἃ
γὰρ νήφοντες ἐν σταδίοις ἐκεῖνοι, θεαταῖς χρώμενοι

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omittunt ι subscr. isti codices ‖ *ἐσθίοντας ἀνθρώπων* A et forte Arm.: *ἐπεσθίοντας ἀνθρώπων* PQ: *ἐπεσθίοντας ἀνοῦς* (sic) BD: *ἐπεσθίοντας τοὺς ἀνοῦς* K: *ἐπέσθιον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους* H: *ἐπεσθίων τοὺς ἀνθρώπους* I: *ἐπεσθίοντας ἀνδρομέους* O edd., et forte EG: *ἐπεσθίοντας ἀνθρώπων* (sic) M 41. *ὠμότεροι* BM 42. *ἠμύνετο* A Turn.: *ἠμύνατο* cett.: om. Arm. 43. *φίλους· ἔστι* Mang. ‖ *ἔστιν δὲ* A: *ἔστι δὲ* cett. ‖ post *συγγενεῖς* add. comma Turn. 44. *ἄσπονδον ἔνσπονδον ἐν σπονδαῖς* Q ‖ *εἰργασμένοι* DM ‖ *ἐργασάμενοι τῶν* Turn. 41–45. locum Arm. ita reddit: *ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐχθροὺς ὑποτοπήσας εἶχε· οἱ δὲ . . . σπονδαῖς εἰργάσαντο· ἔνιοι δέ γε καὶ τὸν πάντα τρόπον ἐν ἑαυτοῖς* (uel *εἰς αὐτοὺς*) *ὁμοιοῦντες τῶν ἐν τοῖς γ. ἀγ. καὶ παρακόπτουσι κ.τ.λ.* Codices Graecos secutus sum, sed ista *τῶν . . . ὅμοια* remedio aliquo egere uidentur 46. *ὡς καὶ* Turn. Mang.: *ὥσπερ* codd. 48. *ἃ γὰρ*

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43. De Sp. Leg. 2. 315 *ἤδη γοῦν πολυάνθρωπα συσσίτια καθ' ἑταιρείαν συνελήλυθότων ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἅλας καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τράπεζαν ἐν σπονδαῖς ἄσπονδα ἔπαθεν, ἐξαίφνης διαφθαρέντα, καὶ θάνατον ἀντ' εὐωχίας ὑπηλλάξαντο.* —De Somn. 1. 686 *τῷ φιληδόνῳ,—ὃς οὐκ ἀφ' ἑνὸς γένους ἀκρασίας, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πάντων σχεδὸν εἰδῶν καὶ γενῶν τῆς ἀκολασίας ἄσπονδον καὶ φιλίων ἁλῶν ἐπιδεᾶ τράπεζαν ἐκπεπλήρωκεν.*

45. L. A. C. 2. 561 *οὐ γάρ, ὥσπερ τὸ νόμισμα παράκομμα καὶ θεοῦ μορφὴ γίνεται.*—Quis Rerum 1. 479 *τὸ φιλίας παράκομμα.*—De Mutat. Nom. 1. 604 *τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ προγονικὸν ἀρετῆς συγγενοῦς νόμισμα παρακόψαντα.*—De Mutat. Nom. 1. 610 *μιμηλίζοντες οἱ σοφισταὶ καὶ παρακόπτοντες τὸ δόκιμον νόμισμα.* —De Somn. 1. 683.—De Sp. Leg. 2. 328 *Ἄξιον ἐπαινεῖν καὶ τοὺς τῶν γυμνικῶν ἀγώνων ἀθλοθέτας, οἱ τῆς θέας ἀνείρξαν γυναῖκας, ἵνα μὴ γυμνουμένοις ἀνδράσι παρατυγχάνουσαι τὸ δόκιμον αἰδοῦς νόμισμα παρακόπτωσιν.*—Leg. Alleg. 1. 120 *τοὺς οὖν ἀσκητὰς ὥσπερ νόμισμα δοκιμάζει ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος.*

46. In Fl. 2. 531 *εἰ δὲ ἐφάνησαν ἠμέτεραι, προσέταττον οἱ ἀντὶ θεατῶν τύραννοι καὶ δεσπόται γεγονότες κρέα χοίρεια διδόναι κομίζοντας.*

47. De Post. Caini 1. 244 *θεῖον ἐπιφημίσαντες ὄνομα.*—cp. De Somn. 1. 646; De Ab. 2. 8.—De Ios. 2. 43 *οὐδὲ ὀνομαστὶ προσαγορεύειν ἠξίουν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ὀνειροπλῆγα καὶ ἐννυπνιαστὴν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπεφήμιζον.*

895 P. τοῖς Πανέλλησι μεθ' ἡμέραν, || ἕνεκα νίκης καὶ M. 478
στεφάνων Ὀλυμπιονῖκαι καὶ σὺν τέχνῃ δρῶσιν, οὗτοι
κιβδηλεύοντες ἐπὶ συμποσίων, νύκτωρ ἐν σκότῳ

AβγOPQ Arm.: ὥσπερ γὰρ Mang.: ἅπερ γὰρ Turn. 49. τοῖς παρὰ Πανέλλησι δοκιμωτάτοις Arm.: τοῖς Πανέλλησι AOPQ: τοῖς παρ' Ἕλλησι cett. || in editis comma abest ante μεθ' ἡμέραν 1. tanquam Ὀλυμπίων καὶ σὺν reddit Arm., unde puto eum Ὀλυμπιονῖκαι σὺν legisse: Ὀλυμπιονῖκαι σὺν A? GIKPQ Turn.: Ὀλυμπιονίκαις σὺν β: Ὀλυμπιονῖκα σὺν (ubi ο ex ω refinxit) CH: Ὀλυμπιονῖκαι καὶ σὺν O: Ὀλυμπιονῖκα· σὺν Mang. 2. δρῶσιν· οὗτοι Turn. || post οὗτοι add. Arm. γε uel δὴ || ἐπὶ συμποσίῳ MQ: ἐπὶ συμπόσια P 3. συμ-

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49. De Mutat. Nom. 1. 605 Ἀφ' οὗ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι ποιητῶν ὁ δοκιμώτατος ' Ὥσελ πτερὸν ἠὲ νόημα ' φάναι.

1. De Cherub. 1. 153 τὸ δὲ [sc. τὸ τύπτεσθαι] συμβέβηκεν ἀθλητῇ πυγμὴν ἢ παγκράτιον περὶ νίκης καὶ στεφάνων ἀγωνιζομένῳ.—De Pr. et Poen. 2. 409 οἱ δὲ παρελθόντες ὥσπερ εἰς ἱερὸν ἀγῶνα, τὴν ἑαυτῶν προαίρεσιν ἀνέφηναν εἰς ἐναργέστατον ἔλεγχον τῆς ἀληθείας. Εἶτα οἱ μὲν ἀθληταὶ ἀρετῆς ἀνευρίσκοντο, . . . οἱ δὲ αἰσχύνη καὶ γέλως θεατῶν ἐγένοντο. Δι' ἣν αἰτίαν οἱ μὲν βραβείων καὶ κηρυγμάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα νικῶσι δίδοται μετελάμβανον· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἀστεφάνωτοι μόνον ἀπῆεσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἦτταν ἐπονείδιστον ἐνδεξάμενοι τῶν ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἀργαλεωτέραν.—cp. De Somn. 1. 640; Leg. Alleg. 1. 101; De Ios. 2. 44.—De Agric. 1. 317 Τὸν ἐπιθυμίας καὶ θυμοῦ καὶ ἀκολασίας, ἀφροσύνης τε αὖ καὶ ἀδικίας προτεθέντα ἀγῶνα, ὦ θεαταὶ καὶ ἀθλοθέται, ἥττημαι μὲν ἐγώ, νενίκηκε δὲ οὗτοσί· καὶ οὕτως ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος νενίκηκεν, ὥστε καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἀνταγωνισταῖς ἡμῖν, οἷς εἰκὸς ἦν βασκαίνειν, μὴ φθονεῖσθαι. Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀνιέρων τούτων ἀγώνων ἆθλα παραχώρησον ἄλλοις, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν ὄντως αὐτὸς ἀνάδησαι. Ἱεροὺς δὲ μὴ νομίσῃς ἀγῶνας, οὓς αἱ πόλεις ἐν ταῖς τριετηρίσιν ἄγουσι, θέατρα ἀναδειμάμεναι πολλὰς ἀνθρώπων δεξάμενα μυριάδας . . . Ὁ τοίνυν Ὀλυμπιακὸς ἀγὼν μόνος ἂν λέγοιτο ἐκδίκως ἱερός, οὐχ ὃν τιθέασιν οἱ τὴν Ἦλιν οἰκοῦντες, ἀλλ' ὁ περὶ κτήσεως τῶν θείων καὶ Ὀλυμπίων ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀρετῶν. Εἰς τοῦτον τὸν ἀγῶνα οἱ ἀσθενέστατοι τὰ σώματα, ἐρρωμενέστατοι δὲ τὰς ψυχάς, ἐγγράφονται πάντες.—De Nobilit. 2. 438 ἐὰν οἱ τοῦ γένους ἀρχηγέται δι' ἀθλητικὴν ῥώμην ἐν Ὀλυμπιονίκαις ἢ περιοδονίκαις γράφονται.

2. De Sac. Ab. et C. 1. 190 τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν . . . διαλλάττοντας ἀεὶ τύπους δέχεται, τότε μὲν καθαροῦ καὶ δοκίμου, τότε δὲ παρακεκομμένου καὶ κιβδήλου νομίσματος.—cp. De Profugis 1. 549.—De Post. Caini 1. 241 καθ' ἃ καὶ ὁ νόμος δεδήλωκεν, ἐπισκήπτων ἡμῶν ἑκάστῳ μὴ κιβδηλεύειν τὸ ἀρετῆς νόμισμα. —De Gig. 1. 272 τὸ ἄριστον ἐκιβδήλευσαν νόμισμα καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀμείνω καὶ οἰκείαν τάξιν ἔλιπον.—De Sobr. 1. 395 οὓς μὲν γὰρ ἂν οὗτος ἀποδοκιμάσῃ καθάπερ ἀργυραμοιβὸς ἀγαθὸς ἐκ τοῦ τῆς ἀρετῆς νομίσματος, κεκιβδηλευμένοι, νεωτεροποιοὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἅπαντες.—cp. De Confus. 1. 429.

895 P. μεθύοντες, ἐμπαροινοῦντες, ἀνεπιστημόνως καὶ κακο- M. 478
τέχνως ἐπ᾽ ἀτιμίᾳ καὶ ὕβρει | καὶ αἰκίᾳ χαλεπῇ τῶν 5
ὑπομενόντων ἐνεργοῦσιν. Εἰ δὲ μηδεὶς οἷα βραβευτὴς
παρελθὼν μέσος διαλύσει, μετὰ πλείονος ἐξουσίας
καταπαλαίουσι, φονῶντες ἐν ταὐτῷ καὶ θανατῶντες.
896 P. Πάσχουσι γὰρ οὐκ ἐλάττονα ὧν διατιθέασιν, ἅπερ οὐκ
ἴσασι | παραπαίοντες, οἱ τὸν οἶνον, οὐχ ὡς ὁ κωμικός 10

ποσιωνύκτωρ (sic) A || post μεθύοντες add. καὶ uel τε καὶ Arm. || in uerba σκ. μεθ. explicit uersio Latina 4. κακωτέχνως AO Turn.: κακοτέχνως Mang. MPQ 5. χαλεπῇ αἰκίᾳ Arm. 6. παρελθὼν Arm., omittens forte μέσος: παρελθὼν μέσος AHIKOQ Turn.: παρελθὼν εἰς μέσους β: παρελθὼν μέσον CP: παρ. εἰς μέσον Mang. 7. διαλύσει A Arm.: διαλύσειε cett. || ἐξουσίας καταπ. codd. Mang.: comma add. Armena uersio 10. οἱ τὸν Q ||

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3. De Ios. 2. 48, 40 **μεθύω καὶ ἐμπαροινῶ** *ταῖς ἐλπίσι τοῦ πριαμένου.*—De Somn. 1. 670 *Τίς ἡ κυβερνήτης ἢ ναύκληρος οὕτω ποτὲ* **ἐμεθύσθη καὶ παρῴνησεν.**—De Post. Caini 1. 259 *ὑπὸ* **μέθης καὶ παροινίας.**—cp. De Ebr. 1. 371.

4. Quod Det. Pot. Insid. 1. 195 *ἀτέχνως ἢ* **κακοτέχνως.**—De Congr. 1. 539 **τέχνης** *μὲν γὰρ ὅρος οὗτος· σύστημα ἐκ καταλήψεων ἐγγεγυμνασμένων πρός τι τέλος εὔχρηστον—τοῦ 'εὐχρήστου' διὰ τὰς* **κακοτεχνίας** *ὑγιῶς προστιθεμένου. Ἐπιστήμης δέ· κατάληψις ἀσφαλὴς καὶ βέβαιος, ἀμετάπτωτος ὑπὸ λόγου.*

6. Quod Det. Pot. Insid. 1. 196 **δικαστὴς** *καὶ* **βραβευτὴς** *τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον* **ἀγώνων.**—Quis Rerum 1. 512 *ἄχρις ἂν ὁ* **βραβευτὴς** *καὶ* **δικαστὴς** *θεὸς διακρίνῃ τὸ κακούμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ κακοῦντος.*—cf. De Agric. 1. 317.

7. De Agric. 1. 318 *ὁ* **καταπαλαίσας** *τινὰ καὶ ὕπτιον ἢ πρηνῆ τείνας ἐπὶ γῆν.*

8. Qu. in Gen. Lib. ii. 2. 663 *ἀπὸ τῶν* **θανατούντων ἅμα καὶ φονώντων.**

De Sp. Leg. 2. 315, 30 *ἀναγκαῖον οὖν ἃ μελλήσουσι δι᾽ αὐτῶν ἕτεροι* **παθεῖν,** *τοὺς* **δρῶντας προδιαθεῖναι.**—De Sp. Leg. 2. 317, 23 *καιρίως δὲ τῆς πληγῆς ἐνεχθείσης, εἰ μὲν εὐθὺς θνήσκοι, καὶ ὁ παίσας θνησκέτω, τὰ ἴσα* **οἷς διέθηκε παθών.**—De Cherub. 1. 153 *ὁ δὲ οἰκέτης ἢ ὁ χαλκὸς μηδὲν ἀντιδρῶν ὑπέρριπται πάντα* **πεισόμενος,** *ὅσα ἂν ὁ* **διατιθεὶς** *ἐργάσασθαι διανοῆται.*—Leg. Alleg. 1. 102 *ὃ δὲ* **διατίθησιν** *ἄνθρωπον ὄφις, τοῦτο καὶ ψυχὴν ἡδονή.*—De Sp. Leg. 2. 312 *ἅτε ῥύμῃ καὶ φορᾷ βιαίῳ συναθοῦντες καὶ ἀνατρέποντες,* **οὐκ ἐλάττω ὧν διατιθέασι πάσχουσι.**—De Conc. 2. 352 *ταὐτὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων* **πάσχειν οἷς διατίθησι.**—De Iustit. 2. 372 *ἃ* **παθεῖν** *ἐμέλλησαν* **διατιθέντες.**—De Hum. 2. 404 **διαθεὶς** *ὃ* **ἔπαθες.**

10. In Fl. 2. 518 *μὴ ἄρα* **παραπαίεις** *καὶ μέμηνας.*—cp. De Profugis 1. 569; De Somn. 1. 643.—De Somn. 1. 680 *τὸ ἀφροσύνης καὶ τοῦ* **παραπαίειν** *φυτὸν ἄμπελον ὁρᾷ.*—De Ebr. 1. 357 *σύμβολον τὸν ἄκρατον . . . τοῦ ληρεῖν καὶ* **παραπαίειν.**

Quis Rerum 1. 473 *ὡς καὶ τὸ κωμικὸν ἀψευδῶς μᾶλλον ἢ* **κωμικῶς** *εἰρῆσθαι δοκεῖν.*

896 P. *φησιν, ἐπὶ κακῷ τῶν πλησίον αὐτὸ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ* M. 478
ἐπὶ τῷ ἰδίῳ πίνειν ὑπομένοντες. Τοιγαροῦν οἱ πρὸ
μικροῦ παρελθόντες εἰς συμπόσια σῷοι καὶ φίλοι,
μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐξίασιν ἐχθροὶ καὶ τὰ | σώματα ἠκρω- 15
τηριασμένοι· καὶ οἱ μὲν συνηγόρων καὶ δικαστῶν, οἱ
δὲ καταπλαστῶν καὶ ἰατρῶν καὶ τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν δέονται
βοηθείας. Ἕτεροι δὲ τῶν μετριωτέρων εἶναι δοκούντων
συμποτῶν, ὥσπερ μανδραγόραν τὸν ἄκρατον πιόντες,
ὑποβεβλύκασι, | καὶ τὸν εὐώνυμον ἀγκῶνα προβαλόν- 20
τες, καὶ τὸν αὐχένα ἐγκάρσιον ἐπιστρέψαντες, ἀνερευγό-

οἶνον, οὐχ ὡς Arm. codd. Turn.: *οἶνον οὐχ, ὡς* Mang. 11. *αὐτὸ* A Arm.; om. *β*O; *αὐτῶν γ* PQ Turn. Mang. (in textu, sed in adnot. *αὐτὸ* legendum esse censet) 13. *συμπόσια* A Arm.: *τὰ συμπόσια* cett. codd. et edd. 14. *ἐξῖασιν* Q || *ἐχθροί, καὶ* Mang. 16. *καταπλάστρων* AγOP: *κατὰ πλάστρων καὶ ἰατρῶν* sup. us. add. C 17. *τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν* Arm. *γ*: *τῆς ὑπὸ τούτων* AβOPQ Turn. Mang. || *ἕτεροι*] *ἔνιοι* Arm. 18. *εἶναι* om. *β* || *εἶναι δοκούντων* Arm. CHK: *δοκ. εἶναι* AGHI edd.: *εἶναι δοκούντων εἶναι* (sic) P || *συμπο+τῶν* A 19. *πίνοντες β*: *πιόντες* om. Q || *ὑποβεβλύκασι* AMQ et ut uidetur Arm.: *ὑποβεβλήκασι* cett., sed *υ* sup. *η* add. D 21. *αὐχένα*]

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11. De Sp. Leg. 2. 301 *τοὺς δὲ γυναιξὶν ἄλλων . . . ἐπιμεμηνότας καὶ ἐπὶ λύμῃ τῶν πλησίων ζῶντας, ὅλα γένη πολυάνθρωπα κιβδηλεύειν ἐπιχειροῦντας . . . ἀνίατον νόσον ψυχῆς νοσοῦντας, ὡς κοινοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἅπαντος ἀνθρώπων γένους κολαστέον θανάτῳ, ὡς μήτε ζῶντες ἐν ἀδείᾳ πλείους διαφθείρειεν οἴκους.*

12. De Ebr. 1. 361 *τὸν δὲ κομίζοντα τας συμβολὰς καὶ ταύτῃ μάλιστ' ἄν τις αἰτιάσαιτο, ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἀδικεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συναδικεῖν ἔγνωκεν ἑτέροις.*

13. In Fl. 2. 526 *ἐν πολέμῳ μὲν οἱ δυσμενεῖς ταῦτα· ἐν εἰρήνῃ δὲ οἱ πρὸ μικροῦ φίλοι, θεασώμεθα ὑποῖα.*—L. A. C. 2. 587 *γεγόνασιν οἱ πρὸ μικροῦ δοῦλοι δεσπόται ἑτέρων.*

15. De Cherub. 1. 156 *ἠκρωτηριασμένοι καὶ ἐκτετμημένοι τὰ κάλλιστα.*—cp. De Sac. Ab. et C. 1. 186 *ἐκτεμεῖν καὶ ἀκρωτηριάζειν.*

21. Qu. in Ex. Sermo ii. § 98 [Aucheri uersio] et ex uinolentia, et crapula retenti emittunt *eructationes*, exque inexplebili plenitudine dirumpuntur.—De Ebr. 1. 377 *πρὸς τὸ ἀβροδίαιτον ἀποκλίνας τὸν τῶν ἀσώτων ζηλώσει βίον, καὶ βεβαρημένος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀπ' οἴνου καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν παραβάλλων καὶ τὸν αὐχένα ἐγκάρσιον *ὀκλαζων* καὶ ὑπ' ἀμετρίας ἐρευγόμενος καὶ ὅλῳ διαρρέων τῷ σώματι, χέρνιβος ἢ βωμῶν ἢ θυσιῶν προσάψεται.*—De Ebr. 1. 390 *Εἴ γε ὕπνου μὲν καὶ ἐδωδῆς καὶ συνουσίας καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων ἀπλήρωτος οὐδείς, ἀκράτου δὲ σχεδὸν*

896 P. μενοι ταῖς κύλιξιν, ὕπνῳ βαθεῖ πιέζονται, μηδὲν μήτε M. 478
εἰδότες μήτε ἀκούοντες, ὡς μίαν μόνην ἔχοντες αἴσθησιν,
τὴν ἀνδραποδωδεστάτην γεῦσιν. Οἶδα | δέ τινας οἵ, 25
ἐπειδὰν ἀκροθώρηκες γένωνται, πρὶν τελέως βαπτισθῆ-
ναι, τὸν εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν πότον ἐξ ἐπιδόσεως καὶ

ἄγκωνα CK || ἀνερευγόμενοι ΑβγOPQ: ἐνερευγόμενοι Turn.: om. Arm.: ἐνεργόμενοι Mang. 22. πιέζοντα A: πιέζονται cett.: βιάζονται forte Arm. || μήτ' . . . μήτ' M 23. ἰδόντες AγPQ edd.: εἰδότες BM Arm. || ἀκούσαντες AGPQβ edd., quod in ἀκούσοντες refinxit C: ἀκούοντες HIK Arm. 24. ἀνδραποδέστατον Q: ἀνδραπωδεστάτην M 25. ἀκροθώρηκες A: ἀκροθόρικες O: ἀκροθόρακες BMPQ: ἀκροθώρακες plerique et edd. 26. τελείως P 27. om.

ἅπαντες καὶ μάλισθ' οἷς τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀσκεῖται· πιόντες γὰρ ἔτι διψῶσι καὶ ἄρχονται μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν βραχυτέρων κυάθων, προϊόντες δὲ ταῖς μείζοσιν οἰνοχοαῖς ἐγχεῖν παραγγέλλουσιν· ἐπειδὰν ἀκροθώρακες γενόμενοι χλιανθῶσιν, οὐκέτι κρατεῖν ἑαυτῶν δυνάμενοι, τὰς οἰνηρύσεις καὶ τὰς ἀμύστεις καὶ τοὺς κρατῆρας ὅλους προσενεγκάμενοι ἀκράτους πίνουσιν ἀθρόως, μέχρις ἂν ἡ βαθεῖ ὕπνῳ δαμασθῶσιν οὐκέτι κρατεῖν ἑαυτῶν δυνάμενοι, ἢ τῶν ὄγκων ἀποπληρωθέντων ὑπερβλύσῃ τὸ ἐπεισχεόμενον.—cp. De Pl. Noe 1. 351, 4 seq.

23. Leg. Alleg. 1. 123 ἢ τοὺς οἴνων ἔρωτι μεθύοντας οὐ καταλαμβάνεις, ὅτι ὁρῶντες οὐχ ὁρῶσι καὶ ἀκούοντες οὐκ ἀκούουσι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθήσεων ἀφῄρηνται τὰς ἀκριβεῖς ἐνεργείας.—De Somn. 1. 680 τῷ γὰρ ὄντι ὁ μὴ τὴν δι' οἴνου μέθην μᾶλλον, ἢ τὴν διὰ ἀφροσύνης ἐπιτηδεύων, ὀρθότητι καὶ ἐγρηγόρσει δυσχεραίνων, ὥσπερ οἱ κοιμώμενοι καταβέβληται καὶ παρίεται καὶ καταμέμυκε τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμματα, οὐδὲν οὔθ' ὁρᾶν οὔτ' ἀκούειν τῶν θέας καὶ ἀκοῆς ἀξίων οἷός τε ὤν.

24. D. A. S. I. 2. 239 καταγοητεύουσαι τὴν ἄμουσον καὶ ἀφιλόσοφον καὶ ἀνδραποδωδεστάτην τῶν αἰσθήσεων γεῦσιν.—De Conc. 2. 352 τὴν ἀνδραποδωδεστάτην τῶν αἰσθήσεων δελεάσαντα γεῦσιν.—cp. De Ab. 2. 22, 36.

26. Quod Det. Pot. Insid. 1. 224 συμφοραῖς ἀνηκέστοις βαπτίζοντα τὴν ψυχήν.—De Prov. ex Eus. Praep. Ev. 2. 647 Τεκμηριώσαιτο δὲ ἄν τις κἀκ τοῦ τοὺς μὲν νήφοντας καὶ ὀλιγοδεεῖς συνετωτέρους εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ ποτῶν ἀεὶ καὶ σιτίων ἐμπιπλαμένους ἥκιστα φρονίμους, ἅτε βαπτιζομένου τοῖς ἐπιοῦσι τοῦ λογισμοῦ.

27. De Ebr. 1. 359 ἀπείθεια καὶ ἐρεθισμὸς καὶ συμβολῶν εἰσφορὰ καὶ μέθη.—De Ios. 2. 70 προπύσεσιν, εὐχαῖς, παραινέσεσι ταῖς εἰς ἀνάληψιν, ἃ τοῖς ἐλευθέροις καὶ μὴ ἀμούσοις τὸ ἦθος ἡδίω τῶν ὅσα περὶ ἐδωδὴν καὶ πόσιν εὐτρεπίζουσιν οἱ φιλοεστιάτορες καὶ φιλόδειπνοι.—Quod Det. Pot. Insid. 1. 212 προευτρεπισθέντι . . . φαρμακῷ.—De Confus. 1. 417 τοὺς θιασώτας πάντας παρακαλεῖ τοῦ ἔργου μετασχεῖν, τὴν ἁρμόττουσαν προευτρεπισαμένους ὕλην.—De Somn. 1. 628 ἰατρῶν παῖδες λειποθυμίας ἀκεστήρια προευτρεπίζονται.—cp. De Somn. 1. 670; L. A. C. 2. 563; De Sp. Leg. 2. 309.—De Ebr. 1. 360 συμβολὰς καὶ ἐράνους εἰσφέροντες.

896 P. συμβολῶν προευτρεπιζομένους, μέρος ὑπολαμβάνοντας M. 478
τῆς ἐν χερσὶν εὐφροσύνης εἶναι τὴν περὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ
μέλλον | μέθης ἐλπίδα. Τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον διαζῶντες, 30
ἄοικοι καὶ ἀνέστιοι διατελοῦσιν, ἐχθροὶ μὲν γονέων
καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων, ἐχθροὶ δὲ καὶ τῆς πατρίδος,
πολέμιοι δὲ καὶ ἑαυτῶν· ὑγρὸς γὰρ καὶ ἄσωτος βίος
ἅπασιν ἐπίβουλος. | Ἴσως δ' ἄν τις ἀποδέξαιτο τὴν 35
ἐπιπολάζουσαν νυνὶ τῶν συμποσίων πανταχοῦ διάθε-
σιν, κατὰ πόθον τῆς Ἰταλικῆς πολυτελείας καὶ τρυφῆς

καὶ ante συμβολῶν Q 28. ὑπολαμβάνοντες β 29. ἀφροσύ-
νης Q || εἶναι, τὴν Turn. 30. καὶ ante τοῦτον add. Arm., nisi
τοῦτον δὲ τὸν legerit || forsan ζῶντες legerit Arm. || comma post
διαζῶντες om. Turn.: add. Mang. 32. καὶ τέκνων om. β
33. ὑγρὸς γὰρ Arm. βγ: ὑγρὸς δὲ A 35. δ' ἄν AHI: δὲ ἄν
BCMO 36. νυνὶ om. P, sed signum lacunae || τῶν συμπ. παντ.
AβOPQ Arm.: παντ. τῶν συμπ. γ edd. 37. πολυτελείας] πολιτείας

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29. De Somn. 1. 686 *τὴν γὰρ ἡδονὴν οἱ θιασῶται φασὶν αὐτῆς ἔκ τε μνήμης τῶν παρεληλυθότων τερπνῶν καὶ ἐξ ἀπολαύσεως τῶν ἐνεστηκότων καὶ ἐξ* **ἐλπίδος τῶν μελλόντων συνεστάναι.**

33. De Sp. Leg. 2. 273 **ὑγρὸν** *καὶ διαρρέοντα* **βίον** *ἀσπασάμενος.*—De P. C. [A. M. 21] *τρυφὴν καὶ χλίδην ἐζηλωκότες καὶ θαυμάζοντες μὲν τὸν* **ὑγρὸν βίον,** *διαρρέοντες δὲ κατά τε σῶμα καὶ ψυχήν.*

34. In Fl. 2. 523 *ἀργίαν καὶ σχολήν, πρᾶγμα* **ἐπίβουλον.**

35. De Decal. 2. 193 *τεκμήριον τῆς* **ἐπιπολαζούσης** *ἀσεβείας.*—Q. O. P. L. 2. 456 *διὰ τὴν* **ἐπιπολάζουσαν** *τῶν συνόντων ὀλιγωρίαν.*—De Prov. ex Eus. Praep. Ev. 2. 641 *Ἐπειδὰν οὖν ἔνδεια μὲν καὶ σπάνις δεινὴ καταλάβῃ τὰς πόλεις ἀρετῆς, ἀφθονία δὲ ἀφροσύνης* **ἐπιπολάσῃ.**—V. M. 2. 82 *δι' ἐπιπολάζουσαν ἀσέβειαν τῶν οἰκητόρων.*

De Prov. ex Eus. Praep. Ev. 2. 637 *ἐκεῖνοι* [sc. *ἰατροὶ*] *μὲν γάρ, ἐπειδάν τις εὐτυχὴς νοσήσῃ, κἂν ὁ μέγας ᾖ βασιλεύς, πάντα ὑπερβάντες τὰ περίστωα, τοὺς ἀνδρῶνας, τὰς γυναικωνίτιδας, γραφάς, ἄργυρον, χρυσὸν ἄσημον, ἐπίσημον,* **ἐκπωμάτων ἢ ὑφασμάτων πλῆθος,** *τὸν ἄλλον τῶν βασιλέων ἀοίδιμον κόσμον, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸν οἰκετικὸν ὄχλον, καὶ τὴν ἢ φίλων ἢ συγγενῶν ὑπηκόων τῶν ἐν τέλει θεραπείαν ἐάσαντες, διὰ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἄχρι τῆς εὐνῆς ἀφικόμενοι καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα ἀλογήσαντες, οὔτε ὅτι* **κλίναι λιθοκόλλητοι** *καὶ ὁλόχρυσοι θαυμάσαντες, οὔτε ὅτι* **ἀραχνουφεῖς ἢ λίθῳ γεγραφημέναι στρωμναί,** *οὔτε ὅτι* **ἐσθημάτων ἰδέαι διάφοροι,** *κ.τ.λ.*

37. L. A. C. 2. 561 *Πρὸς τοὺς γὰρ ἐν τέλει καὶ πλουσίους εὐτρεπεῖς ἦσαν αἱ παρασκευαὶ καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰταλίᾳ, παρ' οἷς*

896 P. ἦν ἐζήλωσαν Ἕλληνές τε καὶ Βάρβαροι, πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν M. 478
μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς εὐωχίαν ποιούμενοι τὰς | παρασκευάς. 40
Τρίκλινά τε καὶ περίκλινα χελώνης ἢ ἐλέφαντος κατεσκευασμένα καὶ τιμαλφεστέρας ὕλης, ὧν τὰ πλεῖστα λιθοκόλλητα· στρωμναὶ ἁλουργεῖς ἐνυφασμένου χρυσοῦ, καὶ ἀνθοβαφεῖς ἕτεραι παντοίων χρωμάτων, πρὸς | τὸ 45
τῆς ὄψεως ἐπαγωγόν· ἐκπωμάτων πλῆθος ἐκτεταγμένων καθ' ἕκαστον εἶδος. Ῥυτὰ γὰρ καὶ φιάλαι καὶ κύλικες καὶ ἕτερα πολυειδῆ τεχνικώτατα θηρίκλια καὶ τορείαις

Q: om. P sed signum lacunae 38. ἔνδειξιν Pβ: ἐπίδ. cett. 39. μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς om. P || εὐεξίαν pro εὐωχίαν, idque recte, puto Arm. legisse 40. τε καὶ περίκλινα om. P sed signum lac. || πολύκλινα Arm.: παράκλινα Q: περίκλινα cett. 42. τιμαλφεστάτας P || uerba ὕλης . . . πλεῖστα om. P sed signum lacunae || λιθοκόλλητοι P 43. χρυσοῦ AβγQ Arm. Turn.: χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου P Mang. 44. καὶ ἀνθοβαφεῖς] αὐταῖς P || ἕτεραι ἀνθ. tr. Arm. 46. ἐκτεταμένων β || εἶδος] εἶναι Q || ῥυτὰ δὲ καὶ β 47. ἕτερα om. Arm. 48. θηρίκλια

ἄργυρος καὶ χρυσὸς τεθησαύρισται τοσοῦτος, ὥστε εἰ σύμπας ὁ ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς ἄλλης οἰκουμένης ἀπὸ περάτων αὐτῶν συνενεχθείη πολλῷ καταδεέστερον ἂν εὑρεθῆναι.—L. A. C. 2. 547 παμπληθεῖς θησαυροὺς χρημάτων, ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσόν, τὸν μὲν ὡς ὕλην, τὸν δὲ ὡς νόμισμα, τὸν δὲ ὡς προκόσμημα δι' ἐκπωμάτων καί τινων ἑτέρων ἃ πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν τεχνιτεύεται.—De Sp. Leg. 2. 273 ὥμοσεν ἀντιφιλονεικῶν, ἕως ἂν τὰς χορηγίας ἔχῃ καὶ τὰς παρασκευάς, μηδενὶ χρήσεσθαι τῶν εἰς εὐτέλειαν, . . . ἀλλ' ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ τὸν πλοῦτον ἐπιδείξεσθαι. Πλούτου δὲ ταῦθ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐπίδειξις οὐκ ἔστι μᾶλλον ἢ ἀλαζονείας καὶ ἀκρασίας.—cp. De Somn. 1. 639 iam ante ad 477. 33 laudat.

40. De Somn. 1. 667 καὶ μὴν πρός τε ὕπνον μαλακὸν μὲν ἕδαφος αὔταρκες ἦν, ἐπεὶ καὶ μέχρι νῦν τοὺς Γυμνοσοφιστὰς παρ' Ἰνδοῖς χαμευνεῖν ἐκ παλαιῶν ἐθῶν κατέχει λύγος· εἰ δὲ μή, στιβὰς γοῦν ἐκ λίθων λογάδων ἢ ξύλων εὐτελῶν πεποιημένη κλίνη. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐλαφαντόποδες τὰ ἐνήλατα, καὶ κλιντῆρες ὀστράκοις πολυτελέσι καὶ ποικίλαις χελώναις ἐνδεδεμέναις μετὰ πολλῶν πόνων καὶ δαπανημάτων ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ κατασκευάζονται. Τινὲς δὲ ὁλοάργυροι καὶ ὁλόχρυσοι καὶ λιθοκόλλητοι στρωμναί, ἀνθηροποικίλοις καὶ χρυσοπάστοις ἔργοις, ὡς πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν καὶ πομπήν, οὐ τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν χρῆσιν διακεκοσμημέναι, ὧν δημιουργὸς ἡ κενὴ δόξα.

43. De Somn. 1. 654 ἀποδυσάμενοι δὴ τὸν ἀνθηρὸν τοῦτον χιτῶνα, τὸν ἱερὸν ἐνδυσώμεθα, ἀρετῶν ποικίλμασιν ἐνυφασμένον.

45. De Somn. 1. 667 πρός γε μὴν τὸ πίνειν τίνος ἔδει μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ φύσεως ἐκπώματος ἀκρότητι τέχνης εἰργασμένου; τὸ δὲ ἔκπωμα αἱ ἡμέτεραι χεῖρές εἰσιν . . . Τί δὲ ἀργυρῶν καὶ χρυσῶν κυλίκων ἄφθονον πλῆθος κατασκευάζεσθαι, εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸν φρυαττόμενον μεγάλα τῦφον καὶ τὴν ἐπ' αἰώρας φορουμένην κενὴν δόξαν;

896 P. ἐπιστημονικῶν ἀνδρῶν ἠκριβωμένα· διακονικὰ ἀνδρά- M. 478
ποδα, εὐμορφότατα || καὶ περικαλλέστατα, ὡς ἀφιγμένα M. 479
οὐχ ὑπηρεσίας ἕνεκα μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ φανέντα τὴν τῶν
θεωμένων ὄψιν ἡδῦναι. Τούτων οἱ μὲν παῖδες ἔτι ὄντες
οἰνοχοοῦσιν, ὑδροφοροῦσι δὲ βούπαιδες, λελουμένοι
καὶ | λελειασμένοι, τά τε πρόσωπα ἐντρίβονται καὶ 5
ὑπογράφονται, καὶ τὰς τῆς κεφαλῆς τρίχας εὖ πως
διαπλέκονται σφηκούμενοι· βαθυχαῖται γάρ εἰσιν ἢ μὴ
κειρόμενοι τὸ παράπαν, ἢ τὰς προμετωπιδίους αὐτὸ
μόνον ἐξ ἄκρων εἰς ἐπανίσωσιν καὶ γραμμῆς | κυκλοτε- 10

A : *θηρίκλεια καὶ* cett. nisi *θηλυδρία καὶ* C sed in marg. *θηρίκλεια* || *καὶ τορ. κ.τ.λ.*] Arm.='et circumtornata, solertium uirorum accurate confecta opera' sed non puto eum alium quam nostrum habuisse textum 49. *καὶ* ante *διακονικὰ* add. Arm. || *εὐμορφώτατα* CQ 1. om. *καὶ* ante *περικαλλέστατα* Q || *οὐχ+πυρεσιας* A (sic) 3. *τούτων* AγPQ : *ἔτι* om. *τούτων* β : *τούτων γὰρ* Arm. || om. *ἔτι* Arm. : equidem puto *ἔτι* e marg. in codd. gr. irrepsisse, re uera omittendum esse, in textu codd. β classis *τούτων* detrusisse, sed forsan alia nescio qua ratione cohaereant Arm. et β 4. *οἰνοχοοῦσιν* A : *οἰνοχοοῦσι* βγPQ edd. || *ὑδροφοροῦσι* ADEQ Arm. : *δορυφοροῦσι* BMCP (sed in marg. CP *γρ. ὑδροφοροῦσι*) : *οἰνοχοοῦσι καὶ ὑδροφοροῦσι, δορυφοροῦσι δὲ βούπαιδες* O 5. ante *πρόσωπα* om. *τε* Arm. || *ἐντρίβονται* sensu *κοσμοῦνται* uertit Arm. 7. *βαθυχαῖται*] *ἀβάκται τὲ* β : *βαθύχαιτοι* P 8. *οἱ μὴ* Arm. : cett. *ἢ μὴ*, nisi I ubi *εἰ μὴ* || *παράπαν τὰς* A : *παράπαν, τὰς δὲ* forte Arm. : *παράπαν, ἢ τὰς* cett. || *μετωπιδοὺς* A (e coll. Masseb.) 9. *ἐξ ἄκρων· εἰς ἐπανίσωσιν καὶ γρ.* A || *ἐξ ἄκρων*] duplex in codd. Arm.

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1. De Post. Caini 1. 248 *ὅσα περικαλλέστατα εἴδη.*

5. Qu. in Gen. Sermo iii. § 48 [ex uers. Auch.] Aegyptii porro et totum radunt corpus, auferentes pilos tegentes obscurantesque corpora, ut candidi omnino appareant.—De M. M. 2. 265 *Ἡ μὲν οὖν* [sc. *ἡδονὴ*] *προσέρχεται πόρνης καὶ χαμαιτύπης τρόπον . . . περιέργῳ ποικιλίᾳ τὰς τῆς κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἀναπεπλεγμένη, ὑπογεγραμμένη τὴν ὄψιν, ἐγκεκαλυμμένη τὰς ὀφρῦς, θερμολουσίαις ἐπαλλήλοις χρωμένη.*—De Prov. ex Eus. Praep. Ev. 2. 640 *τῶν εἰδεχθῶν ἑταιριδίων, ἃ τὴν δυσμορφίαν ἐσθῆτι καὶ χρυσῷ καὶ ταῖς τῆς ὄψεως ὑπογραφαῖς ἐπισκιάζοντα.*—Leg. Alleg. 1. 99 *τῶν ἑταίρων τὰς εἰδεχθεῖς ἰδεῖν ἐστι φαρματτούσας καὶ ὑπογραφομένας τὴν ὄψιν.*—De Profugis 1. 568 *τριοδῖτις σοβάς, ἢ τὸ τῆς ὥρας ἄνθος ἐπευωνίζουσα, ἢ καθαρσίοις καὶ λούτροις τὰ ἐκτὸς φαιδρυνομένη τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς ῥυπῶσα ἢ καθάπερ τὰ πινάκια χρώμασι τὴν ὄψιν ὑπογραφομένη χήτει φυσικῆς εὐμορφίας.*

897 P. ροῦς ἠκριβωμένον σχῆμα· χιτῶνάς τε ἀραχνοϋφεῖς καὶ M. 479
ἐκλεύκους ἐπαναζωσάμενοι, τὰ μὲν ἐμπρόσθια κατωτέρω
τῶν ὑπὸ γόνυ, τὰ δὲ κατόπιν μικρὸν ὑπὸ τοῖς γονατίοις,
ἑκάτερον δὲ μέρος οὐλοτέραις ταῖς σειραίαις ἐπιδιπλώ-
σεσι κατὰ | τὴν τῶν χιτωνίσκων συμβολὴν συστέλ- 15

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lectio: alii *τὰς ἄκρας ἀμῶντες*, alii iique meliores *τὰς τρίχας ἀμῶντες*. Nescio an Armenus legerit: *οἱ μὴ κειρόμενοι τὸ παράπαν, τὰς δὲ προμετωπιδίους αὐτὸ μόνον ἐξ ἄκρων ἀμῶντες ὥστε ἐπανισῶσαι* κυκλ. *γραμμῆς ἠκριβωμένον σχῆμα* || *καὶ γραμμῆς* om. Arm. BD: retinent cett. 10. κυκλω+τεροῦς A || *ἠκριβωμένον* Arm. et MSS. omnes nisi G: *ἠκριβωμένοι* edd. || *χιτῶνας*] χελῶνας B ubi supra us. scr. aliquis χλαίνας 11. +κλευκους sic et om. *καὶ* A, ubi legendum esse puto cum uers. Arm. *καὶ λευκούς*: *καὶ ἐκλεύκους* cett. || post λευκοὺς add. *ἔχουσι καὶ* Arm. 12. *τὰ μὲν γὰρ* Mang. codd. *β* secutus: *τὰ μὲν* cett. || *ἔμπροσθεν* BDM 13. *τῶν γονατίων* Q 14–17. *οὐλοτέραις . . . πλευρῶν*] Arm.= *οὐλοτέραις εὖ συστέλλοντες ἐπιδιπλώσεσι κατ' αὐτῶν χιτωνίσκων συμβολὴν ὑπὸ ζωνὴν συσταλέντων καὶ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων κόλπον ἐπαιωροῦσιν τὰ κοῖλα τῶν πλευρῶν.* Sed uidetur paraphrasi uti interpres 14. uix ausim negare Armenum *ταῖς σειραίαις* omisisse 15. *τὴν τῶν*] *αὐτῶν*

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10. Quis Rerum 1. 505 **κυκλοτερὴς** *ὢν καὶ* **ἄκρως** *εἰς σφαῖραν ἀποτετορνευμένος* [sc. *οὐρανός*].

15. V. M. 2. 157 *τοῖς δὲ ἀδελφιδοῖς* [sc. *ἀναδίδωσιν*] *χιτῶνας λινοῦς. ζώνας τε καὶ περισκελῆ πᾶσι· τὰς μὲν ὕπως ἀνεμπόδιστοι καὶ ἑτοιμότεροι πρὸς τὰς ἱερὰς ὑπουργίας ὦσι, σφιγγομένων τοὺς ἀνειμένους* **κόλπους** *τῶν χιτώνων.*

16. De Profugis 1. 568 *ὅσα τῆς ἀλόγου φορᾶς* **ἁπῆρηται**.—De Somn. 1. 650 *ἀνίδρυτα δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκτός,* **ἐπῃωρημένα** *φορᾷ τύχης ἀεὶ σαλευούσης.*—V. M. 2. 117 *Ἕνα γοῦν* [sc. *τῶν βοτρύων*] *ἐκτεμόντες καὶ δοκίδος ἐκ μέσων* **ἀπαιωρήσαντες**. —V. M. 2. 125 *ἀναστὰς ἄκουε, βασιλεῦ, τὰ ὦτα* **ἐπαιωρήσας**.—V. M. 2. 153 *ὁ ποδήρης σὺν τοῖς* **ἀπῃωρημένοις** *κατὰ σφυρά.*—De Mon. 2. 226 *πρὸς δὲ τοῖς κάτω μέρεσι τοῦ ποδήρους* **ἀπῄωρηνται** *χρύσεοι ῥοῖσκοι.*

17. De Somn. 1. 625 *οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀνιέρωσαν αὐτῷ* [sc. *νῷ*] *κεφαλήν, περὶ ἣν καὶ αἱ αἰσθήσεις λοχῶσιν, εἰκὸς εἶναι νομίσαντες ἐγγὺς οἷα μεγάλου βασιλέως* **ἐφεδρεύειν** *τοὺς δορυφόρους.*—De Ab. 2. 36 *οὐ γὰρ . . . τὰς μὲν κακοπραγίας ἀπεδίδρασκε, ταῖς δὲ εὐτυχίαις* **ἐφήδρευε**.—De Mon. 2. 219 *ἔστωσαν ἔφεδροι καταφυγαὶ τοῖς πρὸς εὐσέβειαν αὐτομολοῦσι.*—cp. De Sept. 2. 282.—De Iustit. 2. 365 *ἑλέσθαι διαδόχους, ἵνα οἱ μὲν τὰ βραχύτερα κρίνωσιν, αὐτὸς δὲ* **ἐφεδρεύῃ** *τοῖς μείζοσι.*—De Fortit. 2. 382 *τὰ βύζην συνεστηκότα στίφη καὶ ὅσα* **ἐφήδρευε** *πρὸς ἀναπλήρωσιν τῶν κενουμένων τάξεων.*—De Pr. et Poen. 2. 424 **ἐφεδρευόντων** *ἑτέρων ἑτέροις, ἵνα τοῖς πέρασι τῶν προτέρων αἱ τῶν ὕστερον ἀρχαὶ συνάπτουσαι κύκλον τινὰ καὶ χορείαν* **ἀποτελῶσι**.

897 P. λοντες, ἐκ πλαγίων κόλπους ἀπαιωροῦσιν, εὑρύναντες M. 479
τὰ κοῖλα τῶν πλευρῶν· ἐφεδρεύουσιν δὲ ἄλλοι, μειράκια
πρωτογένεια, τοὺς ἰούλους ἄρτι ἀνθοῦντες, ἀθύρματα
πρὸ μικροῦ παιδεραστῶν γεγονότες, ἡσκημένοι | σφόδρα 20
περιέργως πρὸς τὰς βαρυτέρας ὑπηρεσίας, ἐπίδειξις
ἑστιατόρων εὐπορίας, ὡς ἴσασιν οἱ χρώμενοι· ὡς δὲ
ἔχει τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀπειροκαλίας. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις αἱ
πεμμάτων καὶ ὄψων καὶ ἡδυσμάτων ποικιλίαι, περὶ

Arm.: *τὴν* om. *β*: *τῶν* om. I || *καὶ* ante *ἐκ πλαγίων* add. Arm. 16. *ἐκ πλαγίων κόλπον* E: *ἐκ πλαγίου κόλπου* BDM || *ἐπαιωροῦσιν* Arm.: *ἀπαιωροῦσιν* codd. omnes: *ἀπαιωροῦντες* Turn. Mang. || *καὶ εὐρύνοντες* legendum esse censet Mang.: forsan omiserit *εὐρύναντες* Armenus. 17. *πλευρῶν· ἐφεδρεύουσιν δὲ ἄλλοι* Arm.: *πλευρῶν ἐφεδρεύουσιν. Ἄλλοι δὲ* codd. et edd. 20. *ἡσκημένα* Q 21. *ὑπηρεσίας ἃ ἐπίδειξίς ἐστιν ἀπόρων εὐπορίας β* 21, 22. *εὐπορίας . . . ἀπειροκαλίας*] sic Arm. et codd. omnes nisi quod, uno excepto K, *ἀπειροκαλία* pro *ἀπειροκαλίας* praebent: *εὐπορίας· ὡς δὲ ἔχει τὸ ἀληθές, ἀπειροκαλία, ὡς ἴσ. οἱ χρ.* Turn.: eadem Mang. in textu sed corrigens in *ἀπειροκαλίας*; idem annotauit in uocem *ἀπειροκαλία*, 'MSS. *ἀπειροκαλίας*, idque recte. Quae uero sequuntur *ὡς ἴσασιν*, &c., post *εὐπορίας*. Sic scriberem et distinguerem, *εὐπορίας, ὡς ἴσασιν* (forsan *νομίζουσιν*) *οἱ χρ., ὡς δὲ ἔ. τ. ἀλ., ἀπειροκαλίας*' 22. post *ἀληθὲς* add. *δὲ* Q || *τὸ ἀληθὲς* A: *τἀληθὲς β* 23. *πρὸς τούτοις δὲ β*: *πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἔτι* uidetur

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19. In Fl. 2. 522 **ἄθυρμα** *νηπίων καὶ μειρακίων σχολαζόντων.*—L. A. C. 1. 570, 43 **ἀθύρματα** *καὶ παιδιάς.*

20. De Congr. 1. 537 *ἵνα οἱ* **περιέργως** *ἔχοντες ἀνακαλύψαντες ἀναφήνωσι.*

21. De Post. Caini 1. 253 *εἰ μὴ καὶ διψῶσι μὲν* **πολυτελῆ** *σιτία, πεινῶσι δὲ πολὺν* **ἄκρατον** *ἐπιφέρειν δεῖ, πρὸς* **ἐπίδειξιν εὐπορίας** *τε ἅμα καὶ μισανθρωπίας.*

22. De Ios. 2. 70 **τράπεζαι** *μὲν οὐ σφόδρα* **πολυτελεῖς εἰσκομίζονται**, *διὰ τὸν λιμὸν οὐκ ἀξιώσαντος τοῦ ξενοδόχου ταῖς ἑτέρων ἀτυχίαις ἐντρυφᾶν. Αὐτοὶ δὲ ἅτε σύνεσιν ἀκριβεῖς καὶ τοῦτ' εἰς τὰ ἐγκώμια παρελάμβανον, ὡς* **ἀπειροκαλίαν** *πρᾶγμα* **ἐπίφθονον** *ἀπέστραπται.*

23. De Somn. 1. 665 *ἔτι οὖν ἡ κενὴ δόξα προσεπέθηκεν ἀμήτων καὶ μελιπήκτων* **πεμμάτων** *γένη μυρία, καὶ οἴνων ἀμυθήτων πολυέργους καὶ* **παμποικίλους** *κράσεις, πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν ἡδονῆς* **μᾶλλον** *ἢ πρὸς μετουσίαν τροφῆς παρηρτυμένας.* **Πάλιν ἡδύσματα** *πρὸς ἐδωδὴν ἀναγκαῖα.*

24. De Somn. 1. 665 **ὀψαρτύτας** *καὶ τραπεζοποιούς, εὐδοκίμους τὴν τέχνην.* —Leg. Alleg. 1. 115 **ὀψαρτυτῶν** *καὶ σιτοπόνων λίχνων περιεργίᾳ.*—Leg. Alleg. 1. 131 *Ἴδε δέ τοι τὸν λίχνον, ὡς δουλεύει ταῖς παρασκευαῖς τῶν ὅσα* **ὀψαρτυταὶ** *καὶ*

897 P. ἃ σιτοποιοὶ | καὶ ὀψαρτυταὶ πονοῦνται, φροντίζοντες M. 479, 25
οὐ γεῦσιν, ὅπερ ἀναγκαῖον ἦν, ἡδῦναι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ὄψιν τῇ καθαριότητι. Ἑπτὰ γοῦν καὶ πλείους εἰσκομί-
ζονται τράπεζαι, πλήρεις ἁπάντων ὅσα γῆ τε καὶ
θάλασσα καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ ἀὴρ φέρουσιν, ἔκλογα πάντα
καὶ | εὔσαρκα, χερσαίων, ἐνύδρων, ἀεροπόρων, ὧν ἑκάστη 30
διαλλάσσει καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς καὶ ταῖς παραρτύ-
σεσιν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν εἶδος ἀπολειφθῆναι τῶν ἐν τῇ
φύσει. Τελευταῖα τῶν ἀκροδρύων εἰσκομίζονται γέμου-
σαι, δίχα τῶν εἰς τοὺς κώμους καὶ τὰς | λεγομένας 35

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legisse Armenus: *πρὸς δὲ τούτοις* cett. 24. *σιτοποιοὶ* Arm. A: *σιτοπόνοι* cett. codd. et edd. 25. *τὴν γεῦσιν* Arm. 26. *ἦν ἀναγκαῖον* Arm.: *ἀναγκ.* et *ἦν* om. O: *ἀν. ἦν* cett. codd. et edd. || post *μόνον* add. *ποικιλίᾳ* Arm. || *τὴν ὄψιν* Arm. 27. *καθαρότητι* BD: *καθαρειότητι* M Mang.: *καθαριότητι* A Turn. 28. *θάλασσα* ABD: *θάλαττα* cett. 29. *καὶ* om. Arm. || *ἔνσαρκα* Qγ || *ὧν* sed *ὥ* fere erasa A 31. *ἕκαστον* in marg. corr. E || *διαλάσσει* Q 32. *παραρτύσεσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν* Arm. βOQ: *παραρτύσεσιν.* Ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ μ. AγP edd. 33. post *φύσει* interpunxit Arm. || *τελευταῖαι τῶν* APQ Mang.: *τελευταῖα τῶν*

σιτοπόνοι *τεχνιτεύουσι*.—De Agric. 1. 310 ὁ δὲ ὀψαρτυτοῦ *τινος ἢ* σιτοπόνου, *κτηνοτρόφος ἐπιφημισθείς*, εὐωχίαν *καὶ θοίνην ἀδδηφαγεῖν θρέμμασιν εἰωθόσιν* εὐτρεπιζόμενος.—De Ebr. 1. 392 *τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀμήτων καὶ μελιπήκτων καὶ ἄλλων ἀμυθήτων* πεμμάτων ποικιλώτατα *γένη, οὐ μόνον ταῖς τῆς ὕλης διαφοραῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τρύπῳ τῆς κατασκευῆς καὶ τοῖς σχήμασι,* πρὸς οὐ μόνον τὴν γεύσεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὄψεως ἀπάτην *περιειργασμένα, ὡς περὶ σιτοποιίαν ἄκροι μελετῶσι.* . . . Ἰχθύας δὲ καὶ ὄρνις *καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια ποικίλως* ἀρτύσαι *καὶ* κατασκευάσαι, *καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα* ὄψα ἡδῦναι, *περιττοὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην εἰσὶν* εὐτρεπεῖς ὀψαρτυταί· *μύρια χωρὶς ὧν ἤκουσαν ἢ εἶδον, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς συνεχοῦς μελέτης καὶ τριβῆς τῆς εἰς ἀβροδίαιτον καὶ τεθρυμμένον τὸν ἀβίωτον βίον, ἐπινοῆσαι δεινοί.*

29. In Fl. 2. 539 οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἐνίων πολυχρημάτων ὁ πλοῦτος ἀργὸς ἦν ὕλη, πάντα δὲ ἐξητασμένα *πρὸς τὸ* περίεργον· ἐκπώματα, *ἐσθῆτες,* στρωμναί, *ἔπιπλα, τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα οἰκίας κύσμος* ἔκλογα πάντα. Καὶ *πρὸς τούτοις ἡ οἰκετικὴ θεραπεία* ἀριστίνδην ἐπικριθεῖσα, *κατά τε τὰς τῶν σωμάτων* εὐμορφίας *ὁμοῦ καὶ* εὐεξίας *καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἄπταιστον ἐν τῷ χρειώδει τῶν ὑπηρεσιῶν.*

30. De Conc. 2. 352 *ὅσα τῶν* χερσαίων *ἢ* ἐνύδρων *ἢ πτηνῶν ἐστὶν* εὐσαρκότατα *καὶ πιότατα, γαργαλίζοντα καὶ ἐρεθίζοντα τὴν* ἐπίβουλον *ἡδονὴν πάντα ἀνὰ κράτος ἀπεῖπεν.*

33. De Somn. 1. 665 λάχανα *καὶ πολλὰ τῶν* ἀκροδρύων.

897 P. ἐπιδειπνίδας. Εἶτα αἱ μὲν ἐκκομίζονται κεναὶ διὰ τὴν M. 479
τῶν παρόντων ἀπληστίαν, οἳ τρόπον αἰθυῶν ἐμφορού-
μενοι κατοψοφαγοῦσιν ὡς καὶ τῶν ὀστέων αὐτῶν ἐπεν-
τραγεῖν, τὰς δὲ λωβήσαντες καὶ σπαράξαντες ἡμιβρώ-
τους ἐῶσιν. Ὅταν δὲ τελέως | ἀπαγορεύσωσι, τὰς μὲν 40
γαστέρας ἄχρι φαρύγγων πεπληρωμένοι, κενοὶ δὲ πρὸς
τὰς ἐπιθυμίας, ἀπειρηκότες πρὸς τὰς ἐδωδάς, τοὺς αὐχέ-
νας ἐν κύκλῳ περιάγοντες, τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ τοῖς
μυκτῆρσι περιλιχνεύουσι, τοῖς μὲν τὰς εὐσαρκίας καὶ |

Arm. βγ: τελευταῖαι δὲ αἱ τῶν O || κομίζονται BDM 36. παρόντων] ἐσθιόντων Arm. || τρόπων A 37. ἐμφορουμένους ut uid. C || κατοψοφαγοῦσιν Arm.: κατοψ. οὕτως cett. 38. ὥστε καὶ τῶν P || ὀστέων αὐτῶν Arm.: ὀστέων cett. 43. τοῖς ante μυκτῆρσι om. A et forte Arm. 44. περιλιχνεύουσι Arm. quod et coniecit Mang.:

37. Quod Det. Pot. Insid. 1. 211 μηδ' ὅτι γεύσεώς σοι μετέδωκεν ἡ φύσις, ὦ τετυφωμένε, τρόπον αἰθυίης πάντων ἀπλήστως ἐμφοροῦ.—Leg. Alleg. 1. 117 οὔτε πέραν τοῦ μετρίου σιτίων ἐμφορηθησόμεθα αἰθυιῶν τρόπον.—De Conc. 2. 354 πάλιν αἰνιττόμενος διὰ μὲν ἑρπετῶν τοὺς ἐπὶ κοιλίαις τὸν αἰθυίης τρόπον ἐμφορουμένους καὶ γαστρὶ τῇ ταλαίνῃ δασμοὺς ἀπαύστως εἰσφέροντας, ἀκράτου, πεμμάτων, ἰχθύων, συνόλως ὅσα σιτοπόνων καὶ ὀψαρτυτῶν τετεχνιτευμέναι περιεργίαι μετὰ παντοίων ἐδεσμάτων δημιουργοῦσιν, ἀναρπίζουσαι καὶ προσαναφλέγουσαι τὰς ἀπλήστους καὶ ἀκορέστους ἐπιθυμίας.—L. A. C. 2. 548 πολὺς γὰρ ἄκρατος καὶ ὀψοφαγίαι, καὶ ἐπὶ πλήρεσι τοῖς ὄγκοις ἀπλήρωτοι ἐπιθυμίαι.—De Pl. Noe 1. 345 ὀψοφαγίαν καὶ λαιμαργίαν.

41. Quod Det. Pot. Insid. 1. 213 Ἄθλιοι δέ, ὧν μεστοὶ μὲν οἱ ὄγκοι, κεναὶ δὲ ἐπιθυμίαι καὶ ἔτι διψῶσαι.—De Ebr. 1. 388 γαστριμαργίαν δηλοῦσθαι, ᾗ τοὺς χρωμένους ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, κἂν τὰς τοῦ σώματος δεξαμενὰς ἀποπληρωθῶσι πάσας, ἔτι κενοὺς τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ὄντας.—De Agric. 1. 306 Ἄλλοι δὲ εἰσὶν οἱ τούτων ἀθλιώτεροι καὶ κακοδαιμονέστεροι, οἳ τὴν γεῦσιν ὥσπερ ἐκ δεσμῶν ἔλυσαν· ἡ δὲ πρὸς πᾶν σιτίον τε καὶ ποτὸν ἄφετος εὐθὺς ὁρμήσασα τὰ ἤδη εὐτρεπισθέντα ἐπιλέγεται, καὶ πεῖναν ἄλεκτον καὶ ἄπληστον ἴσχει τῶν ἀπόντων, ὡς, κἂν αἱ τῆς γαστρὸς ἀποπληρωθῶσι δεξαμεναί, σπαργῶσαν ἔτι καὶ μαιμῶσαν τὴν ἀεὶ κενὴν ἐπιθυμίαν περιβλέπεσθαι καὶ περιφοιτᾶν, μή τί που παροραθὲν λείψανον ἄφετον, ἵνα καὶ τοῦτο παμφάγου πυρὸς δίκην ἐπιλιχνεύσηται . . . Ὅταν γὰρ ὑπὸ ὀψοφαγίας καὶ ἀκράτου καὶ πολλῆς μέθης ἄνθρωποι πιεσθῶσιν, οὐκέτι κρατεῖν ἑαυτῶν δύνανται, πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἐρωτικὰς μίξεις ἐπειγόμενοι κωμάζουσι καὶ θυραυλοῦσι.

42. Quod Deus Sit Im. 1. 282 ἀπερεῖ πρὸς τὴν θεραπείαν ἅσμενος.—In Fl. 2. 519 τῆς διανοίας πολὺ πρότερον ἀπειρηκυίας καὶ παρειμένης αὐτῷ.

43. De Agric. 1. 311 λαβὼν τοῦ χαλινοῦ ὅλον ἀντέσπασε καὶ ἀντιπεριήγαγεν αὐτοῦ τὸν αὐχένα.—De Gig. 1. 268 μετάκλινε σεαυτὴν καὶ ἀντιπεριάγουσα τὴν ὄψιν κάτιδε τὸ γνήσιον ἀρετῆς κάλλος.

44. De Mig. Ab. 1. 446 ψυχὴ . . . τὰ τοῦ σώματος περιλιχνεύουσα.

897 P. τὸ πλῆθος, τοῖς δὲ τὴν ἀναδιδομένην κνίσαν. Εἶτα M. 479, 45
ὅταν ἀμφοτέρων, ὄψεών τε καὶ ὀσμῶν, γένωνται διακορεῖς, ἐσθίειν κελεύουσιν, ἐπαινέσαντες οὐκ ὀλίγα τὴν παρασκευὴν καὶ τὸν ἑστιάτορα τῆς πολυτελείας. Ἀλλὰ
τί ταῦτα προσῆκε μηκύνειν, | ἃ παρὰ πολλοῖς ἤδη τῶν 50
μετριωτέρων καταγινώσκεται, προσαναρρηγνύντα τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ὧν ἡ μείωσις ὠφέλιμον; Εὔξαιτο γὰρ ἄν τις
τὰ ἀπευκταιότατα || δίψαν τε καὶ πεῖναν ἢ τὴν ἐν M. 480

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cett. περιϊχνεύουσι 45. ἀναδεδομένην PM || κνίσσαν Mang.: κνίσαν MSS.: ὀσμήν β 46. εἶθ' β || ὄψων Arm. || καὶ OQ: τε καὶ cett. 47. ἐσθίειν] ἐπαινεῖν Arm. et om. ἐπαινέσαντες || κελεύουσιν AβPOQ: διακελεύουσιν γ edd. || οὐκ ante ὀλίγα om. Arm. 49. προσήκει Arm. 50. γινώσκεται γ 51. ἀναρρηγνύντα C 52. ὠφέλιμος β: quod et fortasse Armenus qui ἦν adiecisse uidetur || εὔξεται BDM 1. δίψαν τε καὶ πεῖναν Arm. A. π. τε κ. δ. cett.,

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45. De Somn. 1. 628 τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τὴν ἀπὸ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς ἀναδιδομένην ἡδεῖαν αὖραν ὁ παιδείας ἐραστὴς ἰχνηλατεῖ, καὶ ποθεῖ μὲν ἐκείναις ἐντυχεῖν, ἐξ ὧν ἀναδίδοται τὸ θαυμασιώτατον γάνωμα τοῦτο, μηδὲ δυνάμενος ἐν κύκλῳ κενὴν περιάγει τὴν κεφαλήν, ὀσφραινόμενος αὐτὸ μόνον καλοκἀγαθίας καὶ σιτίων ἱερωτάτης κνίσσης· οὐ γὰρ ἀρνεῖται λίχνος ἐπιστήμης καὶ φρονήσεως εἶναι. μακάριοι μὲν οὖν οἷς ἐξεγένετο τῶν σοφίας φίλτρων ἀπόνασθαι καὶ τῶν θεωρημάτων καὶ δογμάτων αὐτῆς ἑστιαθῆναι καὶ ἀνευφρανθεῖσιν ἔτι διψῆν, ἄπληστον καὶ ἀκόρεστον ἐπιφερομένοις ἵμερον ἐπιστήμης. Δεύτερα δ' οἴσονται, οἷς ἀπολαῦσαι μὲν οὐκ ἐξεγένετο τῆς ἱερᾶς τραπέζης, κνισσοῦν δὲ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχάς.

51. Leg. Alleg. 1. 118 ἀντιβαίνων καὶ ἀντιφιλονεικῶν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀναρρηγνῦσι τὰς ἀκράτορας ἐπιθυμίας.—De Ebr. 1. 388 τοῦ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἀναρρηγνύντος πάθους ὑπομνησθείς.—De Ebr. 1. 390 ἀμέτρων καὶ σφόδρα περιττῶν ἃ τὰς ὀρέξεις ἀναρρηγνύντα κ.τ.λ.—De Confus. 1. 408 προσαναρρηγνυμένων ἀδεῶς ἁπάντων εἰς χορηγίας ἀφθόνους τοῖς πρὸς τὰς ἀπολαύσεις ἑτοιμοτάτοις.—V. M. 2. 106 σύμπαν ὀλίγου δεῖν τὸ ὑπήκοον τὰς γαστρὸς καὶ τῶν μετὰ γαστέρα προσαναρρήγνυσιν ἔξω τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐπιθυμίας.—V. M. 2. 138 πολὺς ἄκρατος καὶ τράπεζαι πολυτελεῖς καὶ ὅσα περὶ ἐδωδὴν καὶ πύσιν ἄφθονα πάντα, δι' ὧν αἱ ἀκόρεστοι γαστρὸς ἡδοναὶ συναύξονται, προσαναρρηγνῦσαι καὶ τὰς ὑπογαστρίους ἐπιθυμίας.—De Iustit. 2. 372 προσαναρρηγνὺς τὰς ἀδίκους ἐπιθυμίας αὐτοῦ.—De Mutat. Nom. 1. 604 ἀρχιμάγειρον . . . ταῖς περιέργοις παραρτύσεσι ἀνεγείροντα καὶ ἀνερεθίζοντα τὰς τῶν ἀνηνύτων παθῶν ὁρμάς, ἃς εἰκὸς ἦν τιθασσεύοντας πραῦναι.

52. De Confus. 1. 430 εὔξαιτο γὰρ ἂν ὁ μὴ σφόδρα ἀνιάτως ἔχων τὰ ἐξ ὑποθέσεως τοῦ νοῦ πάντα ἐπιλιπεῖν αὐτῷ, ἵνα μὴ τῷ κλέπτειν ἢ μοιχεύειν ἢ ἀνδροφονεῖν ἢ ἱεροσυλεῖν ἤ τινι τῶν ὁμοιοτρόπων ἐπιθέμενος εὐοδῇ.—De Decal. 2. 193 ὃ μέγιστον ἂν εἴη τεκμήριον τῆς ἐπιπολαζούσης ἀσεβείας ἀνθρώπων θεοὺς νομιζόντων, οἷς ὅμοιοί ποτε τὰς φύσεις ἀπεύξαιντο ἂν γενέσθαι.

897 P. ταῖς τοιαύταις εὐωχίαις ἄφθονον σιτίων καὶ ποτῶν περιουσίαν. M. 480

Τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι συμποσίων τὰ περιβόητα καὶ σημειωδέστατα δύο ταῦτά ἐστιν οἷς | καὶ Σωκράτης παρετύγχανεν· τὸ μὲν ἐν Καλλίου, ἡνίκα στεφανωθέντος Αὐτολύκου τὰ ἐπινίκια εἱστιᾶτο, τὸ δὲ ἐν Ἀγάθωνος, ἃ καὶ μνήμης ἠξίωσαν ἄνδρες τά τε ἤθη καὶ τοὺς λόγους
898 P. φιλόσοφοι, Ξενοφῶν καὶ Πλάτων. Ἀνεγράψαντο | γὰρ ὡς ἀξιομνημόνευτα, οἷς ὑπετόπασαν ἂν χρήσασθαι παραδείγμασιν τοὺς ἔπειτα τῆς ἐν συμποσίοις ἐμμελοῦς διαγωγῆς. Ἀλλ' ὅμως καὶ ταῦτα συγκρινόμενα τοῖς τῶν ἡμετέρων οἳ τὸν θεωρητικὸν ἠσπάσαντο βίον, γέλως | ἀναφανεῖται. Ἡδονὰς μὲν οὖν ἔχει ἑκάτερον, ἀνθρωπικώτερον δέ ἐστιν τὸ Ξενοφῶντος· αὐλη-

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sed τε om. BD 2. ποτῶν ΑβγOQ : πότων P Mang. 3. τῶν γοῦν Mang. β secutus : τῶν AγOPQ Turn. Arm. || τῇ ante Ἑλλάδι om. Q 4. σημειωδέστερα BDM 5. παρετύγχανεν A || τὸ μὲν ἐν ACGKO nonnulli edd. : τὸ μὲν ἓν HIPQ Turn. Mang. : τὸ μὲν β || Arm. aequiparat τὸ μὲν ἓν ἥνικα Καλλίαν στεφανωθέντα ἐν Αὐτολύκου τὰ ἐπιν. εἰσ., τὸ δὲ ἓν Ἀγάθωνος, sed locus corruptus 6. post ἡνίκα add. καὶ Q 7. δὲ sup. lit. B || ἐν om. BDE : ἓν pro ἐν HIKMPQ, itaque Mang. Turn. : ἐν AO et nonnulli edd. 8. λόγους] τρόπους P 9. φιλόσοφοι om. γ || Ξεν. καὶ Πλ. A : Ξ. τε καὶ Π. cett. || ἀνέγραψαν Q 10. ἀξιομνημόνευτοι Q 11. χρήσασθαι] χρήσεσθαι coni. Mang., equidem post ὑπετόπασαν e coniectura suppleui ἂν || παραδείγμασιν Q Mang. : παραδείγμασι cett. || τοὺς] τοῖς β 12. τῆς ante ἐν om. Q 13. συγκρινομένων Q 15. ἑκάτερος Arm. 16. ἐστιν τὸ A 17. γὰρ καὶ GM Arm. : τε καὶ ACK : δὲ καὶ BDEHIOPQ || ὀρχισταὶ A || ποιηταὶ] BDM prae

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2. De Gig. 1. 267 πορισταὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἄφθονον ἔσχον περιουσίαν.—De Mig. Ab. 1. 438 τὴν σωματικὴν εὐθηνίαν καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀφθόνους περιουσίας.

4. De Mon. 2. 215 πλούτου . . . αἱ περιβόητοι ὕλαι χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος.

13. In Fl. 2. 526 [de Iudaeis loquitur] τοὺς δε ἡμετέρους διὰ τὰς ὑπερβολὰς ὧν ἔπαθον.—In Fl. 2. 528 τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἄρχοντας . . . τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων διετήρησαν οἱ πρὸ Φλάκκου.—In Fl. 2. 531 εἰ δὲ ἐφάνησαν ἡμέτεραι προσέταττον οἱ ἀντὶ θεατῶν τύραννοι καὶ δεσπόται γεγονότες, κρέα χοίρεια διδύναι κομίζοντας.—L. A. C. 2. 567 καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν.

898 P. *τρίδες γὰρ καὶ ὀρχησταὶ καὶ θαυματοποιοὶ καὶ ποιηταὶ* M. 480
γελοίων ἐπὶ τῷ σκῶψαι καὶ χαριεντίσασθαι μεγαφρο-
νοῦντες· εἰσὶν δέ τινα καὶ ἄλλα τῶν | ἐν ταῖς ἱλαρωτέ- 20
ραις ἀνέσεσι. Τὸ δὲ Πλατωνικὸν ὅλον σχεδόν ἐστιν
περὶ ἔρωτος, οὐκ ἀνδρῶν γυναιξὶν ἐπιμανέντων ἢ γυναι-
κῶν ἀνδράσιν αὐτὸ μόνον, ὑποτελοῦσι γὰρ αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι
αὗται νόμοις φύσεως, ἀλλὰ ἀνδρῶν ἄρσεσιν | ἡλικίᾳ 25
μόνον διαφέρουσιν· καὶ γὰρ εἴ τι περὶ ἔρωτος καὶ Ἀφρο-
δίτης οὐρανίου κεκομψεῦσθαι δοκεῖ, χάριν ἀστεισμοῦ
παρείληπται. Τὸ γὰρ πλεῖστον αὐτοῦ μέρος ὁ κοινὸς

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se ferunt *πύκται* 19. *μέγα φρονοῦντές εἰσι, καί τινα ἄλλα* edd.: *μεγαφρονοῦντες· εἰσί τινα καὶ ἄλλα* AOQγ: *μεγαφρονοῦντες· εἰσὶ δέ τινα καὶ ἄλλα* β: *μέγα φρονοῦντες εἴς τινα καὶ ἄλλα* P: *εἰσιν* e Q traxi, ubi ceteri *εἰσι*: *μέγα φρονοῦσιν· εἰσὶ* (uel *ἔστι*) *δὲ καὶ ἄλλα* et om. *τινα* Arm. 21. *ὅλον*] *μόνον* BDM: *μέν* E ‖ *ἐστιν* A ‖ *περὶ ἔρωτα* BDM 22. *ἐπὶ* ante *γυναιξὶν* add. AγOPQ: om. β ‖ *ἐπὶ γυν. μανέντων* uidetur Arm. legisse, sed lectio incerta 23. *ὑποτελοῦσι* AβγOPQ haud inuito Arm.: *ἐπιτελοῦνται* Turn. Mang. sed unde traxerint nescio 24. *νόμοις* Arm. AβOPQ: *νόμῳ* γ Turn. Mang. ‖ *ἄρεσιν* B: *ἄρρεσιν* DM: *ἄρσεσιν* ACK 25. *διαφέρουσιν* A: *διαφέρουσι* cett. ‖ *καὶ εἴ τι* et om. *γὰρ* β 26. *Ἀφροδ. οὐρ.* A: *οὐρ. Ἀφρ.* Arm. et cett. omnes 27. *παρείληπται*] *πᾶν εἴληπται*

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18. In Fl. 2. 522 **ποιηταῖς** *μίμων καὶ* **γελοίων** διδασκάλοις *χρώμενοι τὴν ἐν τοῖς αἰσχροῖς* **εὐφυΐαν ἐπεδείκνυντο.**

L. A. C. 2. 570 **Εὔθικτος** *εἶ τὴν φύσιν·* **σκώπτειν καὶ χαριεντίζεσθαι** *δύνασαι μᾶλλον ἑτέρων.*

22. De Sp. Leg. 2. 301 *οἱ φιλογυναίοις συνουσίαις* **ἐπιμεμηνότες.**—De Sp. Leg. 2. 307 *ὡς ὑπὸ φρενοβλαβείας λυττᾶν καὶ* **ἐπιμεμηνέναι** *μηκέτι ἀνθρώποις, εἴτ'* **ἄρρεσιν** *εἴτε θηλείαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλόγοις ζῴοις.*—De Ab. 2. 28 *τοῖς γὰρ ὑψιγόνοις* **ἐπιμεμήνασί** *πως οἱ τοκῆες.*—De Ios. 2. 48 *τῇ γὰρ εὐμορφίᾳ* **ἐπιμανεῖσα** *τοῦ νεανίσκου καὶ ἀκαθέκτως περὶ τὸ πάθος λυττῶσα.*

26. De Mig. Ab. 1. 448 *τῶν γὰρ ἀγροικοσόφων οἱ τὰ πολιτικὰ* **κεκομψευμένοι** *μάλιστά πως* **εἰώθασι περιεῖναι.**

27. Leg. Alleg. 1. 74 *ἐπὶ γὰρ δυνάμεως καὶ ἰσχύος νῦν* **παρείληπται** *τὸ ὀστέον.* —De Prov. ex Eus. Praep. Ev. 2. 641 *οὗ χάριν ἐν ἅπασι μὲν τοῖς ὀρθῶς γραφεῖσι* **παρείληπται** *νόμοις.*—De Ebr. 1. 379 *Σαμουὴλ δὲ γέγονε μὲν ἴσως ἄνθρωπος,* **παρείληπται** *δὲ οὐχ ὡς σύνθετον ζῷον, ἀλλ' ὡς νοῦς.*—De Somn. 1. 630 **Μήποτε** *μέντοι γε οὐδὲ τόπον νῦν ἀλληγορῶν* **ἐπὶ** *τοῦ* **αἰτίου παρείληφεν.**

898 P. καὶ πάνδημος ἔρως διείληφεν, ἀνδρείαν μὲν τὴν βιω- M. 480
φελεστάτην | ἀρετὴν κατὰ πόλεμον καὶ κατ᾽ εἰρήνην, 30
ἀφαιρούμενος, θήλειαν δὲ νόσον ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐνεργαζό-
μενος καὶ ἀνδρογύνους κατασκευάζων, οὓς ἐχρῆν πᾶσι

Arm. 28. πλεῖον BM || μέρος αὐτοῦ Arm. || πάντων pro πάνδημος Q
ει
29. ἀνδρίαν: Q ἀνδρίαν M 32. ἐνεργαζόμενος A: ἀπεργαζόμενος βγ edd.:

28. De Sept. 2. 292 **ἡ πάνδημος** *θυσία.*

29. De Somn. 1. 628 *μάθημα* **βιωφελέστατον** *καὶ νοερόν.*—De Somn. 1. 664 **βιωφελεστάτου** *κτήματος.*—De Ios. 2. 53 *κάλλιστον καὶ* **βιωφελέστατον.**

20–48. De Ab. 2. 20 *Ὧν ἀδυνατοῦντες φέρειν τὸν κόρον ὥσπερ τὰ θρέμματα* **σκιρτῶντες** *ἀπαυχενίζουσι τὸν τῆς* **φύσεως νόμον, ἄκρατον** *πολὺν καὶ* **ὀψοφαγίας** *καὶ ὀχείας ἐκθέσμους μεταδιώκοντες· οὐ γὰρ μόνον θηλυμανοῦντες ἀλλοτρίους γάμους διέφθειρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ* **ἄνδρες ἄρρεσιν** *ἐπιβαίνοντες, τὴν κοινὴν πρὸς τοὺς πάσχοντας οἱ δρῶντες φύσιν οὐκ αἰδούμενοι, παιδοσποροῦντες ἠλέγχοντο μὲν ἀτελῆ γονὴν σπείροντες. Ὁ δ᾽ ἔλεγχος πρὸς οὐδὲν ἦν ὄφελος, ὑπὸ βιαιοτέρας νικωμένων ἐπιθυμίας. Εἶτ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ κατ᾽ ὀλίγον ἐθίζοντες τὰ γυναικῶν ὑπομένειν τοὺς ἄνδρας γεννηθέντας,* **θήλειαν κατεσκεύαζον** *αὐτοῖς* **νόσον,** *κακὸν δύσμαχον, οὐ μόνον τὰ* **σώματα** *μαλακότητι καὶ θρύψει γυναικοῦντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς* **ψυχὰς** *ἀγενεστάτας καὶ* **ἀπεργαζόμενοι** [Arm. *γυναικωδεστάτας*] *τό γ᾽ ἐφ᾽ αὑτοῖς ἦκον μέρος, τὸ σύμπαν* **ἀνθρώπων γένος** *διέφθειρον.* **Εἰ γοῦν Ἕλληνες** *ὁμοῦ καὶ* **Βάρβαροι** *συμφωνήσαντες ἐζήλωσαν τὰς τοιαύτας ὁμιλίας,* **ἠρήμωντο ἂν ἑξῆς αἱ πόλεις,** *ὥσπερ λοιμωδεῖ νόσῳ κενωθεῖσαι.*—De Sp. Leg. 2. 306 **ἐπεισκεκώμακε δὲ ταῖς πόλεσιν** *ἕτερον πολὺ τοῦ λεχθέντος* **μεῖζον κακόν, τὸ παιδεραστεῖν,** *ὃ πρότερον μὲν καὶ λεχθῆναι μέγα ὄνειδος ἦν, νυνὶ δέ ἐστιν αὖχημα οὐ τοῖς δρῶσι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πάσχουσιν, οἱ* **νόσον θήλειαν** *νοσεῖν ἐθιζόμενοι τάς τε* **ψυχὰς** *καὶ τὰ* **σώματα** *διαρρέουσι μηδὲν ἐμπύρευμα τῆς ἄρρενος γενεᾶς ἐῶντες ὑποτύφεσθαι, περιφανῶς οὕτως* **τὰς τῆς κεφαλῆς τρίχας** *ἀναπλεκόμενοι καὶ διακοσμούμενοι καὶ ψιμμυθίῳ καὶ φύκεσι καὶ τοῖς ὁμοιοτρόποις* **τὰς ὄψεις τριβόμενοι καὶ ὑπογραφόμενοι** *καὶ* **εὐώδεσι** *μύροις λίπα χριόμενοι,* **προσαγωγὸν** *γὰρ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις τὸ* **εὐῶδες,** *ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς εἰς* **εὐκοσμίαν ἠσκημένοις** *καὶ τὴν ἄρρενα φύσιν ἐπιτηδεύσει τεχνάζοντες εἰς θήλειαν μεταβάλλειν οὐκ ἐρυθριῶσιν, καθ᾽ ὧν φονᾶν ἄξιον νόμῳ πειθαρχοῦντας, ὃς κελεύει τὸν* **ἀνδρόγυνον** *τὰ* **φύσεως** *νόμιμα παρακόπτοντα νηποινεὶ τεθνάναι, . . .Ὁ δὲ* **παιδεραστὴς** *ἔστω τὴν αὐτὴν δίκην ὑπομένων, ἐπειδὴ τὴν παρὰ* **φύσιν** *ἡδονὴν διώκει καὶ τὰς* **πόλεις,** *τό γε ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἦκον μέρος,* **ἐρήμους** *καὶ κενὰς ἀποδείκνυσιν* **οἰκητόρων,** *διαφθείρων* **τὰς γονάς,** *καὶ προσέτι τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν, ἀνανδρίας καὶ μαλακίας, ὑφηγητὴς καὶ διδάσκαλος ἀξιοῖ γίνεσθαι, τοὺς νέους ὡραΐζων καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀκμῆς ἄνθος ἐκθηλύνων,* **ὁ πρὸς ἀλκὴν** *καὶ ῥώμην* **ἀλείφειν ἁρμόττον** *ἦν, καὶ τελευταῖον ὅτι κακοῦ τρόπον* **γεωργοῦ** *τὰς μὲν* **βαθυγείους** *καὶ* **εὐκάρπους ἀρούρας** *χερσεύειν ἐᾷ μηχανώμενος ἐπ᾽ αὐταῖς* **ἀγονίαν,** *ἐξ ὧν δὲ οὐδὲν βλάστημα προσδοκᾶται τὸ παράπαν, εἰς ταῦτα πονεῖται καθ᾽ ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ.*—De Sacrificant. 2. 261 *προανείργει πάντας τοὺς ἀναξίους ἱεροῦ συλλόγου, τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιούμενος ἀπὸ τῶν νοσούντων* **τὴν θήλειαν νόσον ἀνδρογύνων,** *οἳ τὸ* **φύσεως νόμισμα** *παρακόπτοντες εἰς ἀκολάστων γυναικῶν πάθος καὶ μορφὰς εἰσβιάζονται.*

32. De Sept. 2. 280 *ὁ οὐ μόνον ἀλλοτρίοις γάμοις* **ἐπιμεμηνώς,** *ἀλλὰ καὶ*

898 P. τοῖς πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐπιτηδεύμασι συγκροτεῖσθαι. Λυμη- M. 480
νάμενος δὲ τὴν | παιδικὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ εἰς ἐρωμένων 35
τάξιν καὶ διάθεσιν ἀγαγών, ἐζημίωσε καὶ τοὺς ἐραστὰς
περὶ τὰ ἀναγκαιότατα, σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ οὐσίαν·
ἀνάγκη γὰρ τοῦ παιδεραστοῦ τὸν μὲν νοῦν τετάσθαι
πρὸς τὰ παιδικά, πρὸς | ταῦτα μόνον ὀξυδερκοῦντα,
πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἴδιά τε καὶ κοινὰ τυφλούμενον, 40
[τὸ δὲ σῶμα] ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ ἀπο-
τυγχάνοιτο, συντήκεσθαι· τὴν δὲ οὐσίαν ἐλαττοῦσθαι
διχόθεν, ἔκ τε ἀμελείας καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν ἐρώμενον ἀνα-

ἐναπεργαζόμενος OPQ 33. ἐπιτηδεύμασι καὶ μαθήμασι συγκ. Q : ἐπιτηδεύμασι sed in marg. γραφ. μαθήμασι P 34. δὲ ante τὴν om. Arm. neque post συγκρ. distinguit 35. καὶ ante εἰς om. Arm. ‖ ἐρωμένην A: ἐρωμένων Arm.: ἐρωμένης cett. codd. (ex -μένας corr. man. rec. Q) edd. 37. σῶμα καὶ Arm. A: σώματα καὶ OPQγ: σῶμά τε καὶ Turn. Mang.: σώματα om. καὶ β 39. νοῦν ex οὖν corr. man. rec. Q ‖ πρὸς AO: καὶ πρὸς cett. codd. edd. et ?Arm. 40. μόνον om. Arm. ‖ ὀξυδορκοῦντα sensu ὀξυδερκεῖν uertit Arm. ‖ τἆλλα M 41. post κοινά dat comma Turn. ‖ post τυφλ. tollit comma Mang. ‖ sensu τυφλοῦσθαι uertit Arm. ‖ τὰ δὲ σώματα Armenus unde textum restituere ausus sum. In codd. gr. et edd. desunt 42. ἀποτυγχάνοι τὸ A:

παιδοφθορῶν καὶ βιαζόμενος τὸν ἄρρενα τῆς φύσεως χαρακτῆρα παρακόπτειν καὶ μεταβάλλειν εἰς γυναικόμορφον ἰδέαν.—De Sac. Ab. et C. 1. 183 Ἄνδρες γοῦν οὐ γυναιξίν, οὐδὲ γυναῖκες ἀνδράσιν ἀμιλλήσαιντ' ἂν περὶ ὧν μόνοις τοῖς ἑτέροις ἁρμόττει προσεῖναι· ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν γυνάνδρων, εἰ ζηλώσαιεν τὰ ἀνδρῶν, οἱ δὲ ἀνδρογύνων, εἰ τοῖς γυναικῶν ἐπίθοιντο ἐπιτηδεύμασι, δύσκλειαν οἴσονται.

34. L. A. C. 2. 571 λογισμοῖς ἐπάρας καὶ συγκροτήσας ἑαυτόν.—De Fortit. 2. 378 περὶ τοῦ γυμνάσαι καὶ συγκροτῆσαι ψυχὴν πρὸς ἀνδρίαν.—De Sacrificant. 2. 251 ὀξυωπεστάταις δὲ αὐτῶν ὄψεσι καὶ τῷ συνεχεῖ τῆς ἀσκήσεως συγκεκροτημέναις εἰς ἀνυπαίτιον ἐπίσκεψιν.

39. De Fortit. 2. 380 ἵνα μὴ σώματι στρατευόμενοι ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑστερίζωσιν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ αὐτῶν τὴν διάνοιαν ἐκεῖ τετάσθαι, πόθῳ τῆς ἀπολαύσεως ὧν ἀφειλκύσθησαν.

40. De Decal. 2. 192 τυφλώττοντες περὶ τὸ θέας ἄξιον, πρὸς ὃ μόνον ὀξυδερκεῖν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν.

42. De Sp. Leg. 2. 307 ἀποτυγχανόμενος γὰρ ἔρως οὐ μετρίως ἐπιτείνεται.

43. De Post. Caini 1. 256 τῆς πρὸς τὸ ποθούμενον συντήξεως.

898 P. λωμάτων· | παραφύεσθαι δὲ καὶ μεῖζον ἄλλο πάνδημον M. 480, 45
κακόν, ἐρημίαν πόλεων καὶ σπάνιν τοῦ ἀρίστου γένους
ἀνθρώπων, καὶ στείρωσιν καὶ ἀγονίαν τεχναζόντων,
οἳ μιμοῦνται τοὺς ἀνεπιστήμονας τῆς γεωργίας, σπεί-
ροντες ἀντὶ τῆς || βαθυγείου πεδιάδος ὑφάλμους ἀρούρας M. 481
ἢ λιθώδη καὶ ἀπόκροτα χωρία, ἃ πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν πεφυ-
κέναι βλαστάνειν καὶ τὰ καταβληθέντα φθείρει σπέρ-
ματα. Σιωπῶ τὰ τῶν μύθων πλάσματα καὶ τοὺς |

ἀποτυγχάνοιτο βPQ Mang.: ἀποτυγχάνοι Oγ Turn. 45. παραφύεσθαι Arm.: περιφύεται BDM: παραφύεται cett. || ἄλλο μ. tr. Arm. || πάνδαιμον CK 46. ἐρημίαν Arm. OQ: ἐρημίαν γὰρ cett. codd. et edd. 47. καὶ ante στείρωσιν om. Arm.: add. cett. 48. ἀγωνίαν M || τεχναζόντων γAOPQ Turn.: τεχνάζονται β Mang. et? Arm. 49. τῶν γεωργῶν Arm. || nescio an Armenus οἳ ἀντὶ legerit et σπείροντες post χωρία posuerit, an τοὺς ἀντὶ τῆς . . . σπείροντας legerit, sed alterutram testatur lectionem || σπείροντας sed as in ras. Q 1. ὑφάλους BOQ: ὑφάμμους E || καὶ λιθώδη Arm. || λιθώδεις β 2. πεφυκέναι] ἐφθακέναι BD: πεφθακέναι EM 3. καταβληθέντα O: βληθέντα cett. || φθείρει codd. nisi O, cui inest lacuna fere xx litt.: σήπει Arm. || σπέρματα φθείρει P || σπέρματα Arm. AγOPQ: σώματα β 4. Σιωπῶ

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1. De Sept. 2. 277 αἱ ἀνάπαυλαι τῆς βαθυγείου πεδιάδος τε καὶ ὀρεινῆς. —V. M. 2. 111 τραχεῖαι καὶ ἀπορρῶγες πέτραι, ἢ ἀλμυρόγεως πεδιάς, ἢ ὄρη λιθωδέστατα.—De Exsec. 2. 429 σὺ μὲν γὰρ καταστείρεις τὴν βαθύγειον τῆς πεδιάδος.—De Sept. 2. 294 οὐδέν ἐστι λυπρόγεων· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα λιθώδη καὶ ἀπόκροτα εἶναι δοκεῖ.—De Post. Caini 1. 257 εἰς ποταμοῦ ῥεῦμα ἢ θαλάττης καταβληθὲν σπέρμα.—De Post. Caini 1. 258 καταβαλλόμενα σπέρματα.—De Sacrificant. 2. 262 ὁ γῆν τὴν βαθύγειον τῆς ὀρεινῆς καὶ πεδιάδος κατασπείρας καὶ φυτεύσας καὶ τὴν βιωφελεστάτην γεωργίαν εὑρών.—De Ebr. 1. 389 ἀγόνου δὲ καὶ ἐστειρωμένης, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐξευνουχισμένης ψυχῆς, σιτίοις πολυτελέσι καὶ ποτοῖς καὶ ὄψων περιέργοις παραρτύσεσι χαίρειν, μήτε τὰ ἀρετῆς ἄρρενα ὡς ἀληθῶς σπέρματα καταβάλλεσθαι δυναμένης, μήτε τὰ καταβληθέντα παραδέξασθαι καὶ ἀναθρέψασθαι, ἀλλ' οἷα λυπρὰν ἄρουραν καὶ λιθώδη πρὸς διαφθορὰν μόνον πεφυκέναι τῶν ἀεὶ ζῆν ὀφειλόντων.

4. L. A. C. 2. 565 καὶ σιωπῶ τὰς συγκαθαιρεθείσας κ.τ.λ.—L. A. C. 2. 587 καὶ σιωπῶ τὰς πέραν Εὐφράτου.

De Poenit. 2. 406 μυθικῶν πλασμάτων κατεξαναστάντας.—De Profugis 1. 552 κάκιστον μὲν τὸ μυθικὸν πλάσμα.—De Ab. 2. 35 ἔστι δ' οὐ πλάσμα μύθου τὸ λεχθέν.—cp. L. A. C. 2. 547; De Hum. 2. 392; De Decal. 2. 205; De Pr. et Poen. 2. 409; L. A. C. 2. 557.—Quod Det. Pot. Insid. 1. 215 Ἐν δὲ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ ποιητικῇ μύθου μὲν πλάσμα οὐδὲν εὑρήσεις.

898 P. δισωμάτους, οἳ κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς προσφύντες ἀλλήλοις ἑνωτι- M. 481, 5
καῖς δυνάμεσιν, αὖθις, οἷα μέρη συνεληλυθότα, διεζεύχθησαν, τῆς ἁρμονίας ὑφ᾽ ἧς συνείχοντο λυθείσης· εὐπαράγωγα γὰρ ταῦτα πάντα, δυνάμενα τῇ καινότητι τῆς

δὲ Arm. 5. *δισωμάτους* ex *δισαμάτους* corr. man. rec. Q: *δυσομμάτους*, sed in marg. *γρ' δισωμάτους* P || *καταρχὰς* Q || *πρόσφυγες* β: *προσφυέντες* P 6. *ἑνωτικαῖς* Arm. A: *ἐρωτικαῖς* cett. et edd. || *συνεληλυθότα* Arm. AβOPQ Mang.: *συνεληλυθότων* Turn. γ secutus 7. *συνείχετο* O: *συνείχοντο* Arm. cett. 8. *λυθέντες* Arm. || *ταῦτα* om. Arm. || om. *πάντα* O 9. pro *δυνάμενα* Armenus prae se

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5. De Sp. Leg. 2. 319 *τὰ δὲ ἀποκυηθέντα τῆς τε* **συμφυΐας ἀπέζευκται**.—De Fortit. 2. 379 *ἡ δὲ* [sc. *δειλία*] *ἐστὶ κακὸν σύντροφον, μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχ ἧττον τῶν* **ἡνωμένων** *μερῶν,* **προσπεφυκὸς** *ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας ἄχρι πανυστάτου γήρως*.—De Pl. Noe 1. 342 **δυνάμεσιν ἑνωτικαῖς** *καθαρμοζόμενος*.—V. M. 2. 174 *ἐκραυράθη γὰρ ἡ ψάμμος, καὶ ἡ σπορὰς αὐτῆς οὐσία* **συμφυεῖσα ἡνώθη**.—De Sp. Leg. 2. 304 *Ὁμοίως γάρ, ὡς εἰ καὶ τὰ* **μέρη** *τοῦ σώματος τῆς κατὰ φύσιν* **ἁρμονίας** *ἐκστάντα καὶ κοινωνίας στασιάζοι πρὸς ἄλληλα, . . . ἀδελφὰ δέ, εἰ καὶ διαίρετα τὰ μέρη γεγόνασιν, ἀλλ᾽ οὖν ἁρμόζονται καὶ* **ἑνοῦνται** *συγγενείᾳ μιᾷ*.—De Sp. Leg. 2. 274 *ἄνδρας ὧν* **διεζεύχθησαν** [sc. *χῆραι*].—De Somn. 1. 640 **σώματος ἡνωμένου**.—In Fl. 2. 527 *τῶν* **ἡνωμένων μερῶν** *τῆς* **συμφυΐας** *διαστάντων καὶ διασπαρέντων ἀλλαχόσε ἄλλων*.—De Pr. S. 2. 234 *ὑπὲρ τοῦ μήτε γονεῖς τέκνων μήτε τέκνα γονέων* **διαζεύγνυσθαι**.—De Mundi Op. 1. 36 *ἔρως δ᾽ ἐπιγενόμενος καθάπερ* **ἑνὸς** *ζῴου διττὰ τμήματα διεστηκότα συναγαγὼν εἰς ταὐτὸν ἁρμόττεται, πόθων ἐνιδρυσάμενος ἑκατέρῳ τῆς πρὸς θάτερον κοινωνίας εἰς τὴν τοῦ ὁμοίου γένεσιν· ὁ δὲ πόθος οὗτος καὶ τὴν τῶν σωμάτων ἡδονὴν ἐγέννησεν*.—De Mundo 2. 622 **συνεζεύχθη** *μὲν γὰρ τὰ τέως διεστῶτα πελάγη κατὰ τὴν σύρρευσιν* **ἑνωθέντα**, *ἡ δὲ* **ἡνωμένη** *γῆ τῷ μεθορίῳ πορθμῷ* **διεζεύχθη**.—cp. Quis Rerum 1. 507 ad P. 472. 32 iam ante laudatam.—De Pr. et Poen. 2. 417 *ταῦτα μιᾶς ὄντα ἰδέας ἀλληλουχεῖν ὀφείλει* **τῆς ἁρμονίας** *δασμοῖς* **ἑνωθέντα**.

8. De Mon. 2. 216 *Ἀλλ᾽ οὐ μόνον* **πλοῦτος** *καὶ* **δόξα** *καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα εἴδωλα ἀμενηνά, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλαι ἀπάται, ἃς* **μυθογράφοι διαπλάσαντες** *ἐξετύπωσαν, ἐπιτειχίσαντες τὰς ψευδεῖς* **δόξας** *κατὰ* **τῆς ἀληθείας**, *θεοὺς* **καινοὺς** *ὥσπερ ἀπὸ μηχανῆς εἰσαγαγόντες ἕνεκα τοῦ τὸν ἀίδιον καὶ ὄντα ὄντως λήθῃ παραδοθῆναι. Πρὸς δὲ τὸ* **εὐπαράγωγον** *μέλεσι καὶ ῥυθμοῖς καὶ μέτροις ἐνήρμοσαν τὸ ψευδές, νομίσαντες ῥᾳδίως καταγοητεύσειν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας . . . ὦφιν καὶ* **ἀκοὴν δελεάσαντες**.—De Gig. 1. 268 *ἡδέος καὶ* **εὐπαραγώγου** *λόγου*.—De Gig. 1. 271 **ἀπάτας** *καὶ σοφίσματα δι᾽ ὀφθαλμῶν ψυχαῖς* **εὐπαραγώγοις** *τεχνιτεύουσι*.—De Agric. 1. 302 *τὸ δ᾽ αὖ λογικὸν . . . ὅταν ἐξαπλοῖ λέξεις καὶ τὰς διὰ τῶν σοφισμάτων πιθανότητας ἐπιλύῃ καὶ τὴν* **εὐπαράγωγον ἀπάτην**, *μεγίστου ψυχῆς* **δέλεαρ** *καὶ ἐπιζήμιον ἀναιρῇ*.—De Agric. 1. 315 *πιθανότησιν* **εὐπαραγώγοις** *γυναῖκα ἀπατῶν*. —De Ebr. 1. 364 *πεποικιλμένα πρὸς* **ἀπάτην** *αἰσθήσεως* **εὐπαραγώγου**.

899 P. ἐπινοίας τὰ ὦτα | δελεάζειν, ὧν ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος M. 481, 10
οἱ Μωϋσέως γνώριμοι, μεμαθηκότες ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας
ἐρᾶν ἀληθείας, καταφρονοῦσιν, ἀνεξαπάτητοι διατελοῦν-
τες. Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τὰ διωνομασμένα συμπόσια τοιαύτης |
μεστὰ φλυαρίας ἐστίν, ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἔχοντα τὸν ἔλεγχον, 15
εἴ τις μὴ πρὸς δόξας καὶ τὴν διαδοθεῖσαν περὶ αὐτῶν,
ὡς δὴ πάνυ κατωρθωμένων, φήμην ἐθελήσειεν ἀφορᾶν,
ἀντιτάξω τὰ τῶν ἀνατεθεικότων τὸν ἴδιον βίον καὶ

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fert τὰ παραπλήσια 10. δελεάζειν ἐνίων ὧν BMO : δ. ὧν Arm. AγE : δελ. ἔνια. ὧν Q ‖ ἐκ π. τοῦ π.] Arm. reddit tanquam ἐκ πόλλων χρόνων 12. τῆς ἀληθείας Arm. 13. διαθλοῦντες Turn. : διατελοῦντες codd. Arm. Mang. : post δια inest lacuna ubi τελοῦντες. Ἀλλ' P 15. μεστὰ ex μετὰ corr. man. rec. Q ‖ ἐστι φλυαρίας μεστὰ β : μεστὰ φλ. om. ἐστὶν P : μεστά ἐστιν φλ. Arm. : μ. φλ. ἐ. AγO edd. 16. εἴ τι μὴ BM : εἰ μὴ Arm. ‖ πρὸς δόξας AβOPQ et fortasse Arm. : δόξαν cett. 17. περὶ ἑαυτῶν AE ‖ κατωρθωμένην β 18. ἀντιτάξω τὰ τῶν coniecit Mang. : ἀντιτάξω τῶν edd. et AγEOPQ : ἀντιταξάτω τῶν BDM : ἀντιτάξας τὰ τῶν Arm. 19. καὶ ἑαυτοὺς om. Arm.

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10. De Post. Caini 1. 256 ἀκοαῖς γε μὴν ἡ ὀσμαῖς πολλῷ τῷ περιόντι τὰ ἄλλα κεκράτηκεν.—De Agric. 1. 318 καὶ οὕτως ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος νενίκηκεν.—V. M. 2. 95 ὁ δὲ ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος διαναστάς.—cp. V. M. 2. 146.—L. A. C. 2. 565 οἱ δέ γε ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος ἤλπιζον ἐπαινεθήσεσθαι.

11. De Confus. 1. 411 καθ' ἃ καὶ τῶν Μωϋσέως γνωρίμων τις ἐν ὕμνοις εὐχόμενος εἶπεν.—Quod Deus Sit Im. 1. 295 ἡ ἑκάστου ψυχὴ τῶν γνωρίμων αὐτοῦ [i. e. Μωϋσέως].—cp. De Sacrificant. 2. 264 iam ante ad P. 473. 18 laudatam.

12. De Sacrificant. 2. 259 γεννηθέντες ἐν πολιτείᾳ φιλοθέῳ καὶ ἐντραφέντες νόμοις ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἀλείφουσι καὶ ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας παιδευόμενοι τὰ κάλλιστα ἀνδράσι, τῶν μὲν ὀλιγωροῦμεν, τῶν δὲ ὡς ἀληθῶς ὀλιγωρίας ἀξίων περιεχόμεθα.

16. De P. C. [A. M.] 24 Ἀλλ' ἔνιοι τῶν εὐπαρύφων καὶ νομοθετῶν πρὸς δόξας ἀπιδόντες μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ἀλήθειαν.—De Sp. Leg. 2. 326 αὐτοὶ οἱ νομοθέται πρὸς δόξαν μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀπιδόντες.

17. De Ios. 2. 62 τὰς ἁπλανεῖς καὶ ἀπταίστους καὶ ἐν ἅπασι κατορθούσας ἐνεργείας.—V. M. 2. 131 τὰ μὲν ἆθλα μόνοις ὑμῖν ὡς ἐπὶ κατωρθωμένοις πᾶσι δοθήσεται.

19. Quis Rerum 1. 487 τῶν δὲ τὴν πίστιν ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον ὄντως διαφυλαττόντων, ὀλίγος ἐστὶν ἀριθμός· οὗτοι τὰ τρία ἀνατεθείκασιν θεῷ, ψυχήν,

899 P. ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιστήμῃ | καὶ θεωρίᾳ τῶν τῆς φύσεως πραγ- M. 481, 2
μάτων, κατὰ τὰς τοῦ προφήτου Μωϋσέως ἱερωτάτας
ὑφηγήσεις. Οὗτοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀθροίζονται δι' ἑπτὰ
ἑβδομάδων, οὐ μόνον τὴν ἁπλῆν ἑβδομάδα, ἀλλὰ καὶ

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20. τῆς φύσεως om. O 21. τοῦ om. β || Μωϋσέως ABCM: Μωσέως cett. et edd. 23. ἑβδομάδα] καὶ μίαν β: ἑβδομάδος Q: ζωὴν P

αἴσθησιν, λόγον.—cp. De Profugis 1. 566.—De Decal. 2. 199 ἄκρατον γὰρ ἐμφορησάμενοι τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας πόθον πολλὰ χαίρειν φράσαντες ταῖς ἄλλαις πραγματείαις ὅλον ἀνέθεσαν τὸν οἰκεῖον βίον θεραπείᾳ θεοῦ.—D. A. S. I. 2. 249 μηκέτι δὲ ἔχοντες ὕλας, ἐν αἷς διαθήσονται τὴν εὐσέβειαν, αὐτοὺς ἀνατιθέασι καὶ καθιεροῦσιν.

20. De Decal. 2. 197 Ἐκέλευσεν οὖν [sc. Μωϋσῆς] . . . ἕπεσθαι θεῷ, πρὸς μὲν ἔργα τρεπομένους ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἕξ, ἀνέχοντας δὲ καὶ φιλοσοφοῦντας τῇ ἑβδόμῃ καὶ θεωρίαις μὲν τῶν τῆς φύσεως σχολάζοντας.—De Ab. 2. 30 οὐ γὰρ εἴασεν ὁ πάτηρ τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος λύπαις καὶ ὀδύναις καὶ ἄχθεσιν ἀνιάτοις ἐμφέρεσθαι, παρέμιξε δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀμείνονος φύσεως, εὐδιάσαι ποτὲ καὶ γαληνιάσαι τὴν ψυχὴν δικαιώσας· τὴν δὲ τῶν σοφῶν καὶ τὸν πλείονα χρόνον τοῦ βίου γήθειν καὶ εὐφραίνεσθαι τοῖς τοῦ κόσμου θεωρήμασιν ἐβουλήθη.—Quis Rerum 1. 508 πρὸς ἓν ἀπονεύουσι τέλος θεωρίαν τῶν τῆς φύσεως πραγμάτων.—Quis Rerum 1. 513 ἀφ' οὗ [sc. Ἀβραὰμ] καθάπερ ἀπὸ ῥίζης τὸ θεωρητικὸν καὶ σκεπτικὸν τῶν τῆς φύσεως πραγμάτων ἀνεβλάστησεν ἔρνος, ὄνομα Ἰσραήλ.—cp. De Somn. 1. 628; 1. 683.—V. M. 2. 168 καὶ εἰσέτι νῦν φιλοσοφοῦσι ταῖς ἑβδόμαις Ἰουδαῖοι τὴν πάτριον φιλοσοφίαν, τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον ἀναθέντες ἐπιστήμῃ καὶ θεωρίᾳ τῶν περὶ φύσιν.—D. A. S. I. 2. 240 τοῖς κατὰ θεὸν καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὄντως ὄντος ἀρέσκειαν ζῆν ἐγνωκόσιν, οἳ τῶν σαρκὸς ἡδονῶν ἀλογεῖν πεπαιδευμένοι τὰς τῆς διανοίας χαρὰς καὶ εὐπαθείας, θεωρίᾳ τῶν τῆς φύσεως ἐνασκούμενοι, μεταδιώκουσι.

21. De Congr. 1. 538 μόνου τοῦ ἀγεννήτου περιέχεσθαι κατὰ τὰς ἱερὰς ὑφηγήσεις.—De Mutat. Nom. 1. 609 τῶν ἱερῶν ὑφηγήσεων οἷς ἀπείπε Μωϋσῆς. —De Mig. Ab. 1. 459 ἡνίκα καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀπολείπομεν, τὴν σωματικὴν χώραν ἅπασαν, ἀπομαθεῖν τὰ πάθη σπουδάσαντες κατὰ τοὺς προφήτου λόγους Μωϋσέως καὶ ὑφηγήσεις.—Quis Rerum 1. 511 Τί δὲ Μωϋσῆς; οὐ προφήτης ᾄδεται παντοχοῦ;—De Mutat. Nom. 1. 597 τὸν δὲ ἀρχιπροφήτην συμβέβηκεν εἶναι πολυώνυμον. Ὁπότε μὲν γὰρ τοὺς χρησμῳδουμένους χρησμοὺς ἑρμηνεύων ὑφηγεῖται, προσαγορεύεται Μωϋσῆς.

23. De Sept. 2. 296 μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν σαλπίγγων ἄγεται νηστείας ἑορτή . . . ἣν Μωϋσῆς τὴν νηστείαν ἑορτὴν ἀνεῖπεν, καὶ ἑορτῶν τὴν μεγίστην πατρίῳ γλώττῃ σάββατα σαββάτων ὀνομάσας, ὡς δὲ ἂν Ἕλληνες εἴποιεν, ἑβδομάδα ἑβδομάδων καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἁγιώτεραν· διὰ πολλά. Πρῶτον μὲν δι' ἐγκράτειαν . . . Δεύτερον δ' ὅτι πᾶσα ἀνάκειται λιταῖς καὶ ἱκεσίαις . . . Τρίτον δὲ διὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐν ᾧ συμβέβηκε τὴν νηστείαν ἄγεσθαι. κατὰ γὰρ τοῦτον ἤδη συγκεκόμισται πάντα ὅσα δι' ἔτους ἤνεγκεν ἡ γῆ.—De Exsec. 2. 434 τὰς παρθένους ἑβδομάδας . . . μόνας γάρ, ἢ τό γε ἀσφαλέστερον

899 P. τὴν δύναμιν τεθηπότες. Ἁγνὴν γὰρ καὶ ἀειπάρθενον | M. 481
αὐτὴν ἴσασιν. Ἔστι δὲ προεόρτιος μεγίστης ἑορτῆς, 25
ἣν πεντηκοντὰς ἔλαχεν, ἁγιώτατος καὶ φυσικώτατος

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25. *προέορτος* A : *προεόρτιος* cett. 26. *ἣν πεντηκοντὰς ἔλαχεν* codd. gr.: utrum *ἡ πεντηκοντὰς* an *τῆς πεντηκοντάδος* habuerit Armenus

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εἰπεῖν πρώτας ἀνέδειξεν **ἑορτὰς** *ἡ φύσις τὰς* **ἑβδομάδας** *ἡμερῶν τε καὶ ἐνιαυτῶν πρὸς ἀνάπαυλαν, ἀνθρώποις μὲν τὰς ἡμερῶν, τῇ δὲ χώρᾳ τὰς ἐνιαυτῶν.*—Leg. Alleg. 1. 46 *κατά τινα λόγον οἱ ἐντὸς δεκάδος ἀριθμοὶ γεννῶνται ἢ γεννῶσι τοὺς ἐντὸς δεκάδος καὶ αὐτήν· ἡ δέ γε* **ἑβδομὰς** *οὔτε γεννᾷ τινα τῶν ἐντὸς δεκάδος ἀριθμῶν οὔτε γεννᾶται ὑπό τινος, παρ' ὃ μυθεύοντες οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι τῇ ἀειπαρθένῳ καὶ ἀμήτορι αὐτὴν ἀπεικάζουσιν, ὅτι οὔτε ἀπεκυήθη, οὔτε ἀποτέξεται.*—cp. Qu. in Gen. Sermo ii. § 12.—De Sept. 2. 281 **Ἑβδομὰς** *δὲ ἀμιγέστατος καὶ φῶς, εἰ χρὴ τὸ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, ἑξάδος.*—Quis Rerum 1. 497 *τέταρτος δὲ [θεσμὸς] περὶ τῆς ἀεὶ παρθένου καὶ ἀμήτορος* **ἑβδομάδος.**—V. M. 2. 166 *Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ γεννητοῦ τῶν ὅλων τιμὴν τὴν* **ἱερὰν ἑβδόμην** *ἐσέμνυνεν ὁ προφήτης . . . εὕρισκε γὰρ αὐτὴν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀμήτορα, γενεᾶς τῆς θήλεος ἀμέτοχον, ἐκ μόνου πατρὸς σπαρεῖσαν ἄνευ σπορᾶς, καὶ γεννηθεῖσαν ἄνευ κυήσεως.*—De Sept. 2. 281 *ἡ δι' ἑξ ἡμερῶν* **ἱερὰ ἑβδόμη.** *Ἦν οἱ μὲν ὠνόμασαν* **παρθένον,** *εἰς τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν ἁγνείαν ἀπιδόντες αὐτῆς, οἱ δ' αὐτοὶ καὶ ἀμήτορα, σπαρεῖσαν ἐκ μόνου τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων, ἰδέαν τῆς ἄρρενος γενεᾶς, ἀμέτοχον τῆς πρὸς γυναικῶν.*—De Sept. 2. 278 *ἡ τῆς τῶν* **ἑβδομάδων** *ὄντως* **ἑβδόμη** [sc. inter *ἑορτὰς ἃς ἀναγράφει ὁ νόμος* septima].—De Sept. 2. 289 [de anno iubilaeo] **ἑπτὰ ἑβδομάδας ἐτῶν** *συνθεὶς τὸ* **πεντηκοστὸν** *ὅλον* **ἀπέφηνεν ἱερόν.**—Qu. in Exodum Sermo ii. § 46 'Cur operitur mons nube sex dies, septimo autem Moses sursum vocatur?' Parem numerum, sex uidelicet, impertiit tam mundi creationi, quam *theoricae gentis* electioni, uolens ostendere imprimis, quod ipse et mundum fecit et gentem uirtute electam. Secundo uero, quia uult gentem ita ordinatam adornatamque, sicut uniuersum mundum: ut quippe iuxta haec et pariter prae se ferat ordinem conuenientiae secundum rectam legem ac normam immutabilis, loci expertis et immobilis dei naturae. 'Sursum' autem 'vocatio' prophetae secunda est natiuitas (siue regeneratio) priore melior: illa enim commixta per *carnem et corruptibiles* habebat parentes; ista uero incommixta simplexque anima principalis (uel spiritus principis), mutata a genita ad *ingenitum*, cuius non est mater, sed pater solus, qui et uniuersorum. Quamobrem et sursum uocatio, siue ut diximus, diuina natiuitas contigit ei fieri secundum naturam *septenarii semper virginis*. '*Septimus*' enim uocatur dies, hoc differens a protoplasta terrigena, quia ille de terra et una cum corpore in exsistentiam ueniebat, is autem ex aethere et sine corpore. Quare terrigenae numerus familiaris distributus fuit 'sexenarius,' heterogenae uero superior natura '*septenarii*.'

26. De Decal. 2. 96 *τὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης* [i. e. *τῆς ἐπὶ νῷ δράγματι πανηγυρίδος*] *καταριθμουμένην ἑπτὰ* **ἑβδομάσι** *πεντηκοστὴν ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾗ προσάγων ἄρτους ἕξοις, οἳ καλοῦνται πρωτογεννημάτων ἑτύμως, ἐπειδήπερ εἰσὶν ἀπαρχὴ γεννημάτων καὶ*

899 P. ἀριθμῶν, ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ὀρθογωνίου τριγώνου δυνάμεως M. 481
ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ τῆς τῶν ὅλων γενέσεως συσταθείς.
Ἐπειδὰν | οὖν συνέλθωσι λευχειμονοῦντες, φαιδροί, 30

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incertum, uerba ἦν et ἔλαχεν plane desunt 27. ἀριθμὸς Arm.: ἀριθμῶν cett. et edd. 28. ὀρθογώνου BM 29. γενέσεως συσταθείς OPQ Arm.: γενέσεως καὶ σύστασις AM: γενέσεως καὶ συστάσεως BE Mang.: γενέσεως et om. καὶ συστάσεως γ Turn. 30. γοῦν β:

καρπῶν.—De Sept. 2. 294 Τοσαύτας ἔχουσα προνομίας . . . ἡ ἐπὶ τῷ δράγματι πανήγυρις, προεόρτιόν ἐστιν . . . ἑτέρας ἑορτῆς μείζονος. Ἀπὸ γὰρ ἐκείνης ἡμέρα πεντηκοστὴ καταριθμεῖται, ἑβδόμη ἑβδομάς, ἐφ' αἷς ἱερὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπισφραγιζομένης μονάδος. . . . Πρόσρησιν δὲ ἔλαχεν ἡ κατὰ τὸν πεντηκοστὸν ἀριθμὸν ἑνισταμένη ἑορτὴ πρωτογεννημάτων, ἐν ᾗ δύο ἐζυμωμένους ἄρτους ἐκ πυροῦ γεγονότας ἔθος προσφέρειν, ἀπαρχὴν σίτου τῆς ἀρίστης τροφῆς.—De Sac. Ab. et C. 1. 187 ὁ πεντηκοστὸς λόγος, καθ' ὃν ἄφεσις ψυχικῆς δουλείας καὶ παντελὴς ἐλευθερία προκηρύττεται.—Quod Det. Pot. Insid. 1. 203 καὶ οὐδ' ἅπασιν ἐξεγένετο τοῖς ἱκέταις γενέσθαι φύλαξιν ἱερῶν, ἀλλ' οἵτινες ἀριθμὸν πεντηκοστὸν ἔλαχον, ἄφεσιν καὶ ἐλευθερίαν παντελῆ καὶ ἐπάνοδον εἰς τὰς ἀρχαίας λήξεις προκηρύττοντα. 'Τοῦτο' γάρ, φησίν, 'ἐστὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν Λευϊτῶν' κ.τ.λ.—De Mutat. Nom. 1. 613 ἡ παντελὴς εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἄφεσις, ἧς σύμβολον ὁ πεντηκοστὸς λόγος ἱερός.—De Congr. 1. 535 τοῦ τῆς ἀφέσεως ἀριθμοῦ πεντηκοντάδος.—Qu. in Gen. Sermo ii. § 5 Dicendum tamen et de *quinquaginta* hoc tenore: nam primum compositum est ex rectangulo quadrangulorum; rectangulus enim componitur ex tribus, quatuor, quinque; ex his autem quadrangulus, nouem, sexdecim, uiginti quinque, quorum summa est *quinquaginta*. Secundo perfectum componitur *quinquaginta* ex unitatis *triangulis* istis quatuor I, III, VI, X, et ex aequalibus unitatis iterum quatuor his (quadrangulis) I, IV, IX, XVI. *Trianguli* ergo collecti perficiunt uiginti et quadranguli triginta, quibus constat *quinquaginta*. Si autem *triangulum* et quadrangulum conueniant, pariunt septangulum, ita ut uirtualiter contineatur in *quinquagesimo* dominicam et sanctam trinitatem, in quod respiciens propheta festum *quinquagesimum* declarauit: *quinquagesimus* autem annus totus est liber et liberator.—cf. Qu. in Gen. Sermo iii. § 39.

28. V. M. 2. 147 [de Tabernaculi columnis] Εἰ δὲ βουληθείη τις τοὺς ἐν τῷ προπυλαίῳ πέντε τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ συνάπτοντας, ὁ κέκληκεν αὐλήν, τιθέναι χωρίς, ἀπολειφθήσεται ὁ ἀγιώτατος πεντηκοντάδος ἀριθμός, δύναμις ὢν τοῦ ὀρθογωνίου τριγώνου, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τῆς τῶν ὅλων γενέσεως ἀρχή, συμπληρωθεὶς ἐκ τῶν ἐντὸς [? ὀκτὼ] κιόνων.

30. De Cherub. 1. 156 καὶ λευχειμονοῦντες μὲν εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ βαδίζειν σπουδάζουσιν, ἀκηλιδώτους ἐσθῆτας ἀμπεχόμενοι, διάνοιαν δὲ κεκηλιδωμένην ἄχρι τῶν ἀδύτων εἰσάγοντες οὐκ αἰδοῦνται.—De Decal. 1. 188 παρεισήκει δὲ ὁ λεὼς ἀγνεύσας, ὁμιλιῶν πρὸς γυναῖκας καὶ τροφῶν ἡδονῶν ἔξω τὸν πρὸς τὰς τροφάς, ἀναγκαίων ἀποσχόμενος, λουτροῖς τε καὶ περιρραντηρίοις καθηράμενος ἐκ τριῶν

899 P. μετὰ τῆς ἀνωτάτω σεμνότητος, ὑποσημαίνοντός τινος M. 481
τῶν ἐφημερευτῶν, οὕτω γὰρ ὀνομάζειν ἔθος τοὺς ἐν ταῖς
τοιαύταις ὑπηρεσίαις, πρὸ τῆς κατακλίσεως στάντες
ἑξῆς κατὰ στοῖχον ἐν κόσμῳ | καὶ τάς τε ὄψεις καὶ τὰς 35
χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνατείναντες, τὰς μέν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ
θέας ἄξια καθορᾶν ἐπαιδεύθησαν, τὰς δέ, ὅτι καθαραὶ
λημμάτων εἰσίν, ὑπ' οὐδεμιᾶς προφάσεως τῶν εἰς πορισ-

δὲ Arm. 31. ἀνωτάτης ME || καὶ ante ὑποσημ. add. Arm. || τινος τ. ἐφ. codd. gr.: αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἐφημερευτοῦ Arm. 32. ἐφημερευτῶν] ἑρμηνευτῶν Q || γὰρ] add. αὐτοῖς Arm. 35. τὰς χεῖρας AβOPQ: χεῖρας γ et edd. 37. τὰς δέ, καθ' ἣν ὅτι Q

ἡμερῶν, ἔτι καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας ἀποπλυνάμενος, ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα **λευχείμων**, ἀκροβατῶν καὶ **ἀνωρθιακὼς** τὰ ὦτα, Μωϋσέως προδηλώσαντος εὐτρεπίζεσθαι πρὸς **ἐκκλησίαν**.

31. De Sac. Ab. et C. 1. 178 πρεσβυτέρων καὶ τῆς **ἀνωτάτω** τιμῆς ἀξίων.—De Ios. 2. 60 **ἐν ταῖς ἀνωτάτω** τιμαῖς.

34–36. De Ios. 2. 72 τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ **πρεσβυτάτου** ποιησάμενος **ἑξῆς κατὰ στίχον ἐπακολουθῶν ταῖς** ἡλικίαις.—De Somn. 1. 677 καὶ **στάντες** ἄντικρυς οὕτω κατὰ στίχον ἐν κόσμῳ, **τὰς χεῖρας ἐξάραντες** προσευξώμεθα, τύφον πρότερον ἀφέντες; εἶτα καταβαλόντες ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος, ποτνιᾶσθαι καὶ προσκυνεῖν ἐπιχειρήσωμεν; Ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐπιλάμψαι ποτὲ τούτοις γινομένοις ἥλιος, ἐπεὶ βαθὺ μὲν σκότος κακοῖς, τηλαυγὲς δὲ φῶς ἀγαθοῖς ἐφαρμόζει.

35. L. A. C. 2. 597 **ἀνατείνας τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν** ἐπεφήμιζε πρόσρησιν.—De Sp. Leg. 2. 341 **ἀνατείνας τὰς χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν** ὀμνύτω.

36. De Ebr. 1. 391 πεπηρωμένης πρὸς πάντα **τὰ θέας ἄξια**.—De Ebr. 1. 381 πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἀκοῆς καὶ **θέας ἄξια** περισκοπεῖ καὶ περιβλέπεται [sc. ἡ ἐπιστήμη].—Fragm. R. H. p. 101 ψυχὴ πᾶσα ἣν εὐσέβεια λιπαίνει τοῖς ἰδίοις ὀργίοις, ἀκοιμήτως ἔχει πρὸς τὰ θεῖα καὶ διανίσταται πρὸς τὴν θέαν **τῶν θέας ἀξίων**.—Leg. Alleg. 1. 121 ὁ θεῖος λόγος ὀξυδερκέστατός ἐστιν, ὡς πάντα **ἐφορᾶν** εἶναι ἱκανός, ᾧ **τὰ θέας ἄξια κατόψονται**.

37. De Hum. 2. 385 καὶ **τὰς καθαράς**, καὶ ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις τροπικώτερον, **παρθένους χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνατείνας**.

38. L. A. C. 2. 569 τῆς ἱερᾶς ἑβδόμης ἐνεστώσης . . . ὅτε οὔτε λαμβάνειν οὔτε διδόναι ἢ συνόλως τι πράττειν **τῶν** κατὰ βίον καὶ μάλιστα **τὸν πορισμὸν ἐφεῖται**·—V. M. 2. 167 ὁ πάντα μέγας **Μωϋσῆς ἐδικαίωσε** τοὺς ἐγγραφέντας αὐτοῦ τῇ ἱερᾷ πολιτείᾳ, θεσμοῖς φύσεως ἑπομένους, πανηγυρίζειν ἐν ἱλαραῖς διάγοντας εὐθυμίαις ἀνέχοντας μὲν ἔργων καὶ τεχνῶν **τῶν εἰς πορισμόν**, καὶ πραγματειῶν ὅσαι κατὰ βίου ζήτησιν.—V. M. 2. 168 περὶ τοῦ σεβασμοῦ τῆς ἑβδόμης νενομοθέτηται . . . Ὅτι οὐχ αἱ βάνανσοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι τέχναι καὶ πραγματεῖαι καὶ μάλιστα αἱ περὶ **πορισμὸν** καὶ βίου ζήτησιν ἢ διὰ πυρός εἰσιν ἢ οὐκ ἄνευ **τῶν** διὰ πυρός.—De Decal. 2. 200 **τὰς εἰς τὸν πορισμὸν** κακοπαθείας.—De Essaeis 2. 633

899 P. μὸν μιαινόμεναι, προσεύχονται τῷ θεῷ θυμήρη γενέσ- M. 481
θαι | καὶ κατὰ νοῦν ἀπαντῆσαι τὴν εὐωχίαν. Μετὰ 40
δὲ τὰς εὐχὰς οἱ πρεσβύτεροι κατακλίνονται, ταῖς εἰσ-
κρίσεσιν ἀκολουθοῦντες. Πρεσβυτέρους γάρ, οὐ τοὺς

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40. τὴν εὐωχίαν post τῷ θεῷ Arm. additque αὐτῶν 42. ταῖς εἰσκ. ἀκ. AγOPQ: ταῖς θείαις κρίσεσιν ἀκολούθως β: Arm. sensum dat: '*one by one in order according to distinction*,' unde puto legendum esse ἑξῆς post κατακλίνονται 43. γὰρ οὐ] δὲ οὐ Arm. ‖ ἀλλ' ἔτι κομιδῇ νέους παῖδας AγOPQ atque edd.: οὐδ' ἔτι κ.ν.π. BM: οὐδὲ καὶ κ.ν.π. E. Plane desunt Armeno neque tamen

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εἰσὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν γεηπόνοι . . . οἱ δὲ ἀγελάρχαι . . . ἄλλοι δὲ δημιουργοὶ τῶν κατὰ τέχνας εἰσίν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν ὧν αἱ ἀναγκαῖαι χρεῖαι βιάζονται παθεῖν, οὐδὲν ἀναβαλλόμενοι **τῶν εἰς πορισμὸν** ἀνυπαίτιον.—L. A. C. 2. 596 **πριστὴν** ἑλόμενοι βίον.—De Prov. ex Eus. Praep. Ev. 2. 638 Εἶτα νῦν θαυμάζομεν, εἰ **Σωκράτης** καὶ ὁ δεῖνα **τῶν** σπουδαίων ἐν πενίᾳ διῆγον; ἄνθρωποι μηδὲν πώποτε **τῶν εἰς πορισμὸν** ἐπιτηδεύσαντες.—De Cherub. 1. 145 ἃ δὲ Βαλαάμ, ταῦτ' ἕκαστος τῶν μὴ κεκαθαρμένων ἀεὶ ματαιάζων αἰτιᾶταί πως, **ἐμπορικὸν** ἢ γεωργικὸν ἤ τιν' ἄλλον **τῶν πριστικῶν** ἐπιτηδεύσας βίον.

41. De Ios. 2. 70 Ἐξῆς δὲ προστάξαντος κατὰ τὰς ἡλικίας καθέζεσθαι, μήπω τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν ταῖς συμποτικαῖς συνουσίαις **κατακλίσει** χρωμένων, ἐθαύμαζον, εἰ οἱ **Αἰ**γύπτιοι ζηλωταὶ τῶν αὐτῶν Ἑβραίοις εἰσὶ τάξεώς τε πεφροντικότες καὶ τὰς **πρεσβυτέρων καὶ νεωτέρων** τιμὰς διακρίνειν ἐπιστάμενοι.

42. De Ab. 2. 39 ὁ γὰρ ἀληθείᾳ **πρεσβύτερος** οὐκ ἐν μήκει χρόνου, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐπαινετῷ βίῳ θεωρεῖται. Τοὺς μὲν οὖν αἰῶνα πολὺν τρίψαντας ἐν τῇ μετὰ σώματος ζωῇ δίχα καλοκἀγαθίας πολυχρονίους παῖδας λεκτέον, μαθήματα πολιᾶς ἄξια μηδέποτε παιδευθέντας· τὸν δὲ φρονήσεως καὶ **σοφίας**, τῆς πρὸς θεὸν πίστεως ἐρασθέντα λέγοι τις ἂν ἐνδίκως εἶναι **πρεσβύτερον**, παρανυμοῦντα τῷ πρώτῳ.—De Sobr. 1. 393 πολλαχοῦ μέντοι τῆς νομοθεσίας καὶ τοὺς ἡλικίᾳ προήκοντας νέους καὶ τοὺς μηδέπω γεγηρακότας ἔμπαλιν ὀνομάζει **πρεσβυτέρους**, οὐκ εἰς **πολυετίαν** ἀφορῶν ἢ βραχὺν καὶ μήκιστον χρόνον, ἀλλ' εἰς ψυχῆς δυνάμεις κινουμένης εὖ τε καὶ χεῖρον.—De Sobr. 1. 395 'Συνάγαγέ μοι ἑβδομήκοντα ἄνδρας ἀπὸ τῶν **πρεσβυτέρων** Ἰσραήλ, οὓς αὐτὸς σὺ οἶδας, ὅτι οὗτοί εἰσι **πρεσβύτεροι**' [Num. 11. 16]. Οὐκοῦν οὐ τοὺς ὑπὸ **τῶν τυχόντων** γέροντας νομιζομένους, ὡς ἱεροφάντας, ἀλλ' οὓς ὁ σοφὸς οἶδε μόνος, τῆς **τῶν πρεσβυτέρων** ἠξίωσε προσρήσεως.—cp. De Sac. Ab. et C. 1. 178.—De Post. Caini 2. 238 ἡδονῶν ἀπεχομένους **πρεσβύτας** εὖ φρονῶν οὐκ ἄν τις ἀποδέξαιτο . . . ἐπαίνου δ' ἂν ἀξιώσειε τοὺς ἡβῶντας, ὅτι φλεγούσης τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ὑπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀκμῆς ὅμως σβεστηρίων ὀργάνων, **τῶν** κατὰ παιδείαν λόγων, εὐπορήσαντες τὸν πολὺν φλογμόν, ἅμα καὶ βρασμὸν **τῶν** παθῶν ἐπεκούφισαν.—De P. C. [A. M.] 18 ὅθεν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν οὐ μόνον **προεδρίας** ἐξίστασθαι διείρηται **νέους πρεσβύταις**, ἀλλὰ καὶ παριοῦσιν ὑπανίστασθαι πολιὰν γήρως αἰδουμένους.—De Iustit. 2. 364 **πολυετῆ** ζωήν.

899 P. πολυετεῖς καὶ παλαιοὺς νομίζουσιν, ἀλλ' ἔτι κομιδῇ M. 481
νέους παῖδας, ἐὰν ὀψὲ τῆς | προαιρέσεως ἐρασθῶσιν, 45
ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐκ πρώτης || ἡλικίας ἐνηβήσαντας καὶ M. 482
ἐνακμάσαντας τῷ θεωρητικῷ μέρει φιλοσοφίας, ὃ δὴ
κάλλιστον καὶ θειότατόν ἐστιν. Συνεστιῶνται δὲ καὶ

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omittenda esse uidentur 44. τῆς προαιρέσεως] ὀρθῆς προαιρέσεως uertit Arm. 1. ἐνηβήσαντας καὶ om. Arm.: ἐνηβάσαντας EM: ἡβήσαντας Q || ἀκμάσαντας γ Turn. Mang.: ἐνακμ. cett. 2. τῆς φιλοσοφίας β || om. δὴ Arm. 3. ὧν usque 482. 11 θεοφιλὴς

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44. Leg. Alleg. 1. 129 **οἱ ἔτι κομιδῇ νήπιοι παῖδες.**—De Ios. 2. 73 **Ἀδελφὸς δὲ κομιδῇ νέος** *ἐστὶ* **παιδίον.**—De Essaeis 2. 632 **Ἐσσαίων γοῦν κομιδῇ νήπιος** *οὐδείς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πρωτογένειος ἢ μειράκιον, ἐπεὶ τά γε τούτων ἀβέβαια ἤθη τῷ τῆς ἡλικίας ἀτελεῖ συννεωτερίζονται· τέλειοι δὲ ἄνδρες καὶ πρὸς γῆρας ἀποκλίναντες ἤδη.*

45. De Profugis 1. 576 *τὸ γὰρ γνῶναι . . . τὸ τὴν* **προαίρεσιν,** *ᾗ χρήσεται τοῦ βίου ὁ μήπω γεγεννημένος, ὅτι ἄγροικον, ἀλλ' οὐ πολιτικὴν καὶ ἥμερον.*

1. De Exsec. 2. 434 **ἀνηβήσει καὶ ἐπακμάσει.**—Q. O. P. L. 2. 447 *οἱ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς τελεταῖς ἱεροφαντηθέντες, ὅταν ὀργίων γεμισθῶσι πολλὰ τῆς πρόσθεν ὀλιγωρίας ἑαυτοὺς κακίζουσιν, ὡς* **οὐ φεισάμενοι χρόνου,** *βίον δὲ τρίψαντες ἀβίωτον, ἐν ᾧ φρονήσεως ἐχήρευσαν. Ἄξιον οὖν νεότητα τὴν παντοχοῦ πᾶσαν τὰς ἀπαρχὰς τῆς πρώτης* **ἀκμῆς** *μηδενὶ μᾶλλον ἢ παιδείᾳ ἀναθεῖναι, ᾗ καὶ* **ἐνηβῆσαι** *καὶ ἐγγηράσαι καλόν.*—Qu. in Ex. Sermo i. § 15: Amarula [*πικρίδες* Ex. 12. 8] uero declaratio est spiritualis emigrationis, qua quis a cupiditatibus in apathiam et ex improbitate in uirtutem transmigrat. Qui enim ex natura genuinaque fidelitate poenitentiam agunt, de prima uitae conuersatione acerbitantur, et aegre ferentes uitam misere transactam flent, gemunt et suspirant, eo quod magis necessariam temporis partem tradiderint fallaci dominae cupiditati: qua seducti *uigentem* iuuentutis aetatem male traduxerunt, in qua oporteret iucunde proficere in sapientiae speculationibus ad felicem immortalis uitae statum. Cum amarulis ergo comedamus azymum, qui poenitentiam desideramus, hoc est: prius manducemus amaritudinem ob transactum tempus aegreque tolerandam uitam; et postea contraria superiactabundae superbiae per meditationem humilitatis, cuius quidem nomen est pudor. Quoniam memoria priscorum peccatorum facit timere et in se recolligens mentem non paucam utilitatem fert.

3. V. M. 2. 155 *μετὰ σπουδῆς καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἁπάσης αἱ* **γυναῖκες εἰσήνεγκαν,** *ἁμιλλώμεναι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν πρὸς* **εὐσέβειαν,** *ἀγώνισμα καλὸν ἅρασθαι διανοηθεῖσαι καί, καθ' ὅσον δυνάμεως εἶχον,* **σπουδάσασαι** *μὴ ἀπολειφθῆναι τῆς ἐκείνων ὁσιότητος· κάτοπτρα γάρ, οἷς εἰς εὐμορφίαν εἰώθασι διακοσμεῖσθαι, μηδενὸς προστάξαντος,* **αὐτοκελεύστῳ προθυμίᾳ** *σωφροσύνης καὶ τῆς περὶ γάμον* **ἁγνείας** *καὶ τί γὰρ ἄλλ' ἢ ψυχικοῦ κάλλους ἀπαρχὴν πρεπωδεστάτην ἀπήρξαντο.*—De Nobilit.

899 P. γυναῖκες, ὧν πλεῖσται γηραιαὶ παρθένοι, τὴν ἀγνείαν M. 482
οὐκ | ἀνάγκῃ, καθάπερ ἔνιαι τῶν παρ᾽ Ἕλλησιν 5
ἱερειῶν, διαφυλάξασαι μᾶλλον ἢ καθ᾽ ἑκούσιον γνώ-
μην, διὰ ζῆλον καὶ πόθον σοφίας, ᾗ συμβιοῦν σπου-
δάσασαι τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἡδονῶν ἠλόγησαν· οὐ
θνητῶν ἐκγόνων, ἀλλ᾽ ἀθανάτων ὀρεχθεῖσαι, ἃ | μόνη 10

ψυχή laudauit Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 17 4. *γηρεαί· παρθένοι, τὴν ἀγνείαν* sic interpunxerunt OH Turn. || *γηραλέαι* Euseb. Mang.: *γηραιαὶ* codd. Turn. || post *παρθένοι* add. *τυγχάνουσι* Mang. inuitis codd. et uers. Arm. 6. *φυλάττουσαι* uel *φυλάξασαι* Euseb.: *διαφυλάττουσι* uel *φυλάττουσι* Arm.: *διαφυλάξασαι* Turn. Mang. codd. 7. *διὰ ζῆλον* Euseb. Arm. A: *διὰ δὲ ζῆλον* βγOPQ edd. || *σπουδάζουσαι* EM: *σπουδάσασαι* Euseb. AγOPQ Turn. Arm.: *σπουδάσουσαι* B: *σπουδάζουσι* Mang. 8. *περὶ τὸ σῶμα* Mang. Eusebium et P secutus: *περὶ σῶμα* cett. codd.

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2. 443 Ταύτην τὴν εὐγένειαν οὐ μόνον θεοφιλεῖς ἄνδρες, ἀλλὰ καὶ **γυναῖκες ἐζήλωσαν**, ἀπομαθοῦσαι μὲν ἀμαθίαν τὴν σύντροφον περὶ τιμῆς τῶν χειροκμήτων, παιδευθεῖσαι δὲ τὴν περὶ μοναρχίας ἐπιστήμην, ᾗ μοναρχεῖται ὁ κύσμος. Θάμαρ ἦν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Παλαιστίνης Συρίας γύναιον, ἐν οἰκίᾳ καὶ πόλει τραφὲν πολυθέῳ γεμούσῃ ξοάνων καὶ ἀγαλμάτων, καὶ συνόλως ἀφιδρυμάτων. Ἀλλ᾽ ἐπειδὴ καθάπερ ἐκ σκότους βαθέος ἐδυνήθη βραχεῖαν αὐγὴν ἀληθείας ἰδεῖν, θανάτου κινδύνῳ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ηὐτομόλησεν, **ὀλίγα φροντίσασα** τοῦ ζῆν, εἰ μὴ μέλλοι καλῶς ζῆν· τὸ δὲ καλῶς ἀνέφερεν ἐπ᾽ οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ **τὴν θεραπείαν** καὶ ἱκεσίαν τοῦ ἑνὸς αἰτίου.

4-6. Q. O. P. L. 2. 458 Τοῦ μὲν οὖν φιλοθέου δείγματα παρέχονται μυρία· **τὴν παρ᾽** ὅλον **τὸν** βίον συνεχῆ καὶ ἐπάλληλον **ἁγνείαν**.—De Fortit. 2. 381 τὰ μὲν σώματα ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν προέμεναι . . . **παρθένους** δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς **διαφυλάττουσαι**, αἷς καὶ **τὴν** πρὸς τὸ μέλλον **ἁγνείαν** ἐπισφραγιεῖσθε.—De Essaeis 2. 633 **ἑκουσίῳ** γνώμῃ μᾶλλον ἢ φύσεως ἀνάγκῃ.—Qu. in Ex. Sermo ii. § 2, R. H. p. 49 τὸ Ἑβραῖον γένος . . . ἐγκρατείᾳ καὶ καρτερίᾳ συνεβίου· οὐκ ἀνάγκῃ μᾶλλον ἢ **ἐθελουσίῳ γνώμῃ**, διὰ **τὸν** ἐπὶ **τὸν Σωτῆρα θεὸν καταφυγήν**.

7. Leg. Alleg. 1. 102 δικαιοσύνῃ **συζῶντα**.—De Ab. 2. 8 διὰ τὰς ὑπερβολὰς **τῶν** ἀρετῶν αἷς **συνεβίουν**.—De Ab. 2. 1 **τῶν** ἀνδρῶν **τῶν** μὲν ἀρετῇ, τῶν δὲ κακίᾳ **συμβιωσάντων**.—De Pr. et Poen. 2. 412 ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἄξιαι δικαιοσύνῃ **συμβιοῦντος**.—De Profugis 1. 577 τελείοις **συμβιοῦν** ἀγαθοῖς.—De Somn. 1. 689 **τοὺς συμβιοῦντας** φρονήσει.

8. Quis Rerum 1. 482 διάνοια . . . φάσκουσα, ὅτι Μετῳκισάμην τοῦ σώματος, ἡνίκα τῆς σαρκὸς **ἠλόγουν** ἤδη.—De Sept. 2. 279 Γέμοντες οὖν καλοκἀγαθίας καὶ **τῶν περὶ σῶμα καὶ ἐκτὸς ἀλογεῖν ἐθιζόμενοι**.

9. De Pr. et Poen. 2. 425 Ἀλλὰ τί τούτων ὄφελος, εἴποι τις ἄν, τῷ μὴ μέλλοντι κληρονόμους καὶ διαδόχους ἀπολιπεῖν; Ἐπισφραγιζόμενος διὰ τοῦτο τὰς εὐεργεσίας,

899 P. τίκτειν ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς οἷα τέ ἐστιν ἡ θεοφιλὴς ψυχή, σπεί- M. 482

Turn.: σωματικῶν Arm. 10. ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς Euseb. codd.: om. Arm. ||

φησίν· Οὐδεὶς ἄγονος, οὐδὲ στεῖρα γενήσεται, πάντες δὲ οἱ θεραπευταὶ θεοῦ γνήσιοι νόμον ἐκπληρώσουσι φύσεως τὸν ἐπὶ παιδοποιΐᾳ. Καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρες ἔσονται πατέρες, καὶ πατέρες εὔπαιδες, καὶ γυναῖκες μητέρες εὔτεκνοι, ὡς ἕκαστον οἶκον πλήρωμα εἶναι πολυανθρώπου συγγενείας, μηδενὸς ἐλλειφθέντος ἢ μέρους ἢ ὀνόματος τῶν ὅσα ἐπιφημίζεται τοῖς προσήκουσι, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄνω, γονεῖς, θείους, πάππους, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κάτω πάλιν, υἱούς, ἀδελφούς, ἀδελφιδοῦς, υἱωνούς, θυγατριδοῦς, ἀνεψιούς, ἀνεψιαδοῦς, τοὺς ἐξ αἵματος πάντας.—Leg. Alleg. 1. 123 Ἔπαθεν οὖν ταὐτὸν ὁ Ἰωσὴφ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ Ῥαχήλ· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴ ἐνόμισε δύνασθαί τι τὸ γεννητόν. Διὸ λέγει· ‘Δός μοι τέκνα.’ Ἀλλ' ὅ γε πτερνιστὴς ἑαυτὸν μιμησάμενος ἐρεῖ. Πλάνον πεπλάνησαι πολύν· οὐ γὰρ ἀντὶ θεοῦ ἐγώ εἰμι, τοῦ μόνου δυναμένου τὰς ψυχῶν μήτρας ἀνοιγνύναι [Gen. 30. 1 seq.] καὶ σπείρειν ἐν αὐταῖς ἀρετὰς καὶ ποιεῖν ἐγκύμονας καὶ τικτούσας τὰ καλά. Κατάμαθέ γέ τοι τὴν ἀδελφήν σου Λείαν καὶ εὑρήσεις ἐξ οὐδενὸς γεννητοῦ λαμβάνουσαν τὴν σποράν καὶ τὴν γονήν, ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ. Ἰδὼν γὰρ Κύριος, ὅτι μισεῖται Λεία, ἤνοιξε τὴν μήτραν αὐτῆς. Ῥαχὴλ δὲ ἦν στεῖρα [Gen. 29. 31]. Ἀλλ' ὅρα πάλιν τὴν ἐν τούτῳ λεπτουργίαν τῆς ἀρετῆς. Ὁ θεὸς τὰς μήτρας ἀνοίγει, σπείρων ἐν αὐταῖς τὰς καλὰς πράξεις, ἡ δὲ μήτρα, παραδεξαμένη τὴν ἀρετὴν ὑπὸ θεοῦ, οὐ τίκτει τῷ θεῷ — χρεῖος γὰρ οὐδενός ἐστιν ὁ ἄν—ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ τῷ Ἰακὼβ υἱούς· ἐμοῦ γὰρ ἕνεκα ἔσπειρεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἀρετῇ τάχα, οὐχ ἑαυτοῦ.—cp. Leg. Alleg. 1. 131.—De Cherub. 1. 147 ἀρεταῖς δὲ πολλὰ καὶ τέλεια τικτούσαις θέμις οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνδρὸς ἐπιλαχεῖν θνητοῦ. Μὴ δεξάμεναι δὲ παρά τινος ἑτέρου ἐπιγονήν, ἐξ ἑαυτῶν μὲν μόνων οὐδέποτε κυήσουσι. Τίς οὖν ὁ σπείρων ἐν αὐταῖς τὰ καλὰ πλὴν ὁ τῶν ὅλων πατήρ, ὁ ἀγέννητος θεός, καὶ τὰ σύμπαντα γεννῶν;—cp. De Congr. 1. 520.—De Sp. Leg. 2. 275 Εἰδέναι τοίνυν ἐχρῆν ὅτι ὁ τῆς φύσεως ὀρθὸς λόγος πατρὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἔχει δύναμιν, ἐπὶ ἐννοίαις διαφόροις· ἀνδρὸς μέν, ἐπειδὴ τὸν ἀρετῶν σπόρον ὥσπερ εἰς ἀγαθὴν ἄρουραν, τὴν ψυχήν, καταβάλλεται· πατρὸς δέ, ὅτι βουλὰς ἀγαθὰς καὶ πράξεις καλὰς καὶ σπουδαίας γεννᾶν πέφυκε καὶ γεννήσας ἐκτρέφει ποτίμοις δόγμασιν, ἃ παιδεία καὶ σοφία χορηγοῦσι. Διάνοια δὲ ἀπεικάζεται ποτὲ μὲν παρθένῳ, ποτὲ δὲ γυναικί, ἡ χηρευούσῃ ἢ ἀνδρὶ ἔτι ἡρμοσμένῃ· παρθένῳ μὲν οὖν, διάνοια ἀγνὴν καὶ ἀδιάφθορον διαφυλάττουσα ἑαυτὴν ἀπό τε ἡδονῶν καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν, ἔτι δὲ λυπῶν καὶ φόβων, ἐπιβούλων παθῶν, ἧς τὴν προστασίαν ὁ γενέτης ἀνῆπται πατήρ· τῆς δὲ ὡς γυναικὸς ἀστείας ἀστείῳ λόγῳ τῷ κατ' ἀρετὴν συμβιούσης τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος λόγος ἐπαγγέλλεται, σπείρων ἀνδρὸς τρόπον ἐννοίας ἀρίστας. Ἡ δὲ ἂν ἀπορφανισθῇ ψυχὴ καὶ γενεᾶς τῆς κατὰ τὴν φρόνησιν καὶ ἐπιγαμίας τῆς κατὰ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον, χηρεύουσα τῶν καλλίστων καὶ ἔρημος οὖσα σοφίας, ὑπαίτιον ἑλομένη ζωήν, ἔνοχος ἔστω οἷς ἔγνω καθ' ἑαυτῆς, ἰατρὸν ἁμαρτημάτων οὐκ ἔχουσα, οὔθ' ὡς ἄνδρα συμβιωτήν, οὔθ' ὡς πατέρα γεννητήν, τὸν κατὰ σοφίαν λόγον. —De Somn. 1. 651 βούλεται οὖν τῆς τὸν ἱερὸν σπόρον παραδεξαμένης ψυχῆς τὰ πρωτότοκα γεννήματα διάλευκα εἶναι, φωτὶ ἐοικότα οὐκ ἀμυδρῷ, φέγγει δὲ διαυγεστάτῳ, οἷα γένοιτ' ἂν ἀφ' ἡλιακῶν ἀκτίνων ἄσκιος ἐν αἰθρίᾳ κατὰ μεσημβρίαν αὐγή.—Quod Deus Sit Im. 1. 293 ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ παρὰ Μωϋσεῖ Θάμαρ. Καὶ γὰρ ταύτῃ προστέτακται χηρευούσῃ καθέζεσθαι ἐν τῷ τοῦ μόνου καὶ σωτῆρος οἴκῳ

899 P. *ραντος εἰς αὐτὴν ἀκτῖνας νοητὰς τοῦ πατρός, αἷς δυνήσε-* M. 482
ται θεωρεῖν τὰ σοφίας δόγματα. Διανενέμηται δὲ ἡ κατάκλισις, χωρὶς μὲν ἀνδράσιν ἐπὶ δεξιά, χωρὶς δὲ γυναιξὶν ἐπ' εὐώνυμα. | *Ἡ πού τις ὑπολαμβάνει στρωμ-* 15

οἷα τέ ἐστι τίκτειν tr. Arm. 11. *εἰς αὐτὴν*] αὐτῆ* (sic) B || *ἀκτίνας* Q
13. *ἡ* ante *κατάκλισις* om. *β* 15. *εἴ* EOPQ Turn.: *ἤ* A: *ει* ex

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πατρός, δι' ὃν ἀεὶ καταλιποῦσα τὰς τῶν **θνητῶν** *συνουσίας καὶ ὁμιλίας ἠρήμωται μὲν καὶ κεχήρευκεν ἀνθρωπίνων ἡδονῶν, παραδέχεται δὲ* **θείαν** *γονήν, καὶ πληρουμένη τῶν τῆς ἀρετῆς* **σπερμάτων** *κυοφορεῖ καὶ ὠδίνει καλὰς πράξεις.*—De Ebr. 1. 361 *πατρὸς δὲ καὶ μητρὸς κοιναὶ μὲν αἱ κλήσεις, διάφοροι δὲ δυνάμεις· τὸν γοῦν τόδε τὸ πᾶν ἐργασάμενον δημιουργὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ* **πατέρα** *εἶναι τοῦ γεγονότος εὐθὺς ἐν δίκῃ φήσομεν, μητέρα δὲ τὴν τοῦ πεποιηκότος ἐπιστήμην, ᾗ συνὼν ὁ θεός—οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπος—***ἔσπειρε** *γένεσιν. Ἡ δὲ παραδεξαμένη τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ* **σπέρμα** *τελεσφόροις ὠδῖσι τὸν μόνον καὶ ἀγαπητὸν αἰσθητὸν υἱὸν ἀπεκύησε, τόνδε τὸν κόσμον. Εἰσάγεται γοῦν παρά τινι τῶν ἐκ τοῦ θείου χοροῦ ἡ σοφία περὶ αὐτῆς λέγουσα τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· 'Ὁ θεὸς ἐκτήσατό με πρωτίστην τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἔργων, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐθεμελίωσέ με'* [Prov. 8. 225].—Quod Det. Pot. Insid. 1. 203 [loquitur Sarra] *χρῆσις γὰρ καὶ ἀπόλαυσις ἀρετῆς τὸ εὔδαιμον, οὐ ψιλὴ μόνον κτῆσις· χρῆσθαι δ' οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην, εἰ μὴ σὺ καθεὶς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τὰ σπέρματα ἀπεργάσαιο αὐτὸς ἐγκύμονα, ἡ δὲ τὸ εὐδαιμονίας γένος ἀποτέκοι, τὸν Ἰσαάκ.*—Qu. in Gen. Sermo iv. § 99 *'Διὰ τί . . . παρθένος ἦν ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἔγνω αὐτήν'* [Gen. 24. 16] Quare adiicit uirginitati id quod superfluum quibusdam putatur; necesse tamen est (illud), quod 'uir non cognouit eam'; quam enim uir nouerit, qualis erit (uirgo)? Verum fortasse 'uirum' hic notauit non constantem corpore et anima, sed morem exemplarem: qui nec incorruptam corrumpere animam neque inuiolatam uiolare ausus est, iniquum aestimans, si quis uelit corruptibile *semen* uoluptatis *seminare* in mentem, sed illa diuinitatis pura accipiens et adprobans *semina*, quae solet pater uniuersorum, incorporea nimirum et intelligibilia desuper intus *seminare*.—De Mig. Ab. 1. 458 *'Ἔτεκον γὰρ υἱόν,' οὐχ ὡς γυναῖκες* **Αἰγύπτιαι** *κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀκμήν, ἀλλ' ὡς αἱ* **Ἑβραῖαι** *ψυχαί 'ἐν τῷ γήρᾳ μου'* [Exod. 1. 18], *ὅτε τὰ μὲν ὅσα αἰσθητὰ καὶ θνητὰ μεμάρανται, τὰ δὲ νοητὰ καὶ* **ἀθάνατα** *ἀνήβηκεν, ἃ γέρως καὶ τιμῆς ἐστιν ἐπάξια. Καὶ ἔτεκον μαιευτικῆς τέχνης οὐ προσδεηθεῖσα· τίκτομεν γὰρ καὶ πρὶν εἰσελθεῖν τινας ἐπινοίας καὶ ἐπιστήμας ἀνθρώπων πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἄνευ τῶν ἐξ ἔθους συνεργούντων,* **σπείροντος** *καὶ γεννῶντος* **θεοῦ** *τὰ ἀστεῖα γεννήματα, ἃ τῷ διδόντι προσηκόντως κατὰ τὸν ἐπ' εὐχαριστίᾳ τιθέντα νόμον ἀποδίδοται· 'Τὰ γὰρ δῶρά μου, δόματά μου, καρπώματά μου,' φησίν, 'διατηρήσατε προσφέρειν ἐμοί'* [Num. 28. 2].

15. De Somn. 1. 639 *ζηλωταὶ τῶν εὐποριστοτάτων, ὡς μηδ' ἐπ' εὐτελεῖ χλαίνῃ ποτὲ δυσωπηθῆναι, τὸ ἐναντίον δὲ τὰς* **πολυτελεῖς** *ὄνειδος καὶ μεγάλην τοῦ βίου ζημίαν νομίσαι. Τούτοις* **πολυτελὴς** *μέν ἐστι κλίνη μαλακὸν ἔδαφος,* **στρωμνὴ** *δὲ θάμνοι, πόαι, βοτάναι, φύλλων πολλὴ χύσις, τὰ δὲ πρὸς κεφαλὴν λίθοι τινὲς ἢ βραχεῖς γεώλοφοι τοῦ ἰσοπέδου* **μικρὸν ἀνέχοντες.** *Τὸν βίον τοῦτον οἱ μὲν τρυφῶντες* **σκληροδίαιτον** *καλοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς καλοκἀγαθίαν ζῶντες* **ἥδιστον** *ὀνομάζουσιν.*

νάς, εἰ καὶ μὴ πολυτελεῖς, ἀλλ' οὖν μαλακωτέρας ἀνθρώποις εὐγενέσι καὶ ἀστείοις καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἀσκηταῖς εὐτρεπίσθαι· στιβάδες γάρ εἰσιν εἰκαιοτέρας ὕλης, ἀφ' ὧν εὐτελῆ πάνυ χαμαίστρωτα παπύρου τῆς ἐγχωρίου, | μικρὸν ὑπερέχοντα κατὰ τοὺς ἀγκῶνας, ἵνα ἐπερείδοιντο. Τὴν μὲν γὰρ λακωνικὴν σκληραγωγίαν ὑπανιεῖσιν, ἀεὶ δὲ καὶ πανταχοῦ τὴν ἐλευθέριον εὐκολίαν ἐπιτηδεύουσιν, ἀνὰ κράτος τοῖς ἡδονῆς φίλτροις ἀπεχθόμενοι. Διακονοῦνται δὲ οὐχ ὑπ' ἀνδρα-

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αι corr. sec. man. C : ᾖ ex ει ref. K : ᾖ BDM Mang. || ἦν (uel ἂς) ἂν ὑπολαμβάνοι τις Arm. || μὴ P : οὐ cett. codd. et edd. || Arm. sensum reddit : εἰ καὶ μὴ πολυτ., ἀλλ' οὖν μαλακωτέραι, ὡς ἀνθ. εὐγ. καὶ φιλ. ἀθληταῖς εὐτρεπισθεῖσαι 16. εὐγ. ἀνθ. tr. Arm. 17. καὶ ἀστείοις om. Arm. || καὶ ante φιλοσ. om. Q || ἀσκηταῖς AγOPQ : ἀθληταῖς Arm. : ἐρασταῖς β 18. εὐτρεπίσασθαι P || στιβάδες γάρ codd. omnes : στιβάδες δέ uel καὶ στιβ. Arm. : στιβάδες edd. 20. ὑπερέχοντος I : ὑπερανέχοντα Q || ὑπερείδ. P 21. τὴν γὰρ om. μὲν β 22. ὑπάνεισιν codd. : ὑπανιᾶσιν Mang. Turn. : '*remittunt*' Arm. || om. δὲ Q || τὴν ἐλευθερίαν εὐκόλως β : τὴν ἐλευθέριον εὐκολίαν Arm. A cett. 23. τῆς Q : τοῖς τῆς BM : τοῖς cett. 24. ἀπεχθανόμενοι P : ἀπεχθόμενοι cett. et edd. || Arm. τῆς ἡδ. φίλτρων

17. Quod Det. Pot. Insid. 1. 191 ὁ ἀσκητὴς τῆς ἐπιστήμης.—De Somn. 1. 667 οἱ φρονήσεως ἀσκηταί.

19. In Fl. 2. 522 χαμαιστρώτῳ δὲ τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα περιβάλλουσιν ἀντὶ χλαμύδος.

21. De Conc. 2. 352 πρὸς γὰρ ἐγκράτειαν, εἴ καί τις ἄλλος, ἱκανὸς ἂν ἀλεῖψαι τοὺς εὐφυῶς ἔχοντας, πρὸς ἄσκησιν ἀρετῆς δι' ὀλιγοδείας καὶ εὐκολίας γυμνάζει καὶ συγκροτεῖ, πειρώμενος ἀφελεῖν πολυτέλειαν· οὔτε σκληραγωγίαν, ὡς ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος νομοθέτης, ἀποδεξάμενος, οὔτε τὸ ἀβροδίαιτον, ὡς ὁ τοῖς Ἴωσι καὶ Συβαρίταις τὰ περὶ θρύψιν καὶ χλιδὴν εἰσηγησάμενος, ἀλλὰ μέσην ἀτραπὸν ἀμφοῖν ἀνατεμών.—V. M. 2. 105 εὐτέλειαν καὶ εὐκολίαν ἐπετήδευεν ἰδιώτου.—De Fortit. 2. 377 τὰς ἀρετὰς . . . αἱ τῆς ψυχῆς ὑποτέμνονται τὴν πολυτέλειαν, εὐκολίας καὶ ὀλιγοδείας ἔρωτας ἐντίκτουσαι, κατὰ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν ἐξομοίωσιν.

22. V. M. 2. 87 τὸ σφοδρὸν τῶν ἐπιταγμάτων ὑπανιέναι καὶ χαλᾶν.

24. Q. O. P. L. 2. 458 Δοῦλός τε παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ εἷς ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἐλεύθεροι πάντες ἀνθυπουργοῦντες ἀλλήλοις. καταγινώσκουσί τε τῶν δεσποτῶν, οὐ μόνον ὡς ἀδίκων, ἰσότητα λυμαινομένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἀσεβῶν, θεσμὸν φύσεως ἀναιρούντων, ἣ πάντας ὁμοίως γεννήσασα καὶ θρέψασα μητρὸς δίκην, ἀδελφοὺς γνησίους, οὐ λεγομένους, ἀλλ' ὄντας ὄντως ἀπειργάσατο· ὧν τὴν συγγένειαν ἡ ἐπίβουλος πλεονεξία παρενημερήσασα διέσεισεν, ἀντ' οἰκειότητος

900 P. *πόδων, | ἡγούμενοι συνόλως τὴν θεραπόντων κτῆσιν* M. 482, 25
εἶναι παρὰ φύσιν. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐλευθέρους ἅπαντας
γεγέννηκεν· αἱ δέ τινων ἀδικίαι καὶ πλεονεξίαι, ζηλω-
σάντων τὴν ἀρχέκακον ἀνισότητα, καταζεύξασαι τὸ
ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις | κράτος τοῖς δυνατωτέροις ἀνῆ- 30
ψαν. Ἐν δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ τούτῳ συμποσίῳ, δοῦλος μὲν

ἀπεχόμενοι legit, recte puto 25. *ἡγούμενοι συνόλως τὴν ἀνδραπόδων κτῆσιν εἶναι παρὰ φύσιν* P: *ἡγούμενοι συνόλως τὴν θεραπόντων κτῆσιν εἶναι παρὰ φύσιν* AγOQ Turn.: *ἡγούμενοι τὴν τῶν θεραπόντων κτῆσιν παρὰ φύσιν ἢ δούλων* β: unde *ἡγ. σ. τ. θεραπόντων ἢ δούλων κτῆσιν εἶναι παρὰ φύσιν* coniecit Mang.: Armenus uertit: '*Διακονοῦνται δὲ οὐχ ὑπὸ ἀνδραπόδων τὴν μὴ ἐλευθέρων κτῆσιν ἡγούμενοι παρὰ φύσιν.*' Inest et nonnullis Armeni interpretis codd. pro *τὴν οὐκ ἐλευθέρων* alia lectio quae mendosa uidetur viz.:—*τὸ γένος ἐλευθέρους.* Locus insanabilis est 27. *γεγένηκεν* γ 28. *ζηλω* * * * *σάντων* A 29. post *ἀνισότητα* comma add. Arm. A Mang.: cett. om. || *κατὰ σ . . . τὸ ἐπὶ* (sic facta lacuna post *σ*) P || post *καταζεύξασαι* comma add. Turn. Mang.: om. Arm. A 30. post *κράτος* comma dat Arm.: om. cett. || *ἐν δὲ τῷ* uidetur Armenus legisse, quod et coni. Mang. in adnot.: *ἐν δὴ τῷ* codd. et edd. 31. *ἱερῷ τ. συμπ.*

ἀλλοτριότητα καὶ ἀντὶ φιλίας ἔχθραν ἐργασαμένη.—De Sept. 2. 283 **θεράποντσι καὶ θεραπαίναις.**—De Sp. Leg. 2. 311 *ταῖς* **ἐλευθέραις** *ὡς* **θεραπαίναις** *χρώμενος.*—Quod Deus Sit Im. 1. 279 *τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλογα ζῷα . . . καὶ* **καταζευχθέντα** *καὶ ἐγχαλινωθέντα πρὸς* **ὑπηρεσίαν** *ἀνθρώποις παραδέδοται.*—L. A. C. 2. 596 *κλιμάτων ὧν* **ἀνήψω** *τὴν ἀρχήν.*—De Sp. Leg. 2. 330 *ὥσπερ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἡγεμονίαν ἡ* **φύσις ἀνῆψε** *κεφαλῆ.*—In Fl. 2. 533 *τῶν* **διακονικῶν ἀνδραπόδων.**—De Sept. 2. 291 *ἐπιτρέπει δὲ ἐκ τῶν μὴ ὁμοφύλων, [οἵτινες ἐξ ἑτέρων ἐθνῶν εἰσὶν] οἰκέτας κτᾶσθαι, βουλόμενος πρῶτον μὲν διαφορὰν οἰκείων τε καὶ ἀλλοτρίων εἶναι, ἔπειτα δὲ μὴ κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς ἀναγκαιότατον κτῆμα,* **θεράποντας,** *ἀνεῖρξαι τῆς αὐτοῦ πολιτείας· μύρια γὰρ τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ πραγμάτων ποθεῖ τὰς ἐκ* **δούλων ὑπηρεσίας.**—De Sp. Leg. 2. 338 *Διὸ καὶ πᾶς, ᾧτινι ζῆλος ἀρετῆς εἰσέρχεται, τραχύς ἐστιν ὀργὴν καὶ παντελῶς ἀμείλικτος κατ'* **ἀνδραποδιστῶν,** *οἳ* **δουλείαν** *ἕνεκα κέρδους* **ἀδικωτάτου** *τοῖς* **γένει μὲν ἐλευθέροις, φύσεως** *δὲ μετέχουσι τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπάγειν τολμῶσιν.*

29. De Sept. 2. 285 *μὴ* **καταζεύξας** *ὡς ζῷον ἄλογον.*

30. Qu. in Gen. Sermo iii. § 30, R. H. p. 30 *οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ πάσης γῆς καὶ θαλάττης τὸ* **κράτος ἀνάψοιτό** *τις.*—Qu. in Gen. Sermo iii. § 76, R. H. p. 36 *κἂν τὸ πάσης γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης* **ἀνάψηται κράτος.**—De Cherub. 1. 150 [de Alexandro] *Εὐρώπης καὶ Ἀσίας ἔδοξεν* **ἀνάψασθαι τὸ κράτος.**—De Cherub. 1. 159 *οὕτως οὖν αὐτὰ συνθεὶς τὸ μὲν* **κράτος** *ἁπάντων* **ἀνῆψεν** *ἑαυτῷ.*

900 P. οὐδείς, ὡς ἔφην, ἐλεύθεροι δὲ ὑπηρετοῦσι, τὰς διακονικὰς M. 482
χρείας ἐπιτελοῦντες, οὐ πρὸς βίαν οὐδὲ προστάξεις
ἀναμένοντες, ἀλλ' ἐθελουσίῳ γνώμῃ φθάνοντες | μετὰ 35
σπουδῆς καὶ προθυμίας τὰς ἐπικελεύσεις. Οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ
τυχόντες ἐλεύθεροι τάττονται πρὸς ταῖς ὑπουργίαις ταύ-
ταις, ἀλλ' οἱ νέοι τῶν ἐν τῷ συστήματι μετὰ πάσης
ἐπιμελείας ἀριστίνδην ἐπικριθέντες, ὃν χρὴ τρόπον
ἀστείους καὶ εὐγενεῖς καὶ πρὸς | ἄκραν ἀρετὴν ἐπει- 40
γομένους, οἳ καθάπερ υἱοὶ γνήσιοι φιλοτίμως ἄσμενοι
πατράσιν καὶ μητράσιν ὑπουργοῦσιν, κοινοὺς αὑτῶν

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om. P sed signum lacunae || *οὐδεὶς ἦν ὡς ἔφ.* Arm.: *οὐδεὶς ὡς ἔ.* A: cett. omnes *ὡς ἔφην οὐδεὶς* 32. *τὰς δια . . . προστάξεις* (uerbis *κονικὰς . . . οὐδὲ* omissis) P 34. *ἀλλ' . . . μετὰ* om. P sed signum lacunae 36. *τάττονται* om. O 37. forte om. *τῶν* Arm. 39. *καὶ πρὸς τὴν* Arm.: *πρὸς* cett. 40. *ἐπειγομένους* P Arm. edd.: *ἐπιγινομένους* AγOQ: *ἐπιγινόμενοι* β || *καθάπερ* Arm.: *οἳ καθάπερ* cett. 41. *πατράσι* AQ: *πατράσιν* cett. 42. *ὑπουργοῦσι* EO || *κοινοὺς*

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34. De Sept. 2. 292 *ὑπὸ τῆς ἄγαν περιχαρείας ἔθυον διὰ προθυμίαν ἄλεκτον . . . τοὺς ἱερεῖς* **οὐκ ἀναμένοντες.**—De Sp. Leg. 2. 301 **ἀσμενίζοντα,** *καὶ μόνον οὐ* **φθάνοντα** *τὰς* **προστάξεις** *ὀξύτητι καὶ ἀνυπερθέτῳ τάχει τῶν* **ὑπηρεσιῶν.**—De Decal. 2. 206 *θύουσι πανδημεὶ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος τοὺς ἱερεῖς αὐτῶν* **οὐκ ἀναμένοντες.**

De Somn. 1. 633 *ὁ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος ὅταν ἐπὶ τὸ γεῶδες ἡμῶν* **σύστημα** *ἀφίκηται.*—De Post. Caini 1. 257 *τὸ* **σύστημα** *τῶν σωματικῶν ἀγαθῶν.*—Qu. in Gen. Sermo iv. § 145, R. H. p. 39 *λέγεται γὰρ οἶκος καὶ τὸ ἐκ γυναικὸς καὶ τέκνων* **σύστημα.**—Leg. Alleg. 1. 119 *τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς* **σύστημα.**

38. De Congr. 1. 535 *ἡ* **ἀριστίνδην ἐπικριθεῖσα** *τῶν ἀρχόντων εἰσφορά.*—De Mon. 2. 224 *καὶ χρόνοις ὡρισμένοις ἱεροπομποὶ τῶν χρημάτων εἰσὶν* **ἀριστίνδην ἐπικριθέντες.**—In Fl. 2. 539 *καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἡ οἰκετικὴ* **θεραπεία ἀριστίνδην ἐπικριθεῖσα,** *κατά τε τὰς τῶν σωμάτων* **εὐμορφίας** *ὁμοῦ καὶ εὐεξίας καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἄπταιστον ἐν τῷ χρειώδει τῶν ὑπηρεσιῶν.*—De Somn. 1. 695 *ταμίας καὶ φύλακας αὐτῶν ἐπιστήσας τοὺς* **ἀριστίνδην ἐπιλελεγμένους** *πρὸς τὴν ἱερὰν νεωκορίαν.*—De Ab. 2. 13 *Διὰ δὲ τοῦ ἐπιλεγομένου τὸν ἀστεῖον· εἰκαῖος μὲν γὰρ καὶ πεφυρμένος ὁ φαῦλος τρόπος, ἔκλεκτος δὲ ὁ ἀγαθός,* **ἐπικριθεὶς** *ἐξ ἁπάντων* **ἀριστίνδην.**—De Sacrificant. 2. 257 *ἀλλ' ὅμως καὶ ἐξ ἅπαντος ἀνθρώπων γένους πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀνθρώπους* **ἀριστίνδην ἐπιλέξας** *εἵλετο καὶ προνοίας ἠξίωσε τῆς πάσης, ἐπὶ τὴν* **θεραπείαν** *καλέσας ἑαυτοῦ.*—D. A. S. I. 2. 238 *τρεῖς* **ἀριστίνδην ἐπέκρινε.**—D. A. S. I. 2. 241 *ἐκ τῶν πρὸς τὰς θυσίας* **ἀριστίνδην** *ζῴων* **ἐπικριθέντων.**

42. Qu. in Exod. Sermo ii. § 34 Duplex autem est consanguinitatis species: una hominum, quae originem habet a maioribus; altera animarum, cuius

900 P. γονεῖς νομίζοντες, οἰκειοτέρους τῶν ἀφ' αἵματος, εἴ γε M. 482
καλοκἀγαθίας οὐδὲν οἰκειότερόν ἐστιν τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν.
Ἄζωστοι δὲ καὶ | καθειμένοι τοὺς χιτωνίσκους εἰσίασιν 45
ὑπηρετοῦντες, || ἕνεκα τοῦ μηδὲν εἴδωλον ἐπιφέρεσθαι M. 483
δουλοπρεποῦς σχήματος. Εἰς τοῦτο τὸ συμπόσιον οἶδα

Arm.: κοινοὺς αὐτῶν AKMOPQ: κ. αὐτοὺς B: αὑτῶν cett. || καὶ τῶν ἀφ' αἵμ. οἰ. Arm.: οἰκειοτέρους τῶν ἀφ' αἵματος cett. 43. οὐδὲν οἰκ. Arm. AγOPQ: οἰκ. οὐδ. β 44. οἰκειοτάτους Q || ἔστιν A: ἐστι cett. || δὲ καὶ om. Arm. 45. καθιέμενοι A || χιτῶνας BM || ὑπηρετοῦντες Arm. β: ὑπηρετήσοντες cett. codd. et edd. 1. εἴδ. δουλ. σχ. ἐπιφ. Arm.: εἴδ. δουλ. ἐπιφ. σχ. B: εἴδ. ἐπιφ. δουλ. σχ. AγEMOPQ edd. || ἐπιφ *΄* ρεσθαι A 2. σχήματος· εἰς τοῦτο Arm.: σχήματος· τοῦτο A: σχήματος

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principium est sapientia. Eam itaque, quae conuenit maioribus ac generationi, nihil memorauit—communis enim est etiam brutis animalibus—sed alteram, ex qua tamquam ex radice pullulauit sapientia. Sapientia autem fons est uerborum uoluntariaeque legis, quam publicans magister studioso eruditionis edocuit magis necessarias, concordiam et communitatem: quas non possunt cultores multorum deorum acquirere.

43. De Ab. 2. 6 οἰκία καὶ συγγένεια καὶ πατρὶς οὐδεμία ἐστιν οἰκεία σοφῷ ὅτι μὴ ἀρεταὶ καὶ αἱ κατ' ἀρετὰς πράξεις [uulgo legitur ἑτέρα pro οἰκεία].—De Sacrificant. 2. 259 ἔστω γὰρ ἡμῖν μία οἰκειότης καὶ φιλίας ἓν σύμβολον, ἡ πρὸς θεὸν ἁρέσκεια, καὶ τὸ πάντα λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας. Αἱ δὲ ἐκ προγόνων ἀφ' αἵματος αὗται λεγόμεναι συγγένειαι καὶ αἱ κατ' ἐπιγαμίας ἤ τινας ἄλλας ὁμοιοτρόπους αἰτίας οἰκειότητες ἀπορριπτέσθωσαν, εἰ μὴ πρὸς τὸ αὐτὸ τέλος ἐπείγονται, τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ τιμήν, ἣ πάσης ἐνωτικῆς εὐνοίας ἄλυτος δεσμός ἐστιν. ἀντιλήψονται γὰρ οἱ τοιοῦτοι σεμνοτέρας καὶ ἱεροπρεπεστέρας συγγενείας.—De Sp. Leg. 2. 325 συγγένεια γὰρ οἰκειοτέρα τῆς πρὸς αἵματος ἡ πρὸς δικαιοσύνην καὶ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ὁμολογία, ἣν ἐκλείπων τις οὐκ ὐθνείοις καὶ ξένοις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἀσπόνδοις ἐχθροῖς ἀναγράφεται.—De Hum. 2. 388 Μόνος γὰρ Μωσῆς τὴν πρὸς τὰ θεῖα, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὸ σύμπαν ἔθνος ὑπολαβὼν ἔχειν ἀναγκαιοτάτην συγγένειαν, πολὺ γνησιωτέραν τῆς ἀφ' αἵματος, πάντων ἀγαθῶν ὢν ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη φύσις χωρεῖ, κληρόνομον ἀπέφηνεν . . . Ἱκέται δὲ εἰσὶν οἱ καλοκἀγαθίας ἐρῶντες. —cp. V. M. 2. 86.

45. De Mon. 2. 225 [de uestibus loquitur sacerdotis] ἡ δὲ ἐσθὴς ἐστι χιτὼν λινοῦς καὶ περίζωμα, τὸ μὲν εἰς αἰδοίων σκέπην ἃ μὴ πρὸς τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ γυμνοῦσθαι θέμις, ὁ δὲ χιτὼν ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν ὀξύτητος· ἀνείμονες γὰρ ἐν μόνοις χιτωνίσκοις τά τε ἱερεῖα καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα χρήσιμα θυσίαις προσάγουσιν εἰς ἀνυπέρθετον τάχος ἠσκημένοι.

1. Leg. Alleg. 1. 126 τεκμήριον μέγιστον ἦθους ἀνελευθέρου καὶ δουλοπρεποῦς.

3. D. A. S. I. 2. 240 οἶδ' ὅτι χλεύην θήσουσι καὶ γέλωτα ταῦτα οἱ περὶ τὰ συμπόσια καὶ τὰς εὐωχίας πραγματευόμενοι καὶ πολυτελεῖς τραπέζας μεταδιώκοντες.

900 P. ὅτι γελάσονταί τινες ἀκούσαντες· γελάσονται δὲ οἱ M. 483
κλαυθμῶν καὶ θρήνων ἄξια δρῶντες. Οἶνος ἐν ἐκείναις |
ταῖς ἡμέραις οὐκ εἰσκομίζεται, ἀλλὰ διαυγέστατον 5
ὕδωρ, ψυχρὸν μὲν τοῖς πολλοῖς, θερμὸν δὲ τῶν πρεσ-
βυτάτων τοῖς ἀβροδιαίτοις. Καὶ τράπεζα καθαρὰ τῶν
ἐναίμων, ἐφ' ἧς ἄρτος μὲν τροφή, προσόψημα δὲ ἅλες,

εἰς τοῦτο τὸ συμπόσιον. Οἶδα ὅτι cett. omnes. Fortasse εἰς ante τοῦτο omisit Armenus, sed post σχήματος interpunxisse certum est 4. ζῶντες Arm.: δρῶντες cett. ‖ ἐν ante ἐκείναις add. γE et edd.: om. ABMOPQ ‖ ἐν ταῖς ἡμ. ἐκ. Arm. 5. ὕδ. διαγ. tr. Arm. 6. τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς ψ. tr. Arm. ‖ τῶν πρ. τοῖς ἁβρ. Arm. AγOPQ: τοῖς πρεσβυτάτοις οὐ τοῖς ἁβροδιαίτοις β 8. ἀναίμων O ‖ ἐφ' οἷς β: ἐφ' ἧς Arm. AγOPQ ‖ ἄρτος Arm. βCGKO Mang.: ἄρτοι AHIPQ

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4. De Somn. 1. 696 τί δὲ οὕτως ἀγαθὸν ὡς ζῆσαι τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἀποθανεῖν τὰ φαῦλα;—De Ebr. 1. 376 σχεδὸν γὰρ ἱερέων καὶ θεραπευτῶν θεοῦ μόνον τὸ ἔργον νηφάλια θύειν, οἴνου καὶ παντὸς τοῦ ληρεῖν αἰτίου βεβαιότητι διανοίας κατεξανισταμένων.—D. A. S. I. 2. 249 [de uoto magno loquitur] Ποιησαμένῳ δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν τάδε διαγορεύει. Πρῶτον μὲν ἄκρατον μὴ προσφέρεσθαι, μηδ' ὅσα ἐκ σταφυλῆς κατεργάζεται, μηδ' ἄλλο τι μέθυσμα πίνειν ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει λογισμῶν, νομίζοντα τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον ἱερᾶσθαι· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς λειτουργοῖς τῶν ἱερέων δίψαν ἀκουμένοις ὕδατι τὰ περὶ μέθην ἀπείρηται.—De Mon. 2. 227 Ταῦθ' ὑπειπὼν προσομοθετεῖ κελεύων τὸν προσιόντα τῷ βωμῷ καὶ ψαύοντα θυσιῶν, ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ τέτακται τὰς ἱερὰς λειτουργίας ἐπιτελεῖν, μὴ οἶνον μήτε τι ἄλλο πίνειν μέθυσμα, τεττάρων ἕνεκα τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων, ὄκνου καὶ λήθης καὶ ὕπνου καὶ ἀφροσύνης. Ἄκρατος γὰρ τὰς μὲν τοῦ σώματος δυνάμεις ἀνιεῖς δυσκινητότερα τὰ μέλη ποιεῖ καὶ ὀκνηροτέρους ἀπεργάζεται καὶ βίᾳ καταδαρθάνειν ἀναγκάζει· τούς τε τῆς ψυχῆς τόνους ἐπιχαλῶν λήθης ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀφροσύνης αἴτιος γίνεται. Νηφόντων δὲ τά τε μέρη τοῦ σώματος ἐπελαφριζόμενα εὐκινητότερα, αἵ τε αἰσθήσεις καθαρώτεραι καὶ εἰλικρινέστεραι, ὅ τε νοῦς ὀξυωπέστερος, ὥστε προϊδέσθαι πράγματα δύνασθαι καὶ ἃ πρότερον εἶδεν ἀπομνημονεῦσαι. Συνόλως μὲν οὖν τὴν οἴνου χρῆσιν ἅπασι τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀλυσιτελεστάτην εἶναι ὑποληπτέον, ψυχῆς πιεζομένης, αἰσθήσεων ἀμαυρουμένων, βαρυνομένου σώματος· ἐλεύθερον γὰρ καὶ ἄφετον οὐδὲν ἓᾳ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' ἑκάστῳ πρὸς ὃ πέφυκεν ἐμπόδιός ἐστιν. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἁγιστείαις καὶ ἱερουργίαις τὸ βλάβος ἀργαλεώτερον, ὅσῳ καὶ τὸ περὶ θεὸν ἐξαμαρτάνειν τοῦ περὶ ἄνθρωπον ἀφορητότερον. Ὅθεν εἰκότως προστέτακται νηφάλια θύειν, κατὰ τὴν διαστολὴν καὶ διάκρισιν τῶν ἁγίων καὶ βεβήλων, καὶ καθαρῶν καὶ ἀκαθάρτων, καὶ νομίμων καὶ παρανόμων.

8. De Ebr. 1. 370 κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἔνδον [sc. βωμὸν] πᾶσιν ἀναίμοις, ἀσάρκοις, ἀσωμάτοις, τοῖς ἐκ λογισμοῦ μόνοις χρήσεται [sc. sacerdos et dux uitae], ἃ λιβανωτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιθυμιωμένοις ἀπεικάζεται.—cp. V. M. 2. 168.—De Prov. ex Eus.

900 P. οἷς ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ὕσσωπος | ἥδυσμα παραρτύεται, διὰ M. 483, 1
τοὺς τρυφῶντας. Νηφάλια γάρ, ὡς τοῖς ἱερεῦσι θύειν,
καὶ τούτοις βιοῦν ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος ὑφηγεῖται. Οἶνος μὲν
γὰρ ἀφροσύνης φάρμακον, ὄψα δὲ πολυτελῆ τὸ θρεμ-

Turn. 9. ἐστι καὶ ὕσ. omisso ὅτε OQ || οἷς ἦν ὅτε . . . παρηρτύετο Arm. || ὕσσωπος om. β 11. τούτοις] τούτους Q || ὁ ante ὀρθὸς om. B 12. ἀφροσύνη BM 13, 14. τὸ θρέμμα τῶν ἀπληστοτάτων M: τὸ θρεμμάτων τῶν ἀπληστοτάτων P

Praep. Ev. 2. 647 Ἰχθύων δὲ καὶ ὀρνίθων καὶ χερσαίων γένη ζῴων, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐγκλήματα φύσεως ἐφ' ἡδονὴν παρακαλούσης, ἀλλὰ δεινὸς ψόγος τῆς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀκρασίας. Ἀναγκαῖον μὲν γὰρ ἦν εἰς τὴν τοῦ ὅλου συμπλήρωσιν, ἵνα γένηται κόσμος ἐν ἑκάστῳ μέρει, φῦναι ζῴων ἰδέας ἁπάντων· οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τούτων ἀπόλαυσιν ὁρμῆσαι τὸ σοφίας συγγενέστατον χρῆμα, τὸν ἄνθρωπον, μεταβαλόντα εἰς ἀγριότητα θηρίων. Διὸ καὶ μέχρι νῦν, οἷς λόγος ἐγκρατείας, ἅπαξ ἁπάντων ἀπέχονται, λαχανώδει χλόῃ καὶ καρποῖς δένδρων προσοψήμασιν, ἡδίστῃ ἀπολαύσει, χρώμενοι. Τοῖς δὲ τὴν τῶν εἰρημένων θοίνην ἡγουμένοις εἶναι κατὰ φύσιν ἐπέστησαν διδάσκαλοι, σωφρονισταί, νομοθέται κατὰ πόλεις, οἷς ἐμέλησε τὴν ἀμετρίαν τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν στεῖλαι, μὴ ἐπιτρέψασι τὴν χρῆσιν ἀδεᾶ πᾶσι πάντων. —Qu. in Gen. Sermo ii. § 58 Quid est 'Sicut olera pabuli dedi uobis omnia'? Nonnulli dicunt, per illud, 'quasi olera pabuli dedi uobis omnia,' esum *carnis* permissum fuisse. Ego tamen, etiam si id quoque dimiserit, ante omnia sicut necessarium olerae (siue graminis) usum lege constituere uelle puto: alia uero additamenta superflua sub specie graminis concludit sine legislatione. Nunc autem usu uenit non uni soli nationi inter homines selectos cupidosque [Aucher: inter gentes selectas cupidasque] sapientiae, apud quos [Aucher: quas] continentia religiosa honoratur, sed uniuersis hominibus: quos fieri nequit uniuersim cohibere ab esu *carnis*. The above is thus paraphrased by S. Ambrose De Noe et Arca c. xxv, nn. 89–91 Sunt enim qui putant quod olera ad escam nobis Dei nutu adtributa uideantur, quo his magis quam *carnalibus* epulis uti debeamus: ego autem libenter his acquiescerem, ut generi hominum ad parcimoniam magis et temperantiam olerum usus inolesceret; nisi uiderem ab his qui non libenter accipiunt, posse referri mihi, quia non omnia olera escae hominum inueniantur accommoda. Deinde quia non omne hominum genus sapientiae et continentiae amore ducitur, ut continentiam sequi possit. Et ideo quod generale praeceptum est, ad portiunculam paucorum hominum deriuare non possumus; omnibus enim hominibus hoc praeceptum datur.

10. De Somn. 1. 639 ἁβροδιαίτῳ *βίῳ χρῆσθαι καὶ τρυφᾶν*.

11. D. A. S. I. 2. 250 Ἔδει δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἀπάρξασθαί τι τῷ βωμῷ, μὴ νομίσαντας ἀσυλίαν εὑρῆσαι τὰς ὑπηρεσίας καὶ λειτουργίας ἐφ' ὧν ἐτάχθησαν. Ἡ δὲ ἀπαρχὴ πρέπουσα ἱερεῦσιν ἀπ' οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐναίμων, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ καθαρωτάτου τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης τροφῆς. Σεμίδαλις γὰρ ἡ ἐνδελεχὴς θυσία ἐστὶν αὐτῶν.

14. Philo loc. incert. *τῷ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἀλόγῳ καὶ ἀπλήστῳ θρέμματι*.—De Pr.

900 P. μάτων ἀπληστότατον διερεθίζει τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν. | Καὶ M. 483, 15
τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τοιαῦτα. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ κατακλιθῆναι μὲν
τοὺς συμπότας ἐν αἷς ἐδήλωσα τάξεσι, στῆναι δὲ τοὺς
διακονουμένους ἐν κόσμῳ πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν ἑτοίμους, [ὁ
πρόεδρος αὐτῶν, ὅτε κοινὴ ἡσυχία γέγονεν]—πότε δὲ
οὐκ ἔστιν; εἶποι τις ἄν· ἀλλ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον,
901 P. ὡς | μηδὲ γρύξαι τινὰ τολμᾶν ἢ ἀναπνεῦσαι βιαιότερον—

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14. ἀπληστοτάτων pr. man. C, sed in marg. ἀπληστότατον 15. τοὺ μὲν (sic) A pro τὰ μὲν ‖ πρῶτα] adiecit Arm. βρώματα 16. μὲν om. P 17. διακόνους ut uid. Arm. 18. καὶ ὁ πρόεδρος usque ad γέγονεν restitui ex uersione Armena. In codd. gr. et editis desunt, sed in proximo uersu post τις ἄν Mang. adnotat: '*multa hic uidentur deesse*' ‖ πότε δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν; εἶποι τις ἄν βO et Arm.: πότος δὲ (δ' plerique) οὐκ ἔ. εἴ. τ. ἄν AγPQ edd. Sed codicibus Armenis optimae notae duplex lectio inest, nam alii uertunt: '*sed quonam tempore non, non est dicere alicui,*' alii: '*sed quonam tempore non? est dicere alicui.*' Sensus idem. Sed insolita ratio uertendi ista '*est dicere alicui,*' nunquam enim non litteram textus Graeci presse sequitur interpres. Fortasse scripsit Philo: πότε δὲ οὔκ; ἔστιν εἰπεῖν τινὶ 20. μὴ δὲ A 21. ζήτημά τι τῶν

S. 2. 235 κοιλίαν δὲ φάτνην ἀλόγου θρέμματος, ἐπιθυμίας, εἶναι συμβέβηκεν . . . παρ' ὃ καὶ τόπος ἐπενεμήθη σφύδρα οἰκειότατος ὁ τῶν περιττωμάτων ἀκολάστῳ καὶ ἀπρεπεστάτῳ θρέμματι.—De Conc. 2. 351 ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὴν [sc. ἐπιθυμίαν] ἥκιστα μετέχουσαν λογισμοῦ πορρωτάτω τῶν βασιλείων αὐτοῦ διῳκίσθαι, μόνον οὐκ ἐπ' ἐσχατιαῖς, καὶ πάντων ἀπληστότατον καὶ ἀκολαστότατον οὖσαν θρεμμάτων ἐμβόσκεσθαι τόποις, ἐν οἷς τροφαὶ καὶ ὀχεῖαι.

18. De Sac. Ab. et C. 1. 174 Καὶ γὰρ τὸ πάσχα τὴν ἐκ παθῶν εἰς ἄσκησιν ἀρετῆς διάβασιν, προστέτακται ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ὀσφῦς περιεζωσμένους, ἑτοίμως πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν ἔχοντας.

L. A. C. 2. 595 Τί δὲ ὄφελος; εἶποι τις ἄν.—In Fl. 2. 526 Ἀλλὰ τί τοῦτο; φαίη τις ἄν.—V. M. 2. 103 πολλὴν γὰρ λείαν ἐκφορήσαντες, τὴν μὲν αὐτοὶ διέκομιζον ἐπηχθισμένοι, τὴν δὲ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἐπέθεσαν, οὐ διὰ φιλοχρηματίαν ἤ, ὡς ἄν τις κατηγορῶν εἶποι, τὴν τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμίαν—πόθεν;—ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν . . . εἶτα δέ, κ.τ.λ.—De Iudice 2. 348 δεδρακὼς οὐκ ἐλέου—πόθεν;—ἀλλ' ὀργῆς ἄξια.—De Iustit. 2. 363 Ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἔγραψα ὁ τοσοῦτος ἄρχων, μὴ προσχρησάμενος ὑπηρέτῃ ἑτέρῳ μυρίων ὄντων. Ἆρα ὅπως βιβλίον ἀποπληρώσω, καθάπερ οἱ μισθοῦ γράφοντες, ἢ οἱ γυμνάζοντες ὀφθαλμούς τε καὶ χεῖρας, τοὺς μὲν εἰς ὀξυωπίαν, τὰς δὲ ἵνα ὦσιν ὀξυγράφοι; Πόθεν; Οὐκ ἔστιν. Ἀλλ' ὅπως αὐτὰ ἐν βιβλίῳ γράφων εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν μεταγράφω, καὶ ἐναπομάττωμαι τῇ διανοίᾳ θειοτέρους καὶ ἀνεκπλύντους χαρακτῆρας.

901 P. *ζητεῖταί τι τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν ἢ καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλου* M. 483
προταθέν τι ἐπιλύεται, φροντίζων μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπιδείξεως,
οὐ γὰρ τῆς ἐπὶ δεινότητι λόγων εὐκλείας ὀρέγεται,
θεάσασθαι δέ τινα ποθῶν ἀκριβέστερον, | καὶ θεασά- 25
μενος, μὴ φθονῆσαι τοῖς, εἰ καὶ μὴ ὁμοίως ὀξυδορκοῦσι,
τὸν γοῦν τοῦ μαθεῖν ἵμερον παραπλήσιον ἔχουσιν. Καὶ
ὁ μὲν σχολαιοτέρᾳ χρῆται τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ, διαμέλλων

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suadente Armeno fere conieci: *ζητεῖταί τι τῶν* AβγOPQ; *ζητεῖ τίς τι τῶν* edd.: Armenus totam sententiam ita uertit: '*quaestionem quorundam quae in sacris scripturis insunt propositorum persoluit,*' unde puto eum forte legisse: *ζήτημά τινων τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν προταθέντων ἐπιλύεται.* Mendosus autem esse uideatur textus quem prae se ferunt codices Graeci si cum antecedente uoce *πρόεδρος* cohaereat illud *ζητεῖται* 21. *τοῖς* om. Q 22. *ἢ καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλου* om. Arm., uix recte equidem puto || *προταθὲν* AβOPQ plerique Mang.: *προταθέν τι γ*: *προταθὲν, τὶ* Turn. || *ἐπιλύεταί τις β*: *ἐπιλύεται ἕτερος* O 23. *μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν* Q || *ἐπιδείξεως* Arm. AβOPQ Mang.: *ἐπιλύσεως* Turn. secutus γ || *οὐ γὰρ* Arm. AγOPQ: *οὐ δὲ* B: *οὐδὲ γὰρ* EM || *τῆς ἐπὶ δεινοτάτων λόγων* BM: *τῆς ἐπὶ δεινότητος* λ. Q 24. *θεάσασθαι δέ τινα* codd. gr.: *θεάσασθαί τι* Arm. 25. *θεασάμενος* om. BM || *τοῖς* Arm. AβγPQ Turn.: *τοῖς ἄλλοις* O Mang. 26. *μὴ* om. *β* || *ὀξυδερκοῦσι* BγEO edd.: *ὀξυδορκοῦσι* AMPQ 27. *παραπλησίως* BM || *ἔχουσιν* A: *ἔχουσι* cett. 28. *διαμέλλων* ABHIMPQ: *διαμένων* cett. et edd.: Armenus duplicem lectionem reddit, nam in textu '*dicens*' dat, quasi *διαλέγων*; in marg. autem '*immorans*'

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22. De Prov. ex Eus. Praep. Ev. 2. 634 **ἐπιλύεται τὰς ἀντιθέσεις.**

De Profugis 1. 570 Τοσαῦτα καὶ περὶ τοῦ τρίτου **διειλεγμένοι κεφαλαίου,** μέτιμεν ἐπὶ τὸ τέταρτον καὶ τελευταῖον τῶν **προταθέντων,** καθ' ὃ μὴ γενομένης **ζητήσεως** φιλεῖ **προαπαντᾶν** εὕρεσις.—V. M. 2. 139 ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀπεπειρᾶτο τῆς ἑκάστου σοφίας, καινάς, ἀλλ' οὐ τὰς ἐν ἔθει **ζητήσεις προτείνων**· οἱ δὲ **εὐστόχως** καὶ εὐθυβόλως, οὐκ ἐπιτρέποντος μακρηγορεῖν τοῦ καιροῦ, καθάπερ ἀποφθεγγόμενοι **τὰ προταθέντα διελύοντο.**

23. Fragm. 2. 627 **τοσαύτην τέχνην ἢ δεινότητα λόγων ἢ** σύνεσιν.

26. De Ebr. 1. 370 τὸ δὲ αὐτῆς [i. e. σοφίας] ἀληθὲς εἶδος ἄτρεπτον ἐμφαίνει **τοῖς ὀξυδορκοῦσι.**—De Somn. 1. 622 **τοῖς** τὴν διάνοιαν **ὀξυδορκοῦσι.**

28. De Cr. Princ. 2. 363 'Αφ' ἧς δὲ ἂν ἡμέρας παρέλθῃ τις ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, κελεύει [Deut. 17, 18 seqq.] τὴν ἐπινομίδα γράψαι αὐτοχειρίᾳ, κεφαλαιώδη τύπον περιέχουσαν ἁπάντων τῶν νόμων, βουλόμενος ἐγκολλᾶ τῇ ψυχῇ τὰ διατεταγμένα

901 P. καὶ βραδύνων ταῖς ἐπαναλήψεσιν, ἐγχαράττων ταῖς M. 483
ψυχαῖς | τὰ νοήματα. Τῇ γὰρ ἑρμηνείᾳ τοῦ εὐτρόχως 30
καὶ ἀπνευστὶ συνείροντος ὁ τῶν ἀκροωμένων νοῦς
συνομαρτεῖν ἀδυνατῶν ὑστερίζει καὶ ἀπολείπεται τῆς

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quod διαμέλλων anne διαμένων testetur quis dicat? 30. εὐτρόχως Arm. ACGIPQ Mang.: εὐστρόφως β: εὐστόχως HK Turn.: τρόχως O sed ubi εὐ lacuna quinque litt. 32. τῆς sup. scr. pr. man. Q

γενέσθαι. Τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἀναγινώσκοντος ὑπορρεῖ τὰ νοήματα τῇ φορᾷ παρασυρόμενα, τῷ δὲ γράφοντι κατὰ σχολὴν ἐνσφραγίζεται καὶ ἐνιδρύεται, τῆς διανοίας ἐνευκαιρούσης ἑκάστῳ καὶ ἐπερειδούσης ἑαυτήν, καὶ μὴ μετιούσης ἐφ' ἕτερον, πρὶν ἢ περιδράξασθαι τοῦ προτέρου βεβαίως. Ὅταν μέντοι γράψῃ, πειράσθω καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐντυγχάνειν καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν, ὑπὲρ τῆς συνεχοῦς καὶ ἀδιαστάτου μνήμης καλῶν καὶ συμφερόντων ἅπασι διαταγμάτων, καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ βέβαιον ἔρωτα καὶ πόθον αὐτῶν αὐτῷ ἐγγενέσθαι, τῆς ψυχῆς ἀεὶ διδασκομένης καὶ ἐξεθιζομένης ἐνομιλεῖν νόμοις ἱεροῖς· αἱ γὰρ μακροχρόνιοι συνήθειαι φιλίαν ἄδολον καὶ καθαρὰν οὐ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἰδέας ἀξιεράστους γραμμάτων ἀποτελοῦσιν. Τοῦτο δὲ συμβήσεται, ἐὰν μὴ ἑτέρου γράμμασιν καὶ ὑπομνήμασιν ὁ ἄρχων, ἀλλ' οἷς αὐτὸς ἔγραψεν ἐντυγχάνῃ· τὰ γὰρ ἴδιά πως ἑκάστοις γνωριμώτερα καὶ πρὸς ἀναλήψεις ἑτοιμότερα.

29. De Decal. 2. 197 αἰεὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ βλέποντες ἐναργεῖς εἰκόνας καὶ τύπους ταῖς ἑαυτῶν διανοίαις ἐγχαράττωμεν.—Leg. Alleg. 1. 64 ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κηροειδεῖ ὑπαρχούσῃ πάντες οἱ τύποι περιέχονται δυνάμει, οὐκ ἀποτελέσματι· κρατεῖ δὲ ὁ ἀεὶ χαραχθεὶς ἐν αὐτῷ.—Leg. Alleg. 1. 90 αἱ γὰρ συνεχεῖς ὑπομνήσεις τύπους ἐγχαράττουσαι τρανούς.—De Mutat. Nom. 1. 619 δίδωσι γὰρ ὁ διδάσκαλος τῷ μαθόντι τύπον πρὸς τὴν ἄνευ ὑποβολῆς ἑκούσιον μελέτην, ἀλήστου μνήμης ἐγχαράττων βεβαιότατον εἶδος.—De Pr. et Poen. 2. 426 αἱ γὰρ συνεχεῖς τῶν καλῶν παραδειγμάτων φαντασίαι παραπλησίας εἰκόνας ἐγχαράττουσι ταῖς μὴ πάνυ σκληραῖς καὶ ἀποκρότοις ψυχαῖς.

30. Quod Det. Pot. Insid. 1. 216 εὐτρόχως καὶ ἀπταίστως.—De Agric. 1. 303 ἡ τοῦ γράφειν καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν εὐτρόχως ἐπιτήδευσις.—De Mig. Ab. 1. 448 γήθει γὰρ ὁ λόγος καὶ εὐφορεῖ, ὅταν μὴ ἀμυδρὸν ᾖ τὸ ἐνθύμημα, διότι τηλαυγοῦς ὄντος ἀπταίστῳ καὶ εὐτρόχῳ διερμηνεύσει χρῆται, κυρίων καὶ εὐθυβόλων καὶ γεμόντων πολλῆς ἐμφάσεως εὐπορῶν ὀνομάτων.

31. De Pl. Noe 1. 342 ὁ τὴν τῶν δωρεῶν ἐπάλληλον φορὰν ἀπαύστως συνείρων.

32. De Ios. 2. 62 ψευδέσι δόξαις, ὑφ' ὧν ὀνειρώττειν ἀναγκαζόμενα καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ὑστερίζοντα οὐδὲν παγίως καὶ βεβαίως ἱκανὰ καταλαμβάνειν ἐστί.—De Somn. 1. 648 ὡς καὶ τὴν ὠκυδρομωτάτην διάνοιαν ὑστερίζουσαν μακρῷ τῆς καταλήψεως ὁμολογεῖν ἠττᾶσθαι.—De Agric. 1. 319 ἐκείνοις μὲν προσέρχεσθαι, τούτων δὲ ὑστερίζειν καὶ μακρὸν ὅσον ἀπολείπεσθαι.—De Congr. 1. 524 διὰ πλειόνων γὰρ καὶ διαφερόντων αἱ ἀσκήσεις δογμάτων, ἡγουμένων ἑπομένων, προαπαντώντων ὑστεριζόντων.—De Conc. 2. 349 ἡ δὲ ἀπολιπομένη καὶ ὑστερίζουσα σφαδάζει.

καταλήψεως τῶν λεγομένων. Οἱ δὲ ἀνωρθιακότες εἰς αὐτόν, ἐπὶ μιᾶς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς σχέσεως ἐπιμένοντες | ἀκροῶνται, τὸ μὲν συνιέναι καὶ κατειληφέναι νεύματι καὶ βλέμματι διασημαίνοντες, τὸν δὲ ἔπαινον τοῦ λέγοντος ἱλαρότητι καὶ τῇ σχέδην περιαγωγῇ τοῦ προσώπου, τὴν δὲ διαπόρησιν ἠρεμαιοτέρᾳ κινήσει τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ ἄκρῳ δακτύλῳ τῆς δεξιᾶς | χειρός. Οὐχ ἧττον δὲ τῶν κατακεκλιμένων οἱ παρεστῶτες νέοι προσέχουσιν. Ἡ δὲ ἐξήγησις τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων γίνεται δι' ὑπο-

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33. οἱ δὲ ἀν.] Arm. = 'qui uero erigunt aures et oculos infigunt' 35. νεύμασι καὶ βλέμμασι Q : νεύματι καὶ βλέμμασι Arm. : νεύματι καὶ βλέμματι cett. 36. σημαίνοντες β et ? Arm. : διασημαίνοντες AγOPQ edd. 37. ἱλαρώτητα ut uidetur β || καὶ τὴν σχέδην β || σχεδὸν Q : ubi σχέδην lacuna sex litt. O 40. χειρὸς om. B || κατακλιμένων Mang. 41. προσέχουσιν Arm. βγOPQ : παρέχουσιν A || προσέχουσι τῇ ἐξηγήσει τῶν ἱ. γρ. οὐ γίνονται δι' ὑπονοιῶν ἐν ἀλλήλοις et deinde signum lacunae omisso ἅπασα P || αἱ δ' ἐξηγήσεις usque 484. 1 κατιδοῦσα laudauit Eusebius *H. E.* ii. 17 41, 42. ἡ δὲ ἐξήγησις . . . γίνεται Arm. : αἱ δὲ ἐξηγήσεις . . . γίνονται cett. Euseb. et edd. 42. δι' ὑπον. codd. et Arm. : αὐτοῖς δι' ὑπον. Euseb. 44. καὶ

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33. De Mutat. Nom. 1. 599 οἷς τὰ ὦτα ἀναπέπταται καὶ **ἀνωρθίασται** πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν τούτων λόγων ὑποδοχήν.—De Somn. 1. 650 ἵνα τὰ ὦτα **ἀνωρθιάσαντες**, ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ προσοχῇ χρώμενοι τῶν θεσμῳδουμένων εἰς ἄληστον μνήμην ἀκούωσιν—De Decal. 2. 188 παρειστήκει δὲ ὁ λέως ἀγνεύσας ὁμιλιῶν τῶν πρὸς γυναῖκας καὶ πασῶν ἡδονῶν, ἔξω τῶν πρὸς τὰς τροφὰς ἀναγκαίων ἀποσχόμενος, λουτροῖς τε καὶ περιρραντηρίοις καθηράμενος ἐκ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, ἔτι καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας ἀποπλυνάμενος, ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα **λευχείμων**, ἀκροβατῶν καὶ **ἀνωρθιακὼς** τὰ ὦτα. —De Ab. 2. 4 τὰ δὲ **ὦτα ἐπορθιάσας**.

35. De Confus. 1. 406 οὐ γὰρ αἱ φωναί, ἀλλὰ αἱ ὁμότροποι τῆς ψυχῆς πρὸς τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν ζηλώσεις τοῦ συναδικεῖν αἴτιαι, καὶ γὰρ ἐκτετμημένοι γλῶτταν **νεύμασι καὶ βλέμμασι** καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τοῦ σώματος **σχέσεσι** καὶ **κινήσεσιν**, οὐχ ἧττον τῆς διὰ λόγων προφορᾶς, ἃ ἂν θέλωσιν **ὑποσημαίνουσι**.—De Somn. 1. 628 **ἐν κύκλῳ κενὴν περιάγει τὴν κεφαλήν**.

42. De Congr. 1. 544 τὰ **δι' ὑπονοιῶν** σημαινόμενα.—De Cherub. 1. 142 τὴν τοῦ παντὸς οὐρανοῦ περιφορὰν **δι' ὑπονοιῶν εἰσάγει**.—De Pr. et Poen. 2. 418 ἐν ταῖς **ῥηταῖς** γραφαῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς καθ' **ὑπόνοιαν ἀλληγορίαις**.—De Ab. 2. 18 τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς **ῥητῆς** ἀποδόσεως ὧδε λελέχθω· τῆς δὲ **δι' ὑπονοιῶν** ἀρκτέον. **Σύμβολα** τὰ ἐν φωναῖς τῶν διανοίᾳ μόνῃ καταλαμβανομένων ἐστίν. Ἐπειδὰν οὖν ἡ ψυχὴ καθάπερ ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ θεῷ περιλαμφθῇ καὶ ὅλη δι' ὅλων **νοητοῦ** φωτὸς

νοιῶν ἐν ἀλληγορίαις—ἅπασα γὰρ ἡ νομοθεσία δοκεῖ τοῖς ἀνδράσι τούτοις ἐοικέναι ζῴῳ, καὶ σῶμα μὲν ἔχειν τὰς ῥητὰς | διατάξεις, ψυχὴν δὲ τὸν ἐναποκείμενον ταῖς λέξεσιν ἀόρατον νοῦν, (ἐν ᾧ ἤρξατο ἡ λογικὴ 901 P. M. 483 45

σῶμα μὲν ἔχειν] ὁ σῶμα μὲν ἔχει uertit Arm. 46. ἀόρατον om. B || ἐν ᾧ ἤρξατο ἡ λογικὴ ψυχὴ διαφερύντως τὰ οἰκεῖα θεωρεῖν ΑβγP: ὃν

ἀναπλησθεῖσα ταῖς ἐν κύκλῳ κεχυμέναις αὐγαῖς ἄσκιος γένηται, τριττὴν φαντασίαν ἑνὸς ὑποκειμένου καταλαμβάνει.

43. V. M. 2. 179 θαυμάσια μὲν οὖν ταῦτα· θαυμασιώτατον δὲ καὶ τὸ τέλος τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων, ὃ καθάπερ ἐν τῷ ζῴῳ κεφαλὴ τῆς ὅλης νομοθεσίας ἐστίν.—Qu. in Gen. Sermo iii. § 3 [R. H. p. 29] ἔστιν οὖν ἡ θεία νομοθεσία τρόπον τινα ζῷον ἠνωμένον, ἣν ὅλην δι' ὅλου χρὴ μεγάλοις ὄμμασι περισκοπεῖν καὶ τὴν βουλὴν τῆς συμπάσης γραφῆς ἀκριβῶς καὶ τηλαυγῶς περιαθρεῖν, μὴ κατακόπτοντας τὴν ἁρμονίαν, μηδὲ τὴν ἕνωσιν διαρτῶντας.—De Mig. Ab. 1. 450 Προνοητέον δὲ ὡς μεγάλου πράγματος καὶ πολλὰ τὸν μετὰ σώματος βίον ὠφελοῦντος εὐφημίας. Περιγίνεται δὲ αὕτη σχεδὸν ἅπασιν, ὅσοι χαίροντες σὺν ἀσμενισμῷ μηδὲν κινοῦσι τῶν καθεστηκότων νομίμων, ἀλλὰ τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν οὐκ ἀμελῶς φυλάττουσιν. Εἰσὶ γάρ τινες οἳ τοὺς ῥητοὺς νόμους σύμβολα νοητῶν πραγμάτων ὑπολαμβάνοντες τὰ μὲν ἄγαν ἠκρίβωσαν, τῶν δὲ ῥᾳθύμως ὠλιγώρησαν. Οὓς μεμψαίμην ἂν ἔγωγε τῆς εὐχερείας· ἔδει γὰρ ἀμφοτέρων ἐπιμεληθῆναι, ζητήσεώς τε τῶν ἀφανῶν ἀκριβεστέρας καὶ ταμίας τῶν φανερῶν ἀνεπιλήπτου. Νυνὶ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐν ἐρημίᾳ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς μόνοι ζῶντες ἢ ἀσώματοι ψυχαὶ γεγονότες, καὶ μήτε πόλιν μήτε κώμην μήτ' οἰκίαν μήτε συνόλως θίασον ἀνθρώπων εἰδότες, τὰ δοκοῦντα τοῖς πολλοῖς ὑπερκύψαντες τὴν ἀλήθειαν γυμνὴν αὐτὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἐρευνῶσιν· οὗς ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος διδάσκει χρηστῆς ὑπολήψεως πεφροντικέναι καὶ μηδὲν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔθεσι λύειν, ἃ θεσπέσιοι καὶ μείζους ἄνδρες ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὥρισαν. Μὴ γάρ, ὅτι ἡ ἑβδόμη δυνάμεως μὲν τῆς περὶ τὸ ἀγέννητον, ἀπραξίας δὲ τῆς περὶ τὸ γεννητὸν δίδαγμά ἐστι, τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῇ νομοθετηθέντα λύωμεν, ὡς πυρεναύζειν, ἢ γεωπονεῖν, ἢ ἀχθοφορεῖν, ἢ ἐγκαλεῖν, ἢ δικάζειν, ἢ παρακαταθήκας ἀπαιτεῖν, ἢ δάνεια ἀναπράττειν, ἢ τὰ ἄλλα ποιεῖν, ὅσα καὶ ἐν τοῖς μὴ ἑορτώδεσι καιροῖς ἐφίεται· μηδ', ὅτι ἡ ἑορτὴ σύμβολον ψυχικῆς εὐφροσύνης ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς πρὸς θεὸν εὐχαριστίας, ἀποταξώμεθα ταῖς κατὰ τὰς ἑτησίους ὥρας πανηγύρεσι· μηδ', ὅτι τὸ περιτέμνεσθαι ἡδονῶν καὶ παθῶν πάντων ἐκτομὴν καὶ δόξης ἀναίρεσιν ἀσεβοῦς ἐμφαίνει, καθ' ἣν ὑπέλαβεν ὁ νοῦς ἱκανὸς εἶναι γεννᾶν δι' ἑαυτοῦ, ἀνέλωμεν τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ περιτομῇ τιθέντα νόμον· ἐπεὶ καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἁγιστείας καὶ μυρίων ἄλλων ἀμελήσομεν, εἰ μόνοις προσέξομεν τοῖς δι' ὑπονοιῶν δηλουμένοις. Ἀλλὰ χρὴ ταῦτα μὲν σώματι ἐοικέναι νομίζειν, ψυχῇ δὲ ἐκεῖνα. Ὥσπερ οὖν σώματος, ἐπειδὴ ψυχῆς ἐστιν οἶκος, προνοητέον, οὕτω καὶ τῶν ῥητῶν νόμων ἐπιμελητέον· φυλαττομένων γὰρ τούτων ἀριδηλότερον καὶ ἐκεῖνα γνωρισθήσεται, ὧν εἰσιν οὗτοι σύμβολα, πρὸς τῷ καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν μέμψεις καὶ κατηγορίας ἀποδιδράσκειν.

45. De Ebr. 1. 377 τὸ ῥητὸν τῆς προστάξεως.—Quod Deus Sit Im. 1. 292 τῇ ῥητῇ καὶ προχείρῳ διατάξει.—De Ab. 2. 14 ἑκατέραν οὖν ἀπόδοσιν πεποιημένοι, τήν τε ῥητὴν ὡς ἐπ' ἀνδρὸς καὶ τὴν δι' ὑπονοιῶν ὡς ἐπὶ ψυχῆς.—De Ios. 2. 46 ἄξιον μέντοι μετὰ τὴν ῥητὴν διήγησιν καὶ τὰ ἐν ὑπονοίαις προσαποδοῦναι·

901 P. ψυχὴ διαφερόντως τὰ οἰκεῖα θεωρεῖν) — ὥσπερ διὰ M. 483
κατόπτρου τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἐξαίσια κάλλη νοημάτων ||
ἐμφερόμενα κατιδοῦσα, καὶ τὰ μὲν σύμβολα διαπτύξασα M. 484

ἐνήρξατο ἡ ψυχὴ διαφερόντως ἡ οἰκεία θεωρεῖν OQ: de Eusebii textu infra disserui: *ἐν ᾧ . . . θεωρεῖν* plane om. Arm. et omittenda esse uidentur 47. *ὥσπερ* codd.: *ὡς* Euseb. 48. *τῶν* ante *νοημάτων* add. P 1. *ἐμφερόμενα* codd. et Arm.: *ἐμφαινό-*

σχεδὸν γὰρ τὰ πάντα ἢ τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς **νομοθεσίας ἀλληγορεῖται**.—De Hum. 2. 400 **ῥητὴν πρόσταξιν**.—De Sp. Leg. 2. 275 *ταῦτα μὲν οὖν αἱ ῥηταὶ* **προστάξεις** *περιέχουσιν. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ* **ἀλληγορῆσαι** *τὰ περὶ τὸν τόπον, ἔχοντα θεωρίαν τὴν διὰ* **συμβόλων**.

De Profugis 1. 551 *ταῦτα γὰρ προκαλύμματα ὄντα ἑτέρων ἀναστείλαντες, τὰ* **ἐναποκείμενα** *ἔνδον, ὁποῖα ἅττα τὴν φύσιν ἐστίν, ἐθεάσαντο*.—Quod Deus Sit Im. 1. 277 *ἔννοιαν καὶ διανόησιν, τὴν μὲν* **ἐναποκειμένην** *οὖσαν νόησιν, τῆς δὲ νοήσεως διέξοδον*.—Quod Deus Sit Im. 1. 293 *ὅταν δὲ εἰσέλθῃ ὁ ἱερεὺς ὄντως, ἔλεγχος, εἰς ἡμᾶς, ὥσπερ φωτός τις αὐγὴ καθαρωτάτη, τηνικαῦτα γνωρίζομεν τὰ* **ἐναποκείμενα** *ἡμῖν οὐκ εὐαγῆ τῇ ψυχῇ βουλεύματα*.

47. *τὰ οἰκεῖα*] De Pl. Noe 1. 333 *τὸ αἴτιον οἷς μὲν τηλαυγέστερον καὶ ἀριδηλότερον ὡς ἂν ἐν ἡλίῳ καθαρῷ, οἷς δὲ ἀμυδρότερον ὡς ἂν ἐν σκιᾷ* **τὰ οἰκεῖα** *εἴωθεν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι*.

ἡ οἰκία] De Mig. Ab. 1. 437 *πατρὸς δὲ* **οἶκος** *ὁ λόγος, ὅτι πατὴρ μὲν ἡμῶν ὁ νοῦς, σπείρων εἰς ἕκαστον τῶν μερῶν τὰς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεις . . .* **οἶκος** *δὲ ἐν ᾧ διαιτᾶται, τῆς ὅλης ὑπεξηρημένος* **οἰκίας** *ὁ λόγος· καθάπερ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς ἑστία, καὶ νοῦ λόγος ἐνδιαίτημα· ἑαυτὸν γοῦν καὶ ὅσα ἂν ἐνθυμήματα τέκῃ ὥσπερ ἐν* **οἴκῳ τῷ λόγῳ** *διαθεὶς καὶ διακοσμήσας ἐπιδείκνυται*.

48. Qu. in Gen. Sermo iv. § 194 nominum enim positores indubie sapientes sunt, ponentes sane *nomina* rerum declaratiua, quibus tanquam *ex speculo* tam *proprietates rerum apparent*, quam figurae euidentiores.—De Profugis 1. 577 *ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐμελλες, ὦ ψυχὴ προκόπτουσα καὶ τῇ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων ἐπιστήμῃ προπαιδευμάτων ἐμβαθύνουσα,* **καθάπερ διὰ κατόπτρου**, *τῆς παιδείας, τὸν αἴτιον τῆς ἐπιστήμης ἰδεῖν*.—De Somn. 1. 686 *ἀκριβώσαντες αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ὥσπερ* **ἔμφασιν** *ἐν* **κατόπτρῳ** *θεασώμεθα*.—De Ab. 2. 23 *ψυχῆς εἰκόνα δεδημιουργῆσθαι τὴν ὅρασιν, ἀκρότητι τέχνης εὖ μεμιμημένης ἐναργὲς* **ἐμφαίνουσαν** *εἴδωλον, οἷα* **διὰ κατόπτρου**, *τὴν φύσιν ὁρατὴν ἐξ αὐτῆς οὐκ ἐχούσης*.—De Decal. 2. 198 *ὡς γὰρ* **διὰ κατόπτρου** *φαντασιοῦται ὁ νοῦς θεὸν δρῶντα*.—Quis Rerum 1. 473 **νοημάτων οὐ ῥημάτων** *ἐπάλληλα* **κάλλη** *μετ'* **εὐτρόχου** *καὶ ὑψηγόρου δυνάμεως φιλοσοφοῦντα*.—D. A. S. I. 2. 244 *ἐπειδὰν τῶν ἡμερινῶν φροντίδων ἀναχώρησας ὁ νοῦς, ὕπνῳ μὲν παρειμένου τοῦ σώματος, μηδεμιᾶς δὲ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἱσταμένης ἐμπόδων, ἀνακυκλεῖν, αὐτὸν ἄρξηται καὶ τὰ* **νοήματα** *καθαρῶς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ σκοπεῖν, οἷα εἰς* **κάτοπτρον** *ἀποβλέπων, τὸ ἦπαρ, ἕκαστα εἰλικρινῶς καταθεᾶται τῶν νοητῶν . . . καὶ πάσαις ταῖς φαντασίαις εὐαρεστήσας, προφητεύει διὰ τῶν ὀνείρων τὰ μέλλοντα*.

1. De Mutat. Nom. 1. 607 *πολλὰ . . . τοῖς νόμοις* **ἐμφερόμενα**.—De Ab. 2. 1 *μυρίων ἄλλων* **ἐμφερομένων** *πραγμάτων*.

901 P. καὶ διακαλύψασα, γυμνὰ δὲ εἰς φῶς προαγαγοῦσα τὰ M. 484
ἐνθύμια, τοῖς δυναμένοις ἐκ μικρᾶς ὑπομνήσεως τὰ
ἀφανῆ διὰ τῶν φανερῶν | θεωρεῖν. Ἐπειδὰν οὖν ἱκανῶς 5
ὁ πρόεδρος διειλέχθαι δοκῇ καὶ κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἀπηντηκέναι τῷ μὲν ἡ διάλεξις εὐσκόπως ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς,

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μενα Euseb. 3. παραγαγοῦσα A Turn.: προαγαγοῦσα βγOPQ Mang., quod et legisse Armenum puto 5. ὁ πρόεδρος ἱκανῶς Arm. 6. δοκεῖ HIKL || post προαίρ. add. Arm. αὐτῶν uel αὐτοῖς 7. εὐσκόπως Arm. AOP: εὐστόχως βγQ edd. 8. κρότος]

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2. De Ab. 2. 16 εἰ δέ τις τὰς ἐπισκιαζούσας κλήσεις ἀπαμφιάσας γυμνὰ τὰ πράγματα βουληθείη καθαρῶς ἰδεῖν.—De Ab. 2. 34 ἀσώματα δὲ ὅσοι καὶ γυμνὰ τὰ πράγματα θεωρεῖν δύνανται, οἱ ψυχῇ μᾶλλον ἢ σώματι ζῶντες.—De Gig. 1. 270 ὃ πάντα ἀπαμφιασάμενον τὰ ἐν γενέσει καὶ τὸ ἐσώτατον καταπέτασμα καὶ προκάλυμμα τῆς δόξης ἀνειμένῃ καὶ γυμνῇ τῇ διανοίᾳ πρὸς θεὸν ἀφίξεται.—De Congr. 1. 525 Ἀλλ' οὐχ ἱστορικὴ γενεαλογία ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀναγραφεῖσα παρὰ τῷ σοφῷ νομοθέτῃ, μηδεὶς τοῦτ' εὖ φρονῶν ὑπονοήσειεν· ἀλλὰ πραγμάτων ψυχὴν ὠφελῆσαι δυναμένων διὰ συμβόλων ἀνάπτυξις. Τὰ δ' ὀνόματα μεταβαλόντες εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν διάλεκτον, εἰσόμεθα τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ἀληθῆ.

3. De Mutat. Nom. 1. 615 θᾶττον ἄν τις χειμάρρου φορὰν ἐπίσχοι ἢ ψυχῆς τροπὴν ῥέουσαν ἀκατασχέτως· ἀμύθητα γὰρ ἐνθύμια, ἄλλα ἐπ' ἄλλοις τρικυμίας τρόπον ἐπιτρέχει.

4. De Pl. Noe 1. 332 τὸ σῶμα ἀνεγερθὲν πρὸς τὴν καθαρωτάτην τοῦ παντὸς μοῖραν, οὐρανόν, τὰς ὄψεις ἀνατεῖναι, ἵνα τῷ φανερῷ τὸ ἀφανὲς ἐκδήλως καταλαμβάνηται.—De Cherub. 1. 156 νομίζοντες τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ὀφθαλμὸν τὰ ἐκτὸς μόνα ὁρᾶν ἡλίου συνεργοῦντος, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ πρὸ τῶν ἐμφανῶν τὰ ἀφανῆ καταθεᾶσθαι φωτὶ χρώμενον ἑαυτῷ.—De Confus. 1. 426 ὅπερ ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἰχνηλατεῖται διὰ τῶν ἐμφανῶν ὀνομάτων.—De Iudice 2. 347 δεῖται γὰρ ὁ μὲν προφορικὸς δηλώσεως, ᾗ τὰ ἀφανῆ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ἐνθύμια γνωρίζεται τῷ πέλας.

Quod Det. Pot. Insid. 1. 204 [opponuntur φυλακή et ἄσκησις] ἡ μὲν οὖν ἄσκησις μέσον, οὐ τέλειον . . . ἡ δὲ φυλακὴ παντελές, μνήμῃ τὰ ἀσκητὰ παραδοῦναι θεωρήματα τῶν ἀγίων.—De Mutat. Nom. 1. 593 μαθήσεως δὲ ἀνάμνησις οἰκεῖον, πολλάκις γὰρ τοῦ μανθάνοντος ἀπορρεῖ τὰ θεωρήματα, μὴ δυναμένου δι' ἀσθένειαν κρατεῖν καὶ πάλιν ἐξαρχῆς ὑπαναπλεῖ.—V. M. 2. 84 εὐμοιρίᾳ φύσεως φθάνων τὰς ὑφηγήσεις, ὡς ἀνάμνησιν εἶναι δοκεῖν, οὐ μάθησιν.—De Pr. et Poen. 2. 410 ὡς μὴ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ τὰς μαθήσεις ἀναμνήσεις εἶναι λέγεσθαι.

5. Quod Deus Sit Im. 1. 277 ἱκανῶς οὖν διειλεγμένοι . . . ἀκολούθως ἀποδώσομεν.

De Somn. 1. 683 ὁ δὲ τούτων ὑφηγητὴς ὁμοῦ καὶ πατὴρ . . . ὁ πρόεδρος, ὁ πρύτανις, ὁ δημιουργός.

6. V. M. 2. 84 εὐφυὴς ψυχὴ προαπαντῶσα τοῖς λεγομένοις.—De Mig. Ab. 1. 449 τῷ μέλλοντι πρὸς ἀγῶνα σοφιστικὸν ἀπαντᾶν.

7. Leg. Alleg. 1. 110 νοῦς ἐκβὰς τῶν νοητῶν καὶ οἰκείων ἐπιβολῶν.—De Post.

901 P. τοῖς δὲ ἡ ἀκρόασις, κρότος ἐξ ἁπάντων ὡς ἂν συν- M. 484
ηδομένων εἰς τὸ τρίτον μόνον γίνεται. Καὶ | ἔπειτα 10
ὁ μὲν ἀναστάς, ὕμνον ᾄδει πεποιημένον εἰς τὸν
θεόν, ἢ καινὸν αὐτὸς πεποιηκὼς ἢ ἀρχαῖόν τινα τῶν
πάλαι ποιητῶν. Μέτρα γὰρ καὶ μέλη καταλελοίπασι
πολλὰ ἐπῶν τριμέτρων, προσοδίων ὕμνων, παρασπον-
δείων, παραβωμίων, | στασίμων, χορικῶν, στροφαῖς 15
πολυστρόφοις εὖ διαμεμετρημένων. Μεθ' ὃν καὶ οἱ
ἄλλοι κατὰ τάξεις ἐν κόσμῳ προσήκοντι, πάντων κατὰ
πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν ἀκροωμένων, πλὴν ὁπότε τὰ ἀκρο-
τελεύτια καὶ ἐφύμνια ᾄδειν δέοι· τότε γὰρ | ἐξηχοῦσι 20

σκότος A || κρότος usque ad εἰς τὸν θεόν] ὑμνωδία γεραίρει τὸν θεόν, αἶνον β, omittens multa 9. τὸ τρίτον μόνον Arm.: τὸ ἐποψόμενον AγOP edd.: τὸ ἐψόμενον Q: coniecit τὸ ἐνδόσιμον Mang. 10. ὁ μὲν AγOPQ: ὁ edd.: ὁ προεστὼς ut uidetur Arm., sic enim uocem 'auag' interpretor quae sensum habet '*superior*' vel '*princeps.*' Uix inerat textui interpretis ἡγεμὼν uel ἔξαρχος; has enim uoces alio modo reddit interpres. Sed ἄρχων legisse interpretem haud negauerim 11. ἢ καὶ νῦν Q 13. πολλὰ Arm. AβOPQ Mang.: ποιηταὶ γ Turn. || πολλὰ καταλ. Arm. 14. προσῳδιῶν M: προσω, διῶν O || comma post προσοδίων posuit, post ὕμνων sustulit Mang.: προσοδίων, ὕμνων, Turn.: προσῳδιῶν ὕμνον, παρασπονδείων P: προσῳδιῶν ὕμνων. παρασπονδίων Q: Armenum secutus sum || παρασπονδείων uertit Arm. '*saluificorum, consecratiuorum*' 15. στασίων γ || χωρικῶν pr. man. A || στροφαῖς καὶ πολυστροφίαις Arm. || πολυτρόφοις A: '*anne ἀντιστρόφοις?*' Mang. in adnot. 16. μεθ' ὧν LPQ: μεθὸν in μεθὧν refinxit sec. man. A 17. post τάξεις add καὶ καθ' ἡλικίαν Arm. || ante κόσμῳ om. ἐν β 18. πλὴν Arm. AγOPQ: πρὶν β

Caini 1. 230 τῆς διανοίας ἐπιβολάς.—De Pr. et Poen. 2. 416 τῆς διανοίας εὐθηξίαις καὶ εὐσκόποις ἐπιβολαῖς προσγανουμένης.—Qu. in Gen. Sermo i. § 17 [R. H. p. 22] ὁ δὲ ἕβδομος μὴν λέγεται καὶ πρῶτος καθ' ἑτέραν καὶ ἑτέραν ἐπιβολήν.

17. De Pr. S. 2. 233 μετὰ κόσμου τοῦ προσήκοντος.

19. Quis Rerum 1. 474 ἀκροτελεύτιον λογίου τοῦ χρησθέντος.

De Congr. 1. 536 τὸ ἐφύμνιον ᾄσεται Μωσῆς.

20. De Ab. 2. 24 ὅταν βίαι πνευμάτων καὶ κτύποι βροντῶν συρμὸν πολὺν καὶ χαλεπὸν πάταγον ἐξηχῶσιν.—Quis Rerum 1. 475 ὅλου δὴ τοῦ διανοίας ὀργάνου

902 P. πάντες τε καὶ πᾶσαι. Ὅταν δὲ ἕκαστος διαπεράνηται M. 484
τὸν ὕμνον, οἱ νέοι τὴν πρὸ μικροῦ λεχθεῖσαν τράπεζαν

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20. post πάντες om. τε Q || ὅτε ἕκαστος διαπεράνυται BM : ὅτε διαπεράνυται E : ὅταν δὲ ἕκ. διαπεράνηται Arm. cett. 21. fortasse

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κατὰ τὴν διὰ πασῶν καὶ δὶς διὰ πασῶν συμφωνίαν ἐξηχοῦντος.—De Decal. 2. 188 φωνὴ . . . ἐξήχει καταπληκτικωτάτη.

23. De Sept. 2. 294, § 21 Τοσαύτας ἔχουσα προνομίας ὁπόσας ἔδειξεν ὁ νόμος ἡ ἐπὶ τῷ δράγματι πανήγυρις προεόρτιόν ἐστιν, . . . ἑτέρας ἑορτῆς μείζονος. Ἀπὸ γὰρ ἐκείνης ἡμέρα πεντηκοστὴ καταριθμεῖται, ἑβδόμη ἑβδομὰς ἐφ' αἷς ἱερὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπισφραγιζομένης μονάδος. ἥτις ἐστὶν ἀσώματος θεοῦ εἰκών, θεῷ κατὰ τὴν μόνωσιν ἐξομοιοῦται. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ πρῶτον κάλλος ἐπιδείκνυται πεντηκοστῆς. ἕτερον δὲ μηνυτέον· θαυμαστὴ καὶ περιμάχητός ἐστιν ἡ φύσις, διά τε τἄλλα, καὶ ἐπειδὴ συνέστηκεν ἐκ τοῦ στοχειωδεστάτου καὶ πρεσβυτάτου τῶν ἐν οὐσίαις παραλαμβανομένων, ὡς φασὶν οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων, ὀρθογωνίου τριγώνου. μήκει μὲν γὰρ αἱ τοῦδε πλευραὶ τριῶν οὖσαι καὶ τεσσάραν καὶ πέντε συμπληροῦσιν ἀριθμὸν τὸν ιβ', τοῦ ζωφόρου κύκλου παράδειγμα διπλασιασθείσης ἑξάδος τῆς γονιμωτάτης, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ τελειότητος, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων συμπληρουμένη ἡμερῶν, αἷς ἐξισοῦται· δυνάμει δ' ὡς ἔοικεν ἀπογεννῶσι τὸν πεντηκοστὸν διὰ τοῦ τρὶς τρία καὶ τετράκις τέσσαρα καὶ πεντάκις πέντε, ὥστε ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι λέγειν τοσούτῳ δεκάδος εἶναι πεντηκοντάδα ὅσῳ καὶ τοῦ δυνάμει τὸ μήκει. εἰ δὲ τοῦ ἐλάττονος εἰκών ἐστιν ἡ καλλιστεύουσα τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ σφαῖρα ἡ ζωηφόρος, τίνος ἂν εἴη παράδειγμα τὸ κρεῖττον, ἡ πεντηκοντάς, ἢ πάντως ἀμείνονος φύσεως; . . . Πρόσρησιν δ' ἔλαχεν ἡ κατὰ τὸν πεντηκοστὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐνισταμένη ἑορτὴ πρωτογεννημάτων, ἐν ᾗ δύο ἐζυμωμένους ἄρτους ἐκ πυροῦ γεγονότας ἔθος προσφέρειν, ἀπαρχὴν σίτου τῆς ἀρίστης τροφῆς· ὀνομάσθη δὲ πρωτογεννημάτων, ἢ διότι, πρὶν εἰς τὴν ἀνθρώπων χρῆσιν ἐλθεῖν τὸν ἐπέτειον καρπόν, τοῦ νέου σίτου τὸ πρωτογέννημα καὶ ὁ πρῶτος φανεὶς καρπὸς ἀπαρχὴ προσάγεται. . . . Ἐζυμωμένοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ ἄρτοι, τοῦ νόμου ζύμην ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἀναφέρειν ἀπειπόντος· οὐχ ἵνα διαμάχη τις ᾖ ἐν τοῖς προσταττομένοις, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ τρόπον τινὰ δι' ἑνὸς εἴδους λαβεῖν τε καὶ δοῦναι· λαβεῖν μὲν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν προσφερομένων εὐχαριστίαν, δοῦναι δ' εὐθὺς ἀνυπερθέτως τὰ νομιζόμενα τοῖς προσφέρουσιν. Οὐ μὴν ὥστε χρῆσθαι· χρήσονται γὰρ τοῖς ἅπαξ καθιερωθεῖσιν οἷς ἔξεστίν τε καὶ ἐφίεται, ἔξεστι δὲ τοῖς ἱερωμένοις. οἱ τῶν προσαγομένων τῷ βωμῷ, ὅσα μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀσβέστου πυρὸς ἀναλίσκεται, τὴν μετουσίαν ἔλαβον, φιλανθρωπίᾳ νόμου δοθεῖσαν ἢ μισθὸν ὑπηρεσιῶν ἢ γέρας ἀγώνων οὓς ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἀθλοῦσιν, ἢ κλῆρον ἱερόν, τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ταῖς ἄλλαις φυλαῖς τὸ ἐπίβαλλον μέρος διανειμάμενοι. Σύμβολον δ' ἐστὶν καὶ ἄλλων ἡ ζύμη δυοῖν. Ἑνὸς μὲν ἐντελεστάτου καὶ ὁλοκλήρου τροφῆς, ἧς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμέραν χρήσει κρείττονα καὶ λυσιτελεστέραν εὑρεῖν· κράτιστος δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῦ σίτου καρπὸς ἐν σπαρτοῖς, ὡς ἁρμόττειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀρίστου ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀρίστην ἀπαρχήν. Ἕτερον δὲ συμβολικώτερον, πᾶν τὸ ἐζυμωμένον ἐπαίρεται· χαρὰ δὲ ψυχῆς ἐστὶν εὔλογος ἔπαρσις. Ἐπ' οὐδενὶ γὰρ τῶν ὄντων μᾶλλον χαίρειν πέφυκεν ἄνθρωπος, ἢ εὐπορίᾳ καὶ ἀφθονίᾳ τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἐφ' οἷς ἄξιον γεγηθότας εὐχαριστεῖν, ποιουμένους ἀοράτου τῆς περὶ τὴν διάνοιαν εὐπαθείας αἰσθητὴν διὰ τῶν ἐζυμωμένων ἄρτων

902 P. εἰσκομίζουσιν, ἐφ' ἧς τὸ παναγέστατον σιτίον, ἄρτος M. 484
ἐζυμωμένος, μετὰ προσοψήματος ἁλῶν οἷς ὕσσωπος
ἀναμέμικται, | δι' αἰδῶ τῆς ἀνακειμένης ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ 25

Armenus τοὺς ὕμνους legit 23. παναγ.] *'omnisanctum'* uertit
Arm. 24. ὕσσωπον β 25. **ὶ δι' αἰδῶ *τῆς (sic) C : δι' ἐδωδῆς

εὐχαριστίαν. Ἄρτοι δέ εἰσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ σῖτος, ἡ ἀπαρχή, διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἔτι ἐνδεῖν τῶν εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν τροφῆς, σίτου γεγονότος· λέγεται γάρ, ὅτι τῶν σπαρτῶν ἁπάντων τελευταῖος ὁ πυρὸς γεννᾶσθαι πέφυκε καὶ πρὸς ἄμητον παρίστασθαι. Δύο δ' εἰσὶν ἄριστα δυοῖν χρόνοιν χαριστήρια· τοῦ τε παρεληλυθότος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἐνδείας καὶ λιμοῦ κακῶν οὐκ ἐπειράθημεν, ἐν εὐετηρίᾳ διάγοντες· καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος, διότι τὰς εἰς αὐτὸν χορηγίας καὶ παρασκευὰς ηὐτρεπισάμεθα.

24. παναγέστατον] De Somn. 1. 668 Τίς οὖν ἡ ψυχῆς ἀσωμάτου θυσία ; τίς ἡ σεμίδαλις, ἐκκεκαθαρμένης ταῖς παιδείας ὑποθήκαις γνώμης σύμβολον, τροφὴν ἄνοσον καὶ ζωὴν ἀνυπαίτιον ποιεῖν ἱκανῆς, ἀφ' ἧς δραξάμενος ὁ ἱερεὺς ὅλῃ τῇ δρακί, τὸ δ' ἔστι πάσαις ταῖς διανοίας λαβαῖς, πλήρη τὴν ὅλην ψυχὴν εἰλικρινεστάτων καὶ καθαρωτάτων δογμάτων γενομένην αὐτὴν ὡς ἱερεῖον τὸ κάλλιστον ἀνάγειν προστέτακται, πίονα καὶ λιπῶσαν, θείῳ φωτὶ χαίρουσαν καὶ ταῖς ἀπὸ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν ἀναδιδομέναις καταπνεομένην αὔραις, ὡς εὐωδέστατον καὶ προσηνέστατον ἀεὶ καρποῦσθαι βίον ; Τὸ γὰρ ἔλαιον καὶ ὁ λιβανωτός, ὧν ἐπιδράττεται σὺν τοῖς λευκοπύροις ὁ ἱερεύς, ταῦτα αἰνίττεται. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Μωσῆς ἐξαίρετον ἑορτὴν ἀνέθηκε τῷ δράγματι, πλὴν οὐ παντί, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς γῆς.

Qu. in Exod. Sermo ii. § 14 [R. R. p. 53] Quid est 'non immolabis in fermento sanguinem uictimae'? ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐ δεῖ ζυμωτὸν παρεῖναι ἐπὶ τῶν θυσιαζομένων, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ προσαγόμενα εἰς θυσίαν ἤτοι προσφορὰν ἄζυμα δεῖ εἶναι, αἰνίττεται διὰ συμβόλου δύο τὰ ἀναγκαιότατα· ἓν μὲν τὸ καταφρονεῖν ἡδονῆς, ζύμη γὰρ ἥδυσμα τροφῆς, οὐ τροφή· ἕτερον δὲ τὸ μὴ δεῖν ἐπαίρεσθαι φυσωμένους διὰ κενῆς οἰήσεως.

26. Qu. in Exod. Sermo ii. § 72 Cur dicit 'Impones super mensam panem in conspectu meo semper'? [25, 30]. Necessarii cibi, sine quo non est uita, significatiui sunt *panes*; et principum ac uillicorum uis [al. aequitas], deo ordinante, in necessariis naturae [uersatur] in cibo et potu. Ideo superaddit dicens 'In conspectu meo semper pones panes': ubi 'semper' ostendit continuam ac non interruptam esse gratiam cibi ; 'in conspectu' vero, quia gratum iucundumque est deo tam donare gratias, quam gratiarum actionem recipere.—D. A. S. I. 2. 239 Ἄρτοι δὲ προτίθενται ταῖς ἑβδόμαις ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς τραπέζης ἰσάριθμοι τοῖς μησὶ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, δυσὶ θέμασιν ἀνὰ ἕξ, δώδεκα, κατὰ τὸν λόγον τῶν ἰσημεριῶν ὧν ἑκάτερα — δύο γάρ εἰσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, ἐαρινή τε καὶ μετοπωρινή, αἳ μησὶν ἓξ καταριθμοῦνται — ἐαρινῇ μὲν τὰ σπαρτὰ πάντα τελειογονεῖται, καθ' ὃν χρόνον τὰ δένδρα γεννᾶν ἄρχεται· μετοπωρινῇ δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν δένδρων καρπὸς τελεσφορεῖται, ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ πάλιν ἀρχὴ σπορᾶς. Οὕτω δολιχεύουσα ἡ φύσις τὸν αἰῶνα ἄλλας ἐπ' ἄλλας ἀμείβει δωρεὰς ἀνθρώποις γένει ὧν εἰσι σύμβολα αἱ ditταὶ τῶν προκειμένων ἄρτων ἑξάδες. Αἰνίττονται δὲ καὶ τὴν ὠφελιμωτάτην τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐγκράτειαν, ἣ δορυφορεῖται πρὸς εὐκολίας καὶ εὐτελείας καὶ ὀλιγοδείας,

902 P. προνάῳ ἱερᾶς τραπέζης. Ἐπὶ γὰρ ταύτης εἰσὶν ἄρτοι M. 484

βP: δι' αἰδῶ τῆς Arm. AγOQ 26. sensu νάῳ uertit Arm. || τράπέζ,,,,αν

διὰ τὸν ἐξ ἀκολασίας καὶ πλεονεξίας βλαβερώτατον ἐπιτειχισμόν. Ἄρτος γὰρ ἐραστῇ σοφίας διαρκὴς τροφή, παρέχουσα καὶ τὰ σώματα ἄνοσα καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν ὑγιᾶ καὶ νηφάλιον· ὄψα δὲ καὶ μελίπηκτα καὶ ἡδύσματα καὶ ὅσα σιτοπόνων καὶ ὀψαρτυτῶν περιεργίαι τεχνιτεύουσι, καταγοητεύουσαι τὴν ἄμουσον καὶ ἀφιλόσοφον καὶ ἀνδραποδωδεστάτην τῶν αἰσθήσεων, γεῦσιν, ὑπηρετοῦσαν καλῷ μὲν οὐδενὶ θεάματι ἢ ἀκούσματι, γαστρὸς δὲ τῆς ταλαίνης ἐπιθυμίᾳ, νόσους σώματι καὶ ψυχῇ κατασκευάζει πολλάκις ἀνιάτους. Συνεπιτίθεται δὲ τοῖς ἄρτοις λιβανωτὸς καὶ ἅλες· ὁ μὲν σύμβολον τοῦ μηδὲν ἥδυσμα εὐωδέστερον ὀλιγοδείας εἶναι καὶ ἐγκρατείας παρὰ σοφίᾳ δικαζούσῃ, οἱ δὲ ἅλες διαμονῆς τε τῶν συμπάντων — οἷς γὰρ ἂν παραπασθῶσι διατηροῦσι — καὶ ἱκανοῦ προσοψήματος. Οἷδ' ὅτι χλεύην θήσουσι καὶ γέλωτα ταῦτα οἱ περὶ τὰ συμπόσια καὶ τὰς εὐωχίας πραγματευόμενοι καὶ πολυτελεῖς τραπέζας μεταδιώκοντες, οἱ ὀρνέων καὶ ἰχθύων καὶ κρεῶν καὶ τῆς ὁμοιοτρόπου φλυαρίας ἄθλιοι δοῦλοι, μηδ' ὄναρ ἀληθοῦς ἐλευθερίας γεύσασθαι δυνάμενοι. Ὧν ὀλίγα φροντιστέον τοῖς κατὰ θεὸν καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὄντως ὄντος ἀρέσκειαν ζῆν ἐγνωκόσιν, οἳ τῶν σαρκὸς ἡδονῶν ἀλογεῖν πεπαιδευμένοι τὰς τῆς διανοίας χαρὰς καὶ εὐπαθείας, θεωρίᾳ τῶν τῆς φύσεως ἐνασκούμενοι, μεταδιώκουσι. —Quis Rerum I. 497 ὁρᾷς καὶ τοὺς προτιθεμένους ἄρτους ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς τραπέζης. —Quis Rerum I. 504 ἡ δὲ τράπεζα εἰς τὴν τῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν θνητῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων εὐχαριστίαν, ἄρτοι γὰρ καὶ σπονδεῖα ἐπιτίθενται αὐτῇ, οἷς ἀνάγκη χρῆσθαι τὰ τῆς τροφῆς δεόμενα.

27. De Congr. I. 542 Ὥστε εἰ ἡ ἐπὶ πλέον ἄνεσις τὸ μέγιστον κακόν, ἀσέβειαν, ἀδίνει, τὸ ἐναντίον ἡ μετὰ νόμου κάκωσις ἀγαθὸν τέλειον ἀποτίκτει τὴν ἀοίδιμον νουθεσίαν. Ἔνθεν δὲ ὁρμηθεὶς καὶ τῆς πρώτης ἑορτῆς τὸ σύμβολον 'ἄρτον κακώσεως' [Deut. 16. 3] εἶπε τὰ ἄζυμα· καίτοι τίς οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι ἑορταὶ καὶ θαλίαι περιποιοῦσιν ἱλαρὰς εὐφροσύνας καὶ εὐθυμίας, οὐ κακώσεις; Ἀλλὰ δῆλον, ὡς ὀνόματι κατακέχρηται πόνου τοῦ σωφρονιστοῦ· τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀσκητικαῖς ἀθλήσεσι καὶ ἡβῶσι πόνοις εἴωθε περιγίνεσθαι. Ψυχῆς δὲ ἑορτὴ ζῆλος, ὁ τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ τελεσφορουμένων πόνος· οὗ χάριν διείρηται καὶ 'ἐπὶ πικρίδων τὰ ἄζυμα ἐσθίειν' [Exod. 12. 8], οὐχ ὡς προσοψήματος, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τὸ μὴ οἰδεῖν καὶ ἀναζεῖν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις, ἐστάλθαι δὲ καὶ συνῆχθαι πρὸς ἀηδίας οἱ πολλοὶ τίθενται, πικρὸν ἡγούμενοι τὸ ἀπομαθεῖν τὸ πάθος, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἑορτὴ καὶ εὐφροσύνη διανοίᾳ φιλάθλῳ.—De Congr. I. 543 Μηδεὶς οὖν τὴν τοιαύτην κάκωσιν ἀποστρεφέσθω, μηδ' ἄρτον κακώσεως νομισάτω ποτὲ λέγεσθαι τὴν ἑορτῆς καὶ εὐφροσύνης τράπεζαν ἐπὶ βλάβῃ μᾶλλον ἢ ὠφελείᾳ, τρέφεται γὰρ τοῖς παιδείας δόγμασιν ἡ νουθετουμένη ψυχή. Τὸ ἄζυμον πέμμα τοῦτο οὕτως ἐστὶν ἱερόν, ὥστε χρησμοῖς προστέτακται 'δώδεκα ἄρτους ἀζύμους ταῖς φυλαῖς ἰσαρίθμους προτιθέναι ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις χρυσῆς τραπέζης, καὶ καλοῦνται προθέσεως' [Exod. 25. 30]. Καὶ νόμῳ δὲ ἀπείρηται 'πᾶσαν ζύμην καὶ πᾶν μέλι προσφέρειν τῷ βωμῷ' [Lev. 2. 11]· χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἡ τὰς γλυκύτητας τῶν κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ἡδονῶν ἢ τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς ἀραιὰς καὶ χαύνους ἐπάρσεις καθιεροῦν ὡς ἅγια, τὰ φύσει βέβηλα καὶ ἀνίερα ἐξ αὐτῶν.—De Somn. I. 628 Μακάριοι μὲν οὖν, οἷς ἐξεγένετο τῶν σοφίας φίλτρων ἀπόνασθαι καὶ τῶν θεωρημάτων καὶ δογμάτων αὐτῆς ἐστιαθῆναι,

902 P. καὶ ἄλες ἄνευ ἡδυσμάτων. Ἄζυμοι μὲν οἱ ἄρτοι, M. 484
ἀμιγεῖς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλες. Προσῆκον μὲν γὰρ ἦν, τὰ μὲν
ἁπλούστατα καὶ εἰλικρινέστατα τῇ κρατίστῃ | τῶν 30
ἱερέων ἀπονεμηθῆναι μερίδι, λειτουργίας ἆθλον· τοὺς
δὲ ἄλλους τὰ μὲν ὅμοια ζηλοῦν, ἀπέχεσθαι δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν,

(-αν in rasura) sic Q 27. καὶ ἄλες ἄνευ usque ad ἄρτοι propter homoioteleuton om. OQ || μὲν βγP edd.: om. A 28. δὲ καὶ οἱ AγP edd.: δὲ οἱ β: δὴ οἱ Q ubi δὴ ex δὲ refinxit man. rec. et οἱ eadem man. litura deleuit || οἱ δὲ ἄλ. ἀμ. Arm., ? om. καὶ || γὰρ AγEOQ edd.: μὲν γὰρ Arm. BMP 30. ἱερέων Arm.: ἱερῶν cett. codd. et edd.: '*melius* ἱερέων' Mang. || ἀπονεμῆναι (θῆ supr. scr. man. rec.) Q 32. τῶν αὐτῶν Arm.: τῶν ἄρτων ceteri omnes:

καὶ ἀνευφρανθεῖσιν ἔτι διψῆν, ἄπληστον καὶ ἀκόρεστον ἐπιφερομένοις ἵμερον ἐπιστήμης. Δεύτερα δ' οἴσονται, οἷς ἀπολαῦσαι μὲν οὐκ ἐξεγένετο τῆς ἱερᾶς τραπέζης, κνισσοῦν δὲ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχάς· αὔραις γὰρ ἀρετῆς οὗτοι ζωπυρηθήσονται. —V. M. 2. 151 ἡ δὲ **τράπεζα** τίθεται πρὸς τοῖς βορείοις, ἐφ' ἧς ἄρτοι καὶ **ἄλες**. — D. A. S. I. 2. 245 τὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς **τραπέζης** πάντα καιρίως δεῖ προσφέρεσθαι, σπουδὴν ποιουμένους, ὡς μὴ μεταβάλῃ μήκει χρόνου, κρεῶν δὲ ἑώλων εὔσηπτος ἡ φύσις, κἂν ἡδύσμασι παραρτυθῇ.

30. In Fl. 2. 518 διὰ τὸ τὴν τῶν γνησίων πρὸ τῆς τῶν θετῶν τεθεραπευκέναι **μερίδα**.—De Sac. Ab. et C. 1. 186 τῆς τῶν πρεσβείων ἠξίωσεν **μερίδος**.

De Sac. Ab. et C. 1. 189 τοῦ μὲν οὖν προτέρου **τμήματος** ὑπηρέτης ὁ Λευΐτης ἐστι· τὰς γὰρ **λειτουργίας** ἁπάσας ἀναδέχεται, ὅσαι πρὸς ἱερωσύνην ἀναφέρονται τελείαν, καθ' ἣν διασυνίσταται καὶ γναρίζεται τὸ θνητὸν θεῷ, ἢ δι' ὁλοκαυτωμάτων ἢ διὰ σωτηρίων ἢ διὰ μετανοίας ἁμαρτημάτων.

31. De Sac. Ab. et C. 1. 189 ἔτι γε μὴν οἱ τὸν ἀκούσιον φόνον δράσαντες, **τὰς αὐτὰς** τοῖς Λευΐταις πόλεις ἔλαχον οἰκεῖν, ὅτι καὶ οὗτοι διὰ φόνον ὅσιον **προνομίας** ἠξιώθησαν. Ὅτε γοῦν ἡ ψυχὴ τραπεῖσα τὸν Αἰγύπτιον θεὸν τὸ σῶμα, ὡς χρυσὸν ἐξετίμησε, τότ' οἱ ἱεροὶ λόγοι πάντες αὐτοκέλευστοι μεθ' ὅπλων ὁρμήσαντες ἀμυντηρίων, τῶν κατ' ἐπιστήμην ἀποδείξεων, ἡγεμόνα προστησάμενοι καὶ στρατηγὸν τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ προφήτην καὶ φίλον τοῦ θεοῦ Μωϋσῆν, πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας πολεμοῦσι, καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀπηλλάγησαν ἢ πάντα τὰ τῶν ἐναντιουμένων δόγματα καταλῦσαι, ὥστε εἰκότως σύνοικοι γεγόνασι οἱ τὰς **ὁμοίας** καὶ **μὴ τὰς αὐτὰς** πράξεις ἐργασάμενοι.—Quod Det. Pot. Insid. 1. 201 ὁ **προνομίας** τοὺς ἀμείνους ἀξιῶν.—De Mon. 2. 231 Ὁμοίως μέντοι μηδὲ μισθωτῷ μηδεὶς παρεχέτω μήτε μισθὸν μήτε ὑπηρεσίας ἀμοιβὴν ἱερὸν γέρας. Χρήσεται γὰρ ὁ λαβὼν ἔστιν ὅτε ἀνίερος πρὸς ἃ μὴ δεῖ, βέβηλα τὰ τῆς εὐγενείας ἆθλα καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν νεὼν λειτουργίας ἀπεργασάμενος. Δι' ἣν αἰτίαν οὐδ' ἀλλογενεῖ συνόλως ὁ νόμος ἐπιτρέπει μεταλαμβάνειν τῶν ἁγίων, κἂν εὐπατρίδης ὢν τυγχάνῃ τῶν αὐτο-

902 P. ἵνα ἔχωσι προνομίαν οἱ κρείττονες. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον M. 484
τὴν ἱερὰν ἄγουσι παννυχίδα. Ἄγεται δὲ ἡ παννυχὶς
τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον. | Ἀνίστανται πάντες ἀθρόοι, καὶ 35
κατὰ μέσον τὸ συμπόσιον, δύο γίνονται τὸ πρῶτον
χοροί, ὁ μὲν ἀνδρῶν ὁ δὲ γυναικῶν. Ἡγεμὼν δὲ καὶ
ἔξαρχος || αἱρεῖται καθ' ἑκάτερον ἐντιμότατός τε καὶ M. 485
ἐμμελέστατος. Εἶτα ᾄδουσι πεποιημένους ὕμνους εἰς
τὸν θεὸν πολλοῖς μέτροις καὶ μέλεσι, τῇ μὲν συνηχοῦν-
τες, τῇ δὲ ἀντιφώνοις ἁρμονίαις ἐπιχειρονομοῦντες |

'ex Philonis argumento scribendum uidetur ἀζύμων' Mang. 33. εἰσάγουσι β 34. ἄγεται] ᾄδεται EM || ἄγεται δὲ ἡ παννυχὶς om. Arm., propter homoioteleuton ut uidetur 35. ἀθρόον Q: ἀθρόοι (uel ἀθρόον) πάντες tr. Arm. || μέλη β: μέσον Arm. Aγ cett. 36. δύο] δεύτερον E || τὸ πρῶτον om. Arm. 1. κατ' ἀμφότερα ante αἱρεῖται add. Arm. || ἑκάτερον Arm. P Mang.: ἕτερον AβγOQ Turn. || καὶ A: τε καὶ cett. 2. ὕμ. ε. τ. θ. Arm. AOPQ: τοὺς ὕμ. ε. τ. θ. β: εἰς τὸν θ. ὕμ. γ edd. 4. τῇ δὲ P Arm.: τῇ δὲ καὶ

χθόνων καὶ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν καὶ πρὸς γυναικῶν ἀνεπίληπτος ὤν, ἵνα αἱ τιμαὶ μὴ νοθεύωνται, μένωσι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἱερατικῇ τάξει βεβαίως φυλαττόμεναι. Καὶ γὰρ ἄτοπον τὰς μὲν θυσίας καὶ ἱερουργίας καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα περὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἁγιστεύεται, μὴ πᾶσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι μόνοις ἐπιτετράφθαι, τὰ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἆθλα κοινὰ γίνεσθαι καὶ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων, ὡς οὐ μὲν δέον πόνοις πολλοῖς καὶ καμάτοις καὶ ταῖς μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ φροντίσιν ἀποτρύχειν τοὺς ἱερέας, τὰ δὲ ἆθλα κοινὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀργοῦσιν ἀποφαίνειν.

34. In Fl. 2. 534 ὡς δὲ ᾔσθοντο τὴν ἀπαγωγὴν καὶ τὸν Φλάκκον ἐντὸς ἀρκύων ἤδη γεγενημένον, προτείνοντες τὰς χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν ὕμνους καὶ παιᾶνας ἐξῆρχον εἰς τὸν ἔφορον θεὸν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων . . , πάννυχοι δὲ διατελέσαντες ἐν ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς καὶ ἅμα τῇ ἕῳ διὰ πυλῶν ἐκχυθέντες, ἐπὶ τοὺς πλησίον αἰγιαλοὺς ἀφικνοῦνται — τὰς γὰρ προσευχὰς ἀφῄρηντο — καὶ ἐν τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ στάντες ἀνεβόησαν ὁμοθυμαδόν.

37. De Mon. 2. 220 ἕνα τὸν ἔξαρχον καὶ ἡγεμόνα.—De Pl. Noe 1. 347 Δικαιοσύνην δὲ ἰσότης τὴν ἔξαρχον καὶ ἡγεμονίδα τῶν ἀρετῶν ἔτεκεν.—De Iustit. 2. 368 ὁ τῶν ἱερέων ἔξαρχος καὶ ἡγεμών.

4. De Cherub. 1. 159 λύρας τρόπον ἐξ ἀνομοίων ἡρμοσμένης φθόγγων εἰς κοινωνίαν καὶ συμφωνίαν ἐλθόντα συνηχήσειν ἔμελλεν.—De Pl. Noe 1. 354 καθάπερ ἐν ἡρμοσμένῃ λύρᾳ φθόγγοις ἀντιφώνοις εἰς ἑνὸς μέλους κράσιν συνηχοῦσαν.

Quod Deus Sit Im. 1. 298 χαίρει καὶ γέγηθε καὶ τετιμῆσθαι δοκεῖ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἔτι νεανιευόμενος καὶ ἐπιχειρονομῶν ἄρχεται κ.τ.λ.—De Iustit.

902 P. καὶ ἐπορχούμενοι καὶ ἐπιθειάζοντες, τοτὲ μὲν τὰ προσ- M. 485, 5
ὁδια, τοτὲ δὲ τὰ στάσιμα, στροφάς τε τὰς ἐν χορείᾳ
καὶ ἀντιστροφὰς ποιούμενοι. Εἶτα ὅταν ἑκάτερος τῶν
χορῶν ἰδίᾳ καὶ καθ' αὑτὸν ἑστιαθῇ, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς |
βακχικαῖς ἀκράτου σπάσαντες τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς, ἀναμίγ- 10

Mang. Turn. et cett. codd. || συμφώνοις Arm.: ἀντιφώνοις codd. gr. editique 5. καὶ ante ἐπορχ. om. Arm. || ἐπορχούμενοι '*gaudio hilarati*' uertit Arm. 6. προσώ δια βOPQ || τὰ προσόδια] τὸν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὕμνον Arm. sed leuissima si fiat correctio sensus elici poterit προσόδια || ante στάσιμα om. τὰ A 7. χορείᾳ Arm.: χρείᾳ codd. gr. et edd. || ἀντιστροφὰς A Arm.: ἀντιστρόφους cett. 8. ἑκάτεροι β || καὶ om. Arm. || χορῶν Arm.: ἀνδρῶν codd. et
β′ α′
edd. || τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἑστιαθῇ ἰδίᾳ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν καθάπερ P || ἰδίᾳ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν Arm. AβγPQ Turn.: ἰδίᾳ καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ἰδίᾳ καθ' ἑαυτὸν Mang.: eadem O nisi adiecto καὶ ante καθ' ἑαυτὸν 9. κατ' αὐτὸν in καθ' αὑτὸν refinxit rec. man. A || ἑστιασθῶσι E: ἑστιαθῶσι BM: ἑστιαθῇ Arm. cett. codd. et edd. 10. βακχικαῖς codd.: βακχείαις edd. || σπάσαντες] σπουδάσαντες EM || τοῦ om. P 11. εἰς

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2. 371 οὐκ ἂν ἐπινεανιευόμενοι καὶ ἐπιχειρονομοῦντες ταῖς πλεονεξίαις καινοὺς σπόρους ἐπενοεῖτε.

5. De Sac. Ab. et C. 1. 165 ἅτε κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἐπιθειάζουσαν [sc. ψυχήν].—Quod Deus Sit Im. 1. 273 ἐπ' οὐδενὸς θνητοῦ βαίνειν ἅπαξ ἐπιθειάσας ἠξίου.

9. Quis Rerum 1. 478 τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἑστιαθεῖσα [sc. ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη ἀρετή].

10. De Ebr. 1. 371 διὰ τὸ τοῦ τῆς ἀφροσύνης πώματος ἀκράτου καὶ πολλοῦ σπᾶσαι.—De Post. Caini 1. 252 ἀκράτου σοφίας.—Quod Det. Pot. Insid. 1. 194 ἐλευθέρου σπᾶσαι τοῦ καρτερίας πνεύματος.—De Pl. Noe 1. 335 Τούτου τοῦ γανώματος ἀκράτου τις σπάσας, ὁ τοῦ Μωσέως δὲ θιασώτης, ὃς οὐχὶ τῶν ἀμελημένων ἦν, ἐν ὑμνῳδίαις ἀνεφθέγξατο πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον νοῦν φάσκων· 'Κατατρύφησον τοῦ κυρίου' [Psalm 37 (36). 4], παρακεκινημένος πρὸς τὸν οὐράνιον καὶ θεῖον ἔρωτα τῇ φωνῇ, τὰς μὲν τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ φαινομένοις ἀνθρωπίνοις ἀγαθοῖς χλιδὰς καὶ θρύψεις δυσχεράνας, ὅλον δὲ τὸν νοῦν ὑπὸ θείας κατοχῆς συναρπασθεὶς οἴστρῳ καὶ ἐνευφραινόμενος μόνῳ θεῷ.—V. M. 2. 83 σπάσασα εὐνοίας.—V. M. 2. 121 ὥσπερ οὐχ ὕδατος, ἀλλ' ἀκράτου σπάσαντες τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνεχύθησαν, ὑπό τε εὐφροσύνης καὶ χαρᾶς ᾄσμα καινὸν οἱ θεοφιλεῖς χοροὺς περὶ τὸ φρέαρ ἐν κύκλῳ στήσαντες ᾖδον εἰς τὸν κληροῦχον θεὸν καὶ τὸν ἀληθῶς ἡγεμόνα τῆς ἀποικίας.—De Pr. et Poen. 2. 428 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πολὺν ἄκρατον σπάσας τῆς εὐεργέτιδος τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως καὶ λόγων ἱερῶν καὶ δογμάτων ἐστιαθείς.—De Profugis 1. 571 σοφίαν, ἄνωθεν ὀμβρηθεῖσαν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ, ἧς

902 P. νυνται καὶ γίνονται χορὸς εἷς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν, μίμημα τοῦ M. 485
πάλαι συστάντος κατὰ τὴν ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν, ἕνεκα
τῶν θαυματουργηθέντων ἐκεῖ. Τὸ γὰρ πέλαγος προσ-
τάξει θεοῦ τοῖς μὲν σωτηρίας αἴτιον, | τοῖς δὲ πανολε- 15
θρίας γίνεται. Ῥαγέντος μὲν γὰρ καὶ βιαίοις ἀνακοπαῖς

χορὸς Arm.: χορὸς εἷς codd.: χορὸς Turn., et om. εἷς 15. πανολεθρίας A: πανωλεθρίας cett. 16. γὰρ om. β || ἀνασυρέντος B: 'hic illic

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ἀκράτου σπάσας εἱστιάθη καὶ διετελέσθη μεθύων τὴν μεθ' ὀρθότητος λόγου νήφουσαν μέθην.

11. V. M. 2. 159 Εἶτα χρυσοῦν ταῦρον κατασκευασάμενοι, μίμημα τοῦ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἱερωτάτου ζῴου δοκοῦντος εἶναι θυσίας ἀθύτους ἀνήγαγον, καὶ χόρους ἀχορεύτους ἵστασαν, ὕμνους τε ᾠδον θρήνων οὐδὲν διαφέροντας καὶ ἐμφορηθέντες ἀκράτου διπλῆ μεθῇ κατέσχοντο, τῇ μὲν ἐξ οἴνου, τῇ δὲ καὶ ἀφροσύνης, κωμάζοντές τε καὶ πανυχίζοντες.

13. V. M. 2. 92 τὸ τεράστιον τοῦτο καὶ τεθαυματουργημένον δείξας ὁ θεὸς τῷ Μωϋσεῖ.

14. De Agric. 1. 315 ἕτερος αἴτιος σωτηρίας γενόμενος.

15. V. M. 2. 98 Ἄρχεται μὲν γὰρ [sc. πλημμύρων ὁ πόταμος] ἐπιβαίνειν θέρους ἐνισταμένου, λήγει δὲ λήγοντος, ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ καὶ οἱ ἐτησίαι καταρράττουσιν ἐξ ἐναντίας τῶν τοῦ Νείλου στομάτων, δι' ὧν ἔτι κωλυόμενος ἐκχεῖσθαι, τῆς θαλάσσης ὑπὸ βίας τῶν ἀνέμων πρὸς ὕψος αἰρομένης καὶ τὰς τρικυμίας ὥσπερ μακρὸν τεῖχος ἀποτεινούσης, ἐντὸς εἰλεῖται· κἄπειτα τῶν ῥείθρων ὑπαντιαζόντων, τοῦ τε κατιόντος ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν καὶ τοῦ θύραζε χωρεῖν ὀφείλοντος ταῖς ἀνακοπαῖς ἀνατρέχοντος, εὑρύνεσθαί τε μὴ δυναμένων, αἱ γὰρ παρ' ἑκάτερα ἐκθλίβουσιν ὄχθαι, μετεωριζόμενος ὡς εἰκὸς ἐπιβαίνει.—V. M. 2. 109 Προσταχθεὶς δὲ Μωϋσῆς τῇ βακτηρίᾳ παίει τὴν θάλασσαν. Ἡ δὲ ῥαγεῖσα διΐσταται, καὶ τῶν τμημάτων τὰ μὲν πρὸς τῷ ῥαγέντι μέρει μετέωρα πρὸς ὕψος ἐξαίρεται, καὶ παγέντα τρόπον τείχους κραταιῶς ἠρέμει καὶ ἡσύχαζε, τὰ δὲ ὀπίσω σταλέντα καὶ χαλινωθέντα τὴν εἰς τὸ πρόσω φορὰν καθάπερ ἡνίαις ἀφανέσιν ἀνεχαιτίζετο, τὸ δὲ μεσαίτατον, καθ' ὃ ἡ ῥῆξις ἐγένετο, ἀναξηρανθὲν ὁδὸς εὐρεῖα καὶ λεωφόρος γίνεται. Τοῦτο ἰδὼν Μωϋσῆς καὶ θαυμάσας ἐγεγήθει, καὶ πληρωθεὶς χαρᾶς ἐθάρσυνε τοὺς ἰδίους καὶ ᾗ τάχιστα προὔτρεπεν ἀναζευγνύναι. Περαιοῦσθαι δὲ μελλόντων σημεῖον ἐπιγίνεται τερατωδέστατον. Ἡ γὰρ ὁδηγὸς νεφέλη, πρωτοστατοῦσα τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, ἀνακάμπτει πρὸς τὰ οὐραῖα τοῦ πλήθους, ὅπως ὀπισθοφυλακῇ, καὶ ταχθεῖσα μεθόριος τῶν διωκόντων καὶ τῶν διωκομένων τοὺς μὲν ἡνιοχοῦσα σωτηρίως καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ἐπήλαυνε, τοὺς δὲ ἀνεῖργε καὶ ἀνέκρουεν, ἐφορμᾶν ἐπειγομένους. Ἅπερ ὁρῶντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι θορύβου καὶ ταραχῆς πάντα ἐπλήρουν τάς τε τάξεις ὑπὸ δέους συνέχεον ἐπεμπίπτοντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ ζητοῦντες ἤδη φυγεῖν, ὅτε οὐδὲν ἦν ὄφελος. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἑβραῖοι διὰ ξηρᾶς ἀτραποῦ περὶ βαθὺν ὄρθρον μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων ἔτι κομιδῇ νηπίων περαιοῦνται· τοὺς δὲ τὰ τμήματα τοῦ πελάγους ἑκατέρωθεν ἐπικυλισθέντα καὶ ἐνωθέντα αὐτοῖς ἅρμασι καὶ ἵπποις καταποντοῖ, βορείοις πνεύμασι τῆς παλιρροίας ἀναχυθείσης καὶ μετεώροις τρικυμίαις ἐπιδραμούσης, ὡς μηδὲ πυρφύρον ὑπολειφθῆναι τὸν ἀπαγγελοῦντα τοῖς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τὰς αἰφνιδίους

902 P. ὑποσυρέντος καὶ ἑκατέρωθεν ἐξ ἐναντίας οἷα τειχῶν M. 485
παγέντων, τὸ μεθόριον διάστημα εἰς λεωφόρον ὁδὸν καὶ
ξηρὰν πᾶσιν ἀνατμηθὲν εὐρύνετο, δι' ἧς ὁ λεὼς ἐπέζευ-

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congregato' uertit Arm.: *ὑποσυρέντος* cett. codd. et edd. 17. *παγέντων* ubi γ ex aliqua litera corr. man. sec. C || *τεῖχος παγέντος* (sic; at pr. man. corr. *παγέντων*) P 19. *πᾶσιν* Arm.: *πᾶσαν* codd. et edd. || *εὐρύνετο** C: om. P, sed signum lacunae || *δι' οὗ* P ||

συμφορᾶς. Τὸ *μέγα τοῦτο καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἔργον Ἑβραῖοι καταπλαγέντες ἀναιμωτὶ νίκην οὐκ ἐλπισθεῖσαν ἤραντο, καὶ κατιδόντες ἐν ἀκαρεῖ φθορὰν ἀθρόαν πολεμίων* δύο χορούς, *τὸν μὲν ἀνδρῶν, τὸν δὲ γυναικῶν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἠϊόνος στήσαντες* εὐχαριστικοὺς ὕμνους εἰς *τὸν θεὸν ᾠδὸν, ἐξάρχοντος μὲν Μωυσέως* τοῖς *ἀνδράσιν, ἀδελφῆς δὲ τούτου ταῖς γυναιξίν· ἡγεμόνες γὰρ οὗτοι τῶν χορῶν ἐγένοντο.* —V. M. 2. 174 Καὶ *ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἀπεφθέγγετο* μείζονα *ὄντα πάσης* ἐλπίδος. *Οἱ δὲ ἐπειρῶντο ἔργοις τῆς περὶ τὸ λόγιον ἀληθείας. Ἀπέβαινε γὰρ τὰ χρησθέντα θείαις δυνάμεσι μύθων ἀπιστότερα·* ῥῆξις θαλάσσης, *ἀναχώρησις ἑκατέρου* τμήματος, πῆξις *τῶν κατὰ τὸ* ῥαγὲν *μέρος διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βάθους κυμάτων, ἵνα ἀντὶ* τειχῶν *ᾖ κραταιοτάτων, εὐθυτενὴς ἀνατομὴ τῆς μεγαλουργηθείσης* ὁδοῦ *ἡ τῶν κρυσταλλωθέντων* μεθόριος *ἦν, ὁδοιπορία τοῦ ἔθνους ἀκινδύνως* πεζεύοντος *διὰ θαλάσσης ὡς ἐπὶ* ξηρᾶς *ἀτραποῦ καὶ λιθώδους ἐδάφους — ἐκραυρώθη γὰρ ἡ ψάμμος, καὶ ἡ σπορὰς αὐτῆς οὐσία συμφυεῖσα ἠνώθη — ἐχθρῶν ἀπνευστὶ διωκόντων ἐφόρμησις, σπευδόντων ἐπ' οἰκεῖον ὄλεθρον, νεφέλης ὀπισθοφύλακος ἡνιόχησις ἐν ᾗ θεία τις ὄψις πυρὸς αὐγὴν ἀπαστράπτουσα ἦν, πελαγῶν ἃ τέως ἀνακοπέντα* διειστήκει παλλίρροια, *τοῦ* διακοπέντος *καὶ ἀναξηρανθέντος μέρους αἰφνίδιος θαλάττωσις, πολεμίων φθοραὶ οὓς τότε κρυσταλλωθέντα* τείχη *καὶ ἀνατραπέντα κατεύνασεν, καὶ αἱ πλημμύραι τοῦ πελάγους ὥσπερ εἰς φάραγγα τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπενεχθεῖσαι* κατέκλυσαν, *ἐπίδειξις τῆς φθορᾶς διὰ τῶν ὑπαναπλευσάντων σωμάτων ἃ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ πελάγους κατεστόρεσε, καὶ σφοδρὰ κυμάτωσις ὑφ' ἧς πάντες οἱ νεκροὶ σωρηδὸν ἀνεβράσθησαν εἰς τοὺς ἀντιπέραν αἰγιαλούς, ἀναγκαία θέα γενησόμενοι τοῖς διασωθεῖσιν, οἷς ἐξεγένετο μὴ μόνον τοὺς κινδύνους διαφυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιδεῖν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς οὐκ ἀνθρωπίναις ἀλλὰ θείαις δυνάμεσι* παντὸς λόγου μείζονα *κολασθέντας. Διόπερ εἰκότως* εὐχαρίστοις ὕμνοις *γεραίρει τὸν εὐεργέτην.* Εἰς *γὰρ δύο χοροὺς διανείμας τὸ ἔθνος,* τὸν μὲν ἀνδρῶν, *τὸν δὲ γυναικῶν, ἐξάρχει μὲν αὐτὸς τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἔξαρχον δὲ καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν καθίστησι τὴν ἀδελφήν, ἵνα ᾄδωσιν* ὕμνους *εἰς τὸν πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν ἀντιφθόγγοις ἁρμονίαις συνηχοῦντες, διά τε κράσεως ἠθῶν καὶ* μέλους, *τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν σπευδόντων ἀμοιβήν, τοῦ δὲ συνισταμένου κατὰ τὴν* βαρύτητος *πρὸς ὀξύτητα συμφωνίαν· φθόγγοι γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἀνδρῶν* βαρεῖς, *ὀξεῖς δὲ οἱ γυναικῶν, ἐξ ὧν ὅταν ἡ κρᾶσις γένηται σύμμετρος, ἥδιστον καὶ παναρμόνιον ἀποτελεῖται μέλος. Τὰς δὲ τοσαύτας μυριάδας ἔπεισεν ὁμογνωμονῆσαι, τὸν αὐτὸν ὕμνον ἐν ταὐτῷ συνᾴδειν, τὰ τεράστια ἐκεῖνα καὶ μεγαλουργηθέντα, περὶ ὧν ὀλίγῳ πρότερον διεξῆλθον. Ἐφ' οἷς ὁ προφήτης γεγηθώς, ὁρῶν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἔθνους περιχάρειαν, οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἔτι χωρῶν τὴν ἡδονήν,* κατῆρχε *τῆς ᾠδῆς· οἱ δὲ ἀκούοντες εἰς* δύο χορούς *διαιρεθέντας τοὺς λεχθέντας* συν�ᾖδον.

902 P. σεν | ἄχρι τῆς ἀντιπέραν ἠπείρου, πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα M. 485, 20
παραπεμφθείς· ἐπιδραμούσαις δὲ ταῖς παλιρροίαις, καὶ
τῆς μὲν ἔνθεν, τῆς δὲ ἔνθεν εἰς τὸ χερσωθὲν ἔδαφος
ἀναχυθείσης, οἱ ἐπακολουθήσαντες τῶν πολεμίων κατα-
κλυσθέντες διαφθείρονται. Τοῦτο | καὶ ἰδόντες καὶ 25
παθόντες, ὃ λόγου καὶ ἐννοίας καὶ ἐλπίδος μεῖζον ἔργον
ἦν, ἐνθουσιῶντές τε ἄνδρες ὁμοῦ καὶ γυναῖκες, εἷς γενό-
μενοι χορός, τοὺς εὐχαριστηρίους ὕμνους εἰς τὸν σωτῆρα

ὁ λαὸς P ‖ ἐπέζευσεν Arm. AβγOQ: ἐπέζευξεν P edd. 20. ἀντι-
πέραν A: ἀντιπέρας cett. codd. et edd. 21. ἐπιδραμούσαις A:
ἐπιδραμόντος βγOPQ edd.: ἐπιδραμόντες EM 22. καὶ om. Arm. ‖
τῆς μὲν . . . τῆς δὲ A: τοῦ μὲν . . . τοῦ δὲ βγOPQ edd. ‖ ἔνθα . . . ἔνθα β
23. ἔδαφος fortasse om. Arm. ‖ ἀναχυθείσης A: ἀναχυθέντος BγOP
edd.: ἀναχθέντος Q: ἀναχυθέντα EM 24. τοῦτο Arm.: τοῦτο καὶ
AβγOP edd.: τοῦτο δὲ Q 25. ὃ Arm. A: ὃ καὶ cett. codd. et edd.
26. ἔργον ἦν om. P ‖ ἦν om. Arm. ‖ καὶ ἐνθουσ. Arm., nisi forte
ἐνθουσ. τε legerit quod parum probabile est ‖ τε ἄνδρες AβOPQ:
ἄνδρες γ edd. 27. ὁμοῦ om. Arm. ‖ εἷς χορὸς γενόμενοι Arm. ‖
γινόμενοι P: γενόμενος CKL: γενόμενοι Arm. ceterique ‖ τοὺς εὐχαρισ-
τηρίους Arm. AγOPQ: τοὺς τῆς εὐχαριστίας β 28. σωτῆρα om. γ ‖

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21. De Somn. 1. 674 κατὰ τὰς ἐκεῖ παλιρροίας ἐπιδρομάς.—De Somn. 1. 690 φορούμενος ὥσπερ ἐν κατακλυσμῷ καὶ κατασυρόμενος ταῖς τῶν ἐπιρρεόντων διὰ τοῦ νεκροφορουμένου σώματος δίναις ἐπαλλήλοις.

25. De Ab. 2. 10 τὴν παντὸς λόγου κρείττονα πολιτείαν.

27. V. M. 2. 172 οἱ γὰρ ἀστέρες εἰς γενόμενοι χορὸς ᾄσονται τί μέλος ἐπάξιον; —De Agric. 1. 312 Στρατὸς δὲ θεῖος αἱ ἀρεταί, φιλοθέων ὑπέρμαχοι ψυχῶν, αἷς, ἐπειδὰν ἴδωσι τὸν ἀντίπαλον ἡττημένον, ἁρμόττει πάγκαλον καὶ πρεπωδέστατον ὕμνον ᾄδειν τῷ νικηφόρῳ καὶ καλλινίκῳ θεῷ. Δύο δὲ χοροί, ὁ μὲν τῆς ἀνδρωνίτιδος, ὁ δὲ τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ἑστίας, στάντες ἄντηχον καὶ ἀντίφωνον ἀναμέλψουσιν ἁρμονίαν· χρήσεται δ' ὁ μὲν τῶν ἀνδρῶν χορὸς ἡγεμόνι Μωσεῖ, νῷ τελείῳ, ὁ δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν, Μαριάμ, αἰσθήσει κεκαθαρμένῃ [Exod. 15. 20]. Δίκαιον γὰρ καὶ νοητῶς καὶ αἰσθητῶς τοὺς εἰς τὸ θεῖον ὕμνους καὶ εὐδαιμονισμοὺς ἀνυπερθέτως ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τῶν ὀργάνων ἐμμελῶς κρούειν ἑκάτερον, τό τε νοῦ καὶ αἰσθήσεως, ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ μόνου σωτῆρος εὐχαριστίᾳ καὶ τιμῇ. Τὴν γοῦν παράλιον ᾠδὴν ᾄδουσι μὲν πάντες ἄνδρες, οὐ μὴν τυφλῇ διανοίᾳ, ἀλλ' ὀξὺ καθορῶντες, Μωσέως ἐξάρχοντος· ᾄδουσι δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἄρισται, τῷ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐγγεγραμμέναι πολιτεύματι, Μαριὰμ ἀφηγουμένης αὐταῖς.

28. De Mig. Ab. 1. 455 ὁ σωτὴρ θεός, τὸ πανακέστατον φάρμακον, τὴν ἵλεω δύναμιν, τῷ ἱκέτῃ καὶ θεραπευτῇ προτείνας ἑαυτοῦ.

902 P. *θεὸν ἦδον, ἐξάρχοντος τοῖς μὲν ἀνδράσι Μωϋσέως τοῦ* M. 485
προφήτου, | ταῖς δὲ γυναιξὶ Μαριὰμ τῆς προφήτιδος. 30
Τούτῳ μάλιστα ἀπεικονισθεὶς ὁ τῶν θεραπευτῶν καὶ θεραπευτρίδων, μέλεσιν ἀντήχοις καὶ ἀντιφώνοις πρὸς βαρὺν ἦχον τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὁ γυναικῶν ὀξὺς ἀνακιρνάμενος

θεὸν om O: Arm. atque cett. retinent || *ἦδον*] *εἶδον* pr. man. A 29. *τοῖς μὲν*] *μὲν τοῖς β* || Μωσέως Arm. A plerique: Μωυσέως CK || *τοῦ προφήτου* om. A: Arm. et cett. retinent 31. *τούτοις* Arm.: *τούτῳ* codd. gr. et edd. 32. *καὶ θεραπευτρίδων* AβγOQ: *τούτων χορός* Arm.: *καὶ ὁ τῶν θεραπαινίδων* P 33. *ἀντιφωνο*ς* C || *βαρὺν* Arm. βγOPQ Mang.: *τραχὺν* A Turn. 35. *ἀπε-*

De Pl. Noe 1. 349 *ὁ εὐλογῶν τὸν θεὸν νοῦς καὶ τὰς εἰς αὐτὸν* εὐχαρίστους ὑμνῳδίας *ἀπαύστως μελετῶν.*—De Ebr. 1. 371 *τὸν* εὐχαριστικὸν ὕμνον ᾄδοντας *οὐ γεγωνῷ φωνῇ μᾶλλον ἢ διανοίᾳ, ὧν ἔξαρχος Ἰούδας.*—De Ebr. 1. 373 *τὸν* εὐχαριστικὸν ὕμνον ἐξάρχοντα.—De Ebr. 1. 376 *οἱ μὲν οὖν κατ' ἰσχὺν καὶ δύναμιν* ἔξαρχοι καὶ ἡγεμόνες *τοῦ τὸν ἐπινίκιον καὶ* εὐχαριστικὸν ὕμνον ᾄδοντος χοροῦ.—De Sacrificant. 2. 253 ὕμνοις *καὶ* εὐχαριστίαις *τὸν εὐεργέτην καὶ* σωτῆρα θεὸν *γεραίροντες.*—De Sac. Ab. et C. 1. 177 *τὸν μόνον* σωτῆρα θεόν. —De Confus. 1. 418 *πρὸς τὸν μόνον* σωτῆρα θεὸν *ἐκβοήσῃ.*—De Mig. Ab. 1. 440 *φησὶ γὰρ μετὰ σπουδῆς δεῖν θύειν τὸ* Πάσχα [Exod. 12. 11], *τὸ δ' ἔστιν ἑρμηνευθὲν διάβασις, ἵνα ἀνενδοιάστῳ γνώμῃ καὶ προθυμίᾳ συντόνῳ χρώμενος ὁ νοῦς τήν τε ἀπὸ τῶν παθῶν* ἀμεταστρεπτὶ *ποιῆται διάβασιν εἰς τὴν πρὸς τὸν* σωτῆρα θεὸν εὐχαριστίαν, *ὃς εἰς ἐλευθερίαν οὐ προσδοκήσαντα αὐτὸν ἐξείλετο.*

29. De Sac. Ab. et C. 1. 189 *τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ* προφήτην *καὶ φίλον τοῦ θεοῦ* Μωϋσῆν.—Leg. Alleg. 1. 121 *ἡ ψυχὴ γανωθεῖσα . . . διδάσκεται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱεροφάντου καὶ* προφήτου Μωϋσέως.—De Profugis 1. 567 *καὶ Φαραὼ ζητῶν* ἀνελεῖν Μωϋσῆν, *τὸ* προφητικὸν *γένος, οὐδέποτε εὑρήσει.*—De Pr. et Poen. 2. 408 *τοῦ* προφήτου Μωϋσέως.—Qu. in Gen. Sermo iv. § 8 archi*propheta* et archangelus *Moyses.*

31. De Pr. et Poen. 2. 418 ἀπεικόνισμα *καὶ μίμημα τοῦ ζῳδιακοῦ κύκλου.*

34. De Congr. 1. 530 *καὶ ἐγέννησα ἐξ αὐτῆς διατονικά, χρώματα καὶ* ἐναρμόνια, *συνημμένα, διεζευγμένα* μέλη, *τῆς διὰ τεττάρων, τῆς διὰ πέντε, τῆς διὰ πασῶν συμφωνίας ἐχόμενα.*—Quis Rerum 1. 511 *τέχνῃ δ' ἀοράτῳ καὶ παμμούσῳ ταῦτα κρούων εὔηχα καὶ* παναρμόνια *καὶ γέμοντα* συμφωνίας *τῆς πάσης* ἀποτελεῖ.— De Ebr. 1. 375 *σύμφωνον δέ, ὅταν οἱ τῆς ἀνδρείας καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς τόνοι πάντες ἀνακραθέντες ἐν εὐάρμοστον ἀπογεννήσωσι μέλος.*—Qu. in Gen. Sermo ii. § 55 *ἡ δὲ φύσις συνέστηκεν ὥσπερ* ἁρμονία *ἐξ ἐναντίων φωνῶν, τῆς τε* βαρείας *καὶ τῆς* ὀξείας, *οὕτω καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἐξ ἐναντίων* [translated from the Armenian]. —Leg. Alleg. 1. 46 *κατά τε μουσικὴν ἡ ἑπτάχορδος, λύρα πάντων σχεδὸν ὀργάνων ἀρίστη, διότι τὸ* ἐναρμόνιον, *ὃ δὴ τῶν μελῳδουμένων γενῶν, ἐστι τὸ σεμνότατον, κατ' αὐτὴν μάλιστά πως θεωρεῖται.*—Qu. in Gen. Sermo iv. § 110 Itidem de

903 P. ἐναρμόνιον συμφωνίαν ἀποτελεῖ | καὶ μουσικὴν ὄντως. M. 485, 35
Πάγκαλα μὲν τὰ νοήματα, πάγκαλοι δὲ αἱ λέξεις, σεμνοὶ δὲ οἱ χορευταί. Τὸ δὲ τέλος τῶν νοημάτων καὶ τῶν λέξεων καὶ τῶν χορευτῶν εὐσέβεια. Μεθυσθέντες οὖν ἄχρι πρωΐας τὴν καλὴν ταύτην μέθην, οὐ | καρη- 40
βαροῦντες ἢ καταμύοντες, ἀλλὰ διεγηγερμένοι μᾶλλον ἢ ὅτε παρεγένοντο εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον, τάς τε ὄψεις καὶ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα πρὸς τὴν ἕω στάντες, ἐπὰν θεάσωνται τὸν ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα, τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείναντες εἰς οὐ-

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τέλει Arm. || ὄντως μ. tr. Arm. || μὲν] add. ἦν Arm. 36. pr. δὲ om. Arm. || λέξεις codd. gr. et edd.: φωναί Arm. sed suspicor esse corruptam 37. τέλος τῶν Arm. P: τέλος καὶ τῶν cett. codd. et edd. 38. θεραπευτῶν pro χορευτῶν P || εὐσέβεια Arm. AγOPQ Turn.: ἡ εὐσέβεια β Mang. 40. διαγηγερμένοι A 41. ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον legisse Armenus uidetur 42. καὶ ὅλον Arm. AγOPQ: ἢ ὅλον BM 43. ἀνίσχοντα om. Arm.:, ἀνείσχονται τὰς E || ἐπανατείναντες EM 44. εἰς

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istis nouem distinctionibus disponit ipse deus uerbum, *harmoniae* dux princepsque, a quo nouem partes musicae concinnatae sunt et concinentes *cantici* tenore sonant simul. Quare decadem sanctam fatetur Moses: naturaliter utique nonam creationi relinquens et decadem dei uerbo. Et reuera sancta diuinaque personat, uocem illam remissionis celebrans tamquam in *canticis* ex *contrariis sonis oppositisque uocibus*, ita *ut coalescat harmoniae in unum et idem commixtura.*

35. De Poenit. 2. 407 **παγκάλη** γε τῆς αἱρέσεως ἡ ἀντίδοσις, σπεύδοντος ἀνθρώπου μὲν θεραπεύειν θεόν.—cp. V. M. 2. 179 ad Pag. 483. 43 iam laudatam.

38. De Profugis 1. 550 **νηφάλια μεθυσθήσῃ**.—De Profugis 1. 571 εὗρε σοφίαν . . . ἧς ἀκράτου σπάσας εἱστιάθη καὶ διετελέσθη μεθύων τὴν μετ' ὀρθότητος λόγου **νήφουσαν μέθην**.—Q. O. P. L. 2. 447 σοφία συγκλείει μὲν οὐδέποτε τὸ ἑαυτῆς φροντιστήριον, ἀναπεπταμένη δὲ ἀεὶ εἰσδέχεται τοὺς ποτίμων διψῶντας λόγων, οἷς ἀκράτου διδασκαλίας ἄφθονον ἐπαντλοῦσα νᾶμα, μεθύειν τὴν **νηφάλιον** ἀναπείθει **μέθην**.—V. M. 2. 110 **μεθύοντες** οὐ τὴν ἐν οἴνῳ **μέθην**, ἀλλὰ τὴν **νηφάλιον**, ἣν ἠκρατίσαντο τὰς προπύσεις λαβόντες παρὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας τοῦ προεστῶτος ἄρχοντος.—Leg. Alleg. 1. 60 τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἐξομολογητικῷ οἰκεία χροιὰ ἡ τοῦ ἄνθρακος, πεπύρωται γὰρ ἐν εὐχαριστίᾳ θεοῦ καὶ **μεθύει** τὴν **νήφουσαν μέθην**.

40. De Somn. 1. 645 **καμμύσαντες** τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμα.—De Sobr. 1. 392 φέρε μόνον τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμα ὅλον ἰσχῦσαι δι' ὅλων διοιχθῆναι καὶ μηδὲν οἷα ὑπὸ ῥεύματος συγχυθῆναι μέρος ἢ **καταμύσαι**.—De Mig. Ab. 1. 466 τάς τε γὰρ ὄψεις **καταμύουσι**.—De Congr. 1. 531 ἔτι νυστάζοντος καὶ ὡς ἐν ὕπνῳ βαθεῖ **καταμεμυκότος**.—V. M. 2. 123 καθάπερ οἴνῳ καὶ μέθῃ **καρηβαροῦν**.

903 P. ρανόν, εὐημερίαν καὶ ἀλήθειαν ‖ ἐπεύχονται καὶ ὀξυ- M. 486
ωπίαν λογισμοῦ. Καὶ μετὰ τὰς εὐχὰς εἰς τὰ ἑαυτῶν
ἕκαστος σεμνεῖα ἀναχωροῦσιν, πάλιν τὴν συνήθη φιλο-
σοφίαν ἐμπορευσόμενοι καὶ γεωργήσοντες. Θεραπευτῶν|
μὲν δὴ πέρι τοσαῦτα, θεωρίαν ἀσπασαμένων φύσεως
καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ψυχῇ μόνῃ βιωσάντων, οὐρανοῦ
μὲν καὶ κόσμου πολιτῶν, τῷ δὲ πατρὶ καὶ ποιητῇ τῶν

τὸν οὐρανόν β ‖ τὴν ἀληθῆ εὐημερίαν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν Arm. 2. *εἰς τὸ . . . σεμνεῖον ἀναχ.* P ‖ *ἑαυτῶν* Arm.: *ἑαυτοῦ* codd. et edd. 3. *σεμνεῖα ἀναχωροῦσιν* AγEM: *χωροῦσι σεμνεῖα* B: *συγγενεῖα ἀναχ.* Q 4. *ἐμπορευσόμ.* ex *ἐμπορευσάμ.* corr. man. rec. Q ‖ ? om. *καὶ γεωργ.* Arm. 5. ante *θεωρίαν* forsan add. *τῶν* Arm. 6. post *φύσεως* add., sed post *αὐτῇ* tulit comma Turn. 7. *βιωσάντων* codd. et edd.: *θεωρησάντων* Arm. 8. *καὶ ποιητῇ* om. P: Arm.

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1. De Confus. 1. 418 *ὁ ψυχῆς ὀφθαλμὸς ὁ διαυγέστατος καὶ καθαρώτατος καὶ πάντων ὀξυωπέστατος.*—De Fortit. 2. 377 *φρόνησις . . . ἐνομματοῦσα διάνοιαν. ἡ πρὸς ὀξυωπίαν τῶν τοῦ σώματος ὀφθαλμῶν ὅλῳ φασὶ καὶ τῷ παντὶ διενήνοχεν.* —De Hum. 2. 401 *τὸ μέλλον ὥσπερ ἀπὸ σκοπῆς μακρόθεν ὀξυωπίᾳ λογισμοῦ καθορᾶσθαι.*

3. De Mig. Ab. 1. 447 *ἐπὶ τῆς συνήθους ἠρεμίας στῆναι.*

4. *ἐμπορευσόμενοι*] De Congr. 1. 535 '*Λαμβάνει δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐκείνου,*' *δῆλον, ὡς οὐκ ἄργυρον οὐδὲ χρυσόν τινα ἢ ἄλλο τῶν ἐν ὕλαις φθαρταῖς — τὴν γὰρ ἀγαθοῦ πρόσρησιν οὐδέποτε τούτοις ἐπεφήμισε Μωϋσῆς—ἀλλὰ τὰ γνήσια, ἃ δὴ ψυχῆς ἐστι μόνα, ἐφοδιάζεται καὶ ἐμπορεύεται, διδασκαλίαν, προκοπήν, σπουδήν, πόθον, ζῆλον, ἐνθουσιασμούς, προφητείας, τοῦ κατορθοῦν ἔρωτα.*—De M. M. 2. 267 *ἵνα μηδὲν ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν συμφερόντων ἀπωσάμενος ἀβούλητον ἐμπορεύσῃ κακοπραγίαν.*

De Congr. 1. 537 *τὴν γεωργηθεῖσαν ἀρετήν.*—De Iudice 2. 348 *γεωργοῦσι τὰς ψυχὰς δόγμασι καὶ θεωρήμασι.*—De Agric. 1. 303 *τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς γεωργικήν.*

6. De Ab. 2. 34 *οἱ ψυχῇ μᾶλλον ἢ σώματι ζῶντες.*—Quis Rerum 1. 484 *ἀποδημίαν ἡγούμενον ὅλον τὸν μετὰ σώματος βίον; ὁπότε δὲ δύναιτο ψυχῇ μόνῃ ζῆν.*—Quis Rerum 1. 481 *διττὸν εἶδος ἀνθρώπων, τὸ μὲν θείῳ πνεύματι καὶ λογισμῷ βιούντων, τὸ δὲ αἵματι καὶ σαρκὸς ἡδονῇ ζώντων.*—V. M. 2. 85 *γενόμενός τε διαφερόντως ἀσκητὴς ὀλιγοδείας . . . ψυχῇ γὰρ ἐπόθει μόνῃ ζῆν, οὐ σώματι.* —De Decal. 2. 190 *ψυχῇ γὰρ ζῶντες καὶ βουλευόμενοι.*

7. De Confus. 1. 421 *Μωσῆς, ὁ τὸν κόσμον ὡς ἄστυ καὶ πατρίδα οἰκήσας.* —De Gig. 1. 271 *πολιτείας τῆς παρὰ τῷ κόσμῳ τυχεῖν καὶ κοσμοπολῖται γενέσθαι.*—De Somn. 1. 657 *ὁ γὰρ οὐρανὸς καὶ κόσμος ἀνάθημα θεοῦ τοῦ πεποιηκότος τὸ ἀνάθημα· καὶ ὅσαι μέντοι κοσμοπολίτιδες ψυχαὶ καὶ θεοφιλεῖς ἑαυτὰς ἀνιεροῦσιν ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἀντισπώμεναι θνητοῦ.*

8. De Sp. Leg. 2. 331 *θεοῦ ὂν πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν ὀνομάζειν θέμις.*—Quis

903 P. ὅλων γνησίως συσταθέντων ὑπ᾽ ἀρετῆς, ἥτις φιλίαν M. 486
αὐτοῖς προυξένησεν, | οἰκειότατον γέρας καλοκἀγαθίας 10
προθεῖσα, ἁπάσης ἄμεινον εὐτυχίας, ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν ἀκρό-
τητα φθάνον εὐδαιμονίας.

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cett. retinent 9. *προυξένησεν* AP Mang. Turn.: *προὐξενήσασα* Q: *προεξένησεν* nonnulli 10. in *οἰκειότατον* desinit codex A, abrepta pagina || *γέρας καλοκἀγαθίας* Mang.: *γέρας, καλοκἀγαθίας* Turn.: *γέρας ἀνδραγαθίας* sine ullo commate Arm., recte puto || *καλοκἀγαθίαν* βγOP: *καλοκἀγαθίας* Q edd. || *προθεῖσα* Arm. βOP: *προσθεὶς* KQ Turn.: *προσθεῖσα* C (in uersu sed in marg. *προσθεὶς*) GHI Mang. 11. *ἁπάσης* βCKPQ Turn.: *πάσης* O Mang. || *ἄμεινον* BEPQ Turn. Mang.: *ἀμείνονα* γOM || *ἀκρότητα* ex *ἀκρότατα* corr. man. rec. in Q 12. *φθάνουσαν* P: *φθάνον* cett. codd. et edd. || *εὐδαιμονίας* γOPQ Arm. edd.: *ἡγεμονίας* β || ante *εὐδαιμονίας* add. *τῆς* Arm.

Rerum 1. 486 *μετανισταμένης τῆς ψυχῆς . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν αὐτοῦ.*—De Profugis 1. 572 *ὁ τῶν ὅλων ποιητὴς καὶ πατήρ.*—De P. C. [A. M. 31] *ἐπίστρεψον πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν τῶν ὅλων.*—De Ab. 2. 10 *ὅτῳ δ᾽ ἐξεγένετο . . . τὸν πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν τῶν συμπάντων ὁρᾶν, ἐπ᾽ ἄκρον εὐδαιμονίας ἵστω προεληλυθώς.*—De Confus. 1. 426 *τὸν ἕνα ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τῶν ὅλων.*—De Profugis 1. 551 *Γνωρίσθητε οὖν πρότερον τῇ κατ᾽ ἀνθρώπους ἀρετῇ, ἵνα καὶ τῇ πρὸς θεὸν συσταθῆτε.*

9. De Post. Caini 1. 240 *προξενήσας ἑαυτῷ αὐτὸς τὸν γάμον.*—De Ebr. 1. 364 *αὗται γὰρ σοφίαν τοῖς ἀδόλως καὶ καθαρῶς μνωμένοις ἀεὶ προξενοῦσιν.*—De Cherub. 2. 156 *αἱ δὲ [τέχναι] μαστροπεύουσαι καὶ προξενοῦσαι τὰς ἡδονὰς γαστρὶ καὶ τοῖς μετὰ γαστέρα ῥητορεύουσι.*

10. De Mon. 2. 225 *φυλαὶ μὲν οὖν εἰσι τοῦ ἔθνους δώδεκα, μία δὲ ἐκ πασῶν ἀριστίνδην ἐπικριθεῖσα ἱερᾶται, γέρας ἀνδραγαθίας καὶ φιλοθέου ψυχῆς.*—De Hum. 2. 384 *φίλος ἦν αὐτῷ* [sc. *Μωσεῖ*] *καὶ γνώριμος ἐκ πρώτης σχεδὸν ἡλικίας γενόμενος, Ἰησοῦς τοὔνομα, οὗ τὴν φιλίαν προυξένησεν οὐδὲν τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰωθότων, ἀλλ᾽ ἔρως οὐράνιος καὶ ἀκήρατος.*

12. V. M. 2. 85 *ὁ δὲ ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν φθάσας τὸν ὅρον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης εὐτυχίας.*—De Nobilit. 2. 444 *κἂν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν φθάσωσιν ἀκρότητα καλοκἀγαθίας, οὐδὲν ὠφεληθήσονται.*—Quod Det. Pot. Insid. 1. 204 *ἡ μὲν οὖν ἄσκησις μέσον, οὐ τέλειον· γίγνεται γὰρ ἐν οὐ τελείαις μέν, ἀκρότητος δὲ ἐφιεμέναις ψυχαῖς.*—De Poenit. 2. 405 *ὁ ἱερώτατος Μωϋσῆς προτρέπει τοὺς πανταχοῦ πάντας εὐσεβείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης εἶναι ζηλωτάς, ἆθλα προτιθεὶς ὡς νικηφόροις μεγάλα τοῖς μετανοοῦσιν· πολιτείας κοινωνίαν τῆς ἀρίστης καὶ τῶν κατ᾽ αὐτὴν ἀπόλαυσιν, μικρῶν τε καὶ μεγάλων.*

NOTE ON THE TEXT OF THE TESTIMONIA.

The above Testimonia are, as a rule, cited according to Mangey's text. But citations from certain of the Philonean treatises have been revised according to manuscript and other sources, to which the Editor has had access, as follows :—

The De Mundi Opificio is cited according to the critical edition of Dr. Leopold Cohn, Breslau, 1889.

The De Aeternitate Mundi, according to the text of Cumont's edition, Berlin, 1891.

The text of the first two books of the Allegories of the Law (Leg. Alleg.) has been checked by comparison with the Old Armenian Version.

The citations from the De Sacrificiis Abelis et Caini (De Sac. Ab. et C.) have been revised according to an early papyrus thereof recently found at Coptos, in Upper Egypt, and edited by M. U. Bouriant in the *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française*, Paris, 1893.

The citations from the Quis Rerum Diuinarum Heres have been revised according to the same papyrus.

The text used of the De Abrahamo is Mangey's, revised according to—(1) the Old Armenian Version ; (2) a Greek codex of the twelfth century, in the library of Lincoln College, Oxford ; (3) a Greek codex of the tenth century, No. 435, belonging to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris ; (4) a Greek codex of the sixteenth century in the library of New College, Oxford.

The citations from the De Iosepho and from the Uita Mosis, Books I, II, III, are revised according to the above-mentioned Lincoln College MS.

The citations from the treatise De Decem Oraculis, or De Decalogo (Mangey, 2. 180–208), have been revised according to the Old Armenian Version.

The treatise De Monarchia from p. 225 of Mangey's edition to end, the De Praemiis Sacerdotum, and the treatise De Uictimas

Offerentibus from p. 254 (εἰκότως οἶμαι) to end, are also in the Old Armenian Version, with which I have accordingly compared all citations.

Citations from the De Mercede Meretricis have been corrected according to the Egyptian papyrus already mentioned, in which this treatise is found as part of the De Sac. Ab. et C., a position to which Dr. Paul Wendland had already conjecturally referred it.

The De Special. Legibus, Lib. II, and the De Septenario (Mangey, 2. 270–298) are generally quoted according to the text given in Tischendorf's *Philonea*. The same remark applies to the treatises De Festo Cophini and De Parentibus Colendis, first edited by Angelo Mai (referred to in the Testimonia as A. M.), and re-edited more critically by Tischendorf.

The De Special. Leg. quae referuntur ad octauum, nonum et decimum (Mangey, 2. 335–344), the book De Iudice (Mangey, 2. 334–348); the books De Concupiscentia, De Iustitia, De Creatione Principum, De Fortitudine, De Caritate, and De Poenitentia (Mangey, 2. 348–407) are all contained in a Bodleian codex, Selden XII, of the eleventh century, and in all citations of these tracts I have consulted this MS., which, however, only begins at p. 306 of the De Sp. Leg. The first ten sections of the De Sp. Leg. as far as ἐπ' αὐτῷ on Mangey's p. 310, are also given in the Old Armenian Version, which I have consulted. The treatise De Fortitudine I have also collated in the Lincoln College MS. The books De Caritate and De Poenitentia I have further collated with the Paris tenth century codex No. 435.

The Quod Omnis Probus Liber I have collated with the Codex Vaticanus Palatinus, No. 248, and with Codex Laurent. Pl. x. 20 in Florence; and the Legatio ad Caium with the Paris Codex No. 435.

For the rest of the treatises of Philo I have had to content myself with Mangey's printed text.

In quoting the Fragments I have availed myself, wherever I could do so, of the collections of Professor Rendel Harris (R. H.), Cambridge, 1886; and of Dr. Paul Wendland's very valuable *Neu entdeckte Fragmenta Philos*, Berlin, 1891. I trust that the labour spent in collating the oldest Oxford and Paris codices of Philo may have given the text of my Testimonia, so far as it rests on them, something better than the merely provisional character which the text of the rest must bear in the absence of a better text than that of Thomas Mangey.

THE OLD LATIN VERSION.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

1. The Basle edition of 1527.
2. The preface of the editor Sichardus.
3. The Paris edition of 1520.
4. The date of the version of the D.U.C. can be fixed by reference to the accompanying version of the Quaestiones in Genesin, which is by the same hand.
5. Grounds for determining the date of the latter version.
6. Possible use of the Latin text of the Quaestiones by Ambrose of Milan.
7. Net result of the discussion to date the Old Latin Version between A.D. 300 and 400.
8. Other Latin versions of the D.U.C.

1. The Old Latin Version of the De Uita Contemplatiua was first published at Paris in the year 1520, and again, but from different manuscripts, at Basle in the year 1527. The latter edition contains the better text, so we will describe it before the other. The title-page informs us that it was printed Basileae per Adamum Petrum, mense Augusto, Anno MDXXVII, and subjoins the following Table of Contents, viz.:—

Philonis Iudaei Alexandrini libri—
Antiquitatum
Quaestionum et Solutionum in Genesin
De Essaeis
De Nominibus Hebraicis
De Mundo.

2. These are prefaced in the volume by the catalogue made by Hieronymus of Philo's writings, and by a dedication by Joannes Sichardus, the editor, of his work Nobilibus atque omni laudis genere cumulatissimis sodalibus ecclesiae Fuldensis. In this dedication, after citing the opinion of Budaeus that the work De Mundo is not Philonean, he proceeds to comment on the condition of the text of Philo's Quaestiones and De Essaeis as follows: Aut malimus eam culpam in exemplaria reicere, cum quibus ita sumus profecto conflictati, ut uix crediderim in multis domandis monstris ipsi Herculi plus fuisse exhauriendum laboris. Etenim dum primo bellum ueluti cum librariorum inscitia suscipimus, per se, ut aliud nihil accedat aliunde, et difficile, et plenum discriminis, ei praesertim qui religiose in ueteribus illis uersari semel constituerit, tum occurrunt quaedam tam affectatae et ambitiosae deprauationis, ut quo magis annitare, hoc minus minusque efficias, et quo pluribus locis manum apponas laturus auxilium, hoc desperatiora relinquas. Cuiusmodi mihi pleraque sunt uisa, quae cum nos diu multumque uarie distraxissent, dum uidelicet hoc agimus, ut lucem aliquam autori afferamus, ut sensimus tandem nihil procedere, et exemplaria, quorum duo habuimus, tam constanter, tamque ex composito mendas suas tueri, consilium quod mutandorum quorundam coeperamus plane abiecimus, imitati id quod utrumque exemplar haberet, quae tamen ita erant inter se similia, ut nec ouum diceres ouo magis, ut dubium mihi non esset, quin ex altero esset alterum descriptum, utcunque magno loci interuallo dissita. Quippe attuleramus commodum illud Fuldense uestrum, cum antea ex Laurissensi caenobio impetrassemus peruetustum quidem illud, et quod nobis felicissimae editionis magnam spem fecerat, sed progressos paullulum non modo foede destituit, sed effecit, ut praeproperae nos editionis plurimum poeniteret. Nam eiusmodi rerum difficultas, ubi sedulitati atque vigiliis, quibus sane non pepercimus, nihil relinqueret loci, et in hoc res esset haud obscura iam, ut non solum nostra esset nobis subeunda culpa, sed et scribarum, dedimus operam ut ab exemplaribus quam minimum discederemus; ut sicuti fortasse exstaret aliud exemplar, id quod tum inaudieramus, eius collatione nostra, quae rudia et inchoata nobis exciderant uerius, quam quod sint emissa, absoluerentur. Quid enim facias potius, ubi in alteram sit nolenti uolenti partem peccandum? Maluimus sane in eam, quae praecipitatae nos faceret editionis reos, quam quae uel studiorum incommodo

dilatae. Neque enim quorundam placuit exemplum, qui non modo nouum in annum optimos autores premunt, id quod nonnunquam Horatius fieri censet oportere, sed integras aetates, magno, ut mihi quidem uidetur, famae precio, siquidem ad eam tanto malo eruditorum grassantur. Porro quod Eusebius Caesariensis nominatim quaedam ecclesiasticae suae historiae libro secundo citat ex Philonis libro, qui inscribitur *περὶ βίου θεωρητικοῦ ἱκετῶν*, id est, de uita supplicum, sic enim Rufinus uertit, eum esse librum nihil ambigimus, quem nos de Essaeis inscripsimus, ad quod cum alia quaedam non contemnenda nos adducerent, tum uero maxime quae istic de Zemnio, monasteriis, hymnis ueterum cultorum, sic enim initio appellabant, quos paulopost Christianos legimus uocatos. Adde etiam quod ad uerbum magnam totius libri partem recenset. Sed cur repudiato eo quod primo Caesariensis, deinde Hieronymi autoritas suadebat, maluerimus Essaeis inscribere, in causa fuit ille exemplariorum consensus, et ipse libri ingressus, quo se de Essaeis scripturum ex confesso praefatur. Principio quidem mendae suspicio in exemplaribus Hieronymi nobis in mentem uenerat, quam etiam confirmabat Tritemius in suo catalogo, qui non Iudaeis, ut Hieronymus, sed Ideis legit, ut crederemus oportere Essaeis legi. Sed cum Caesariensis Eusebius esset inspectus diligentius, aliud omnino persuasit . . . . . .

Sichardus concludes his rather tedious remarks with the hope that some day an edition of these books, if not more complete, at least more emended will appear.

The rendering of the De Nominibus in this volume is by Hieronymus, that of the De Mundo by Budaeus, that of the Biblicarum Antiquitatum is headed incerto auctore.

The Quaestionum et Solutionum in Genesin Liber is not specified by Sichardus as the work of any translator in particular. It breaks off exactly where the Armenian Version of the Quaestiones in Genesin ends; and at the close of it, on p. 83, is printed the colophon:

'Interpres
Secundum consequentiam testimoniorum divinae scripturae non exposuit Philo titulos allegoriae, sed ea captare uoluit capitula, quae uidentur intuitu mentis suae succurrisse.'

On p. 84 begins the De Uita Theoretica, which is however entitled:

'Philonis Iudaei
Liber de statu Essaeorum, id est Monachorum, qui temporibus Agrippe Regis Monasteria sibi fecerunt.'

3. The following is a description of the earlier edition issued at Paris, 1520, under the title: 'Philonis Iudaei centum et duae quaestiones et totidem responsiones morales super Genesin. Uaenundantur in aedibus Ascensionis cum gratia et privilegio in triennium.' On Fol. I b is the dedication of the editor, August. Iustinianus Genuen. Praedicatoriae observationis professor, Nebiensis Episcopus, Loisiae de Sabaudia illustrissimae, F. Francorum Regis matri S.

In this dedication he says: 'Quum filius iste tuus Franciscus felicissimus Francorum Rex me Roma asciuisset, uenissemque Andegavium illum et te salutaturus: tibi cum primis astrictus sum, et debeo, ut qui maxime, captus tuo isto sanctissimo instituto, tuisque istis religiosissimis actionibus, decreui in compensationem tui erga me affectus: nonnihil nostrae literariae supellectilis tibi offerre . . . . . Accipe itaque centum et duas in librum Geneseos quaestiones et argutissimas, nec minus morales responsiones . . . .' He then affirms his belief that the Quaestiones are rightly attributed to Philo, and ends: 'Uale Parrhisiis, Calend. Aug. MDXX.'

In this volume, the last lines of Quaestio 102 and the first twenty or so of the D.U.C. are absent, and the two run into one section as if they belonged together. The same peculiarity is observable in the beautifully written Codex Urbanus, No. 73 of the Vatican Library, which contains these Quaestiones, also in the other Vatican MSS. of them, Nos. 488, 382; also in the MSS. of Florence. All these codices, in common with the copy used by the Bishop of Nebia, have descended from a copy of which a page had been torn out. As opposed to the Basle text, of which I have not been able to find a single MS., they form but one family, comprehending however many varieties of readings.

The D.U.C. in this Paris edition breaks off at the same point as in the Basle edition of 1527; but the Bishop of Nebia is not aware that his book contains anything beside the 102 Quaestiones and bears at the end the following colophon:

'Explicitus est liber Quaestionum Moralium Super Genesim Philonis Iudaei, ut sane uetustum attestatur exemplar: quaeque aut ab interprete, aut a maleuolo quopiam, aut certe ab ignaro scriptore nonnulla a margine in contextum traducta, etiam in Philonem dicta, comperies. Finem autem accepit sub prelo Ascensiano, ... ad nonas Augusti MDXX.'

4. The value and interest of this Old Latin Version of the D.U.C. depends on the date of its execution, which can be determined only by inference. It was clearly made by the same hand which translated the Quaestiones. The same strange idiom and vocabulary pervades the one and the other. As examples we select:

(1) The use of the genitive case after a comparative, e.g. in the D.U.C. we have boni melior; in Qu. 27, we have Dei uerba iuramentorum fortiora; and in Qu. 72 melius totius libaminis et hostiarum, et odoramentorum iucundius.

(2) The use of the plural for the singular of abstract words: e.g. in the D.U.C. tristitiarum. So abundantiarum in Qu. 36, and iustitiarum titulos in Qu. 68. The use occurs often in both tracts. It was characteristic of early Carthaginian Latin, and often occurs in the Old African Version of the Pentateuch, of which Ulysses Robert has edited the Lyons MS., Paris, 1881.

(3) The same strange words, or words strangely used, meet us in both: e.g. praedicare in Qu. 102, cultrices in Qu. 58, detentas in Qu. 54 and 100, trepidantia (=*φόβος*) in Qu. 6, germana (*ἀδελφά*) in Qu. 9 and 34, mentis intuitu in Qu. 10, commeo in Qu. 83, parentelae in Qu. 73, superveniens (*περιττός*) in Qu. 78, contemno in Qu. 58, praedia in Qu. 19 and 61, insinuo in Qu. 83, 8, 13 and elsewhere, lares (=*πατρίδα*) in Qu. 98 and 101; transmigrare in Qu. 25, eloquia diuina in Qu. 4 and often, praesagire in Qu. 10 and 54, pulsare in Qu. 45, 38, and 90; with coelesti luminis largitate saginare compare Qu. 5, studiosa anima saginata sapientiae institutis, and Qu. 50, sapientiae spectaculis saginant; sensualia and sensualitas Qu. 96, 73, and 51; album in Qu. 12; scrutantes in Qu. 3, 23, 101; titulos in Qu. 4, 79, 15 and often; oratorius (*ῥητός*) in Qu. 4, 24, 37 and often; momenta in Qu. 6, 43, 69 and often; imitari ueritatem in Qu. 41; lectiones in Qu. 15; with praesidens unus senior, sectarum peritissimus, compare

Qu. 75 sunt enim principes sectarum quarundam praesidentes; esca in Qu. 14 and 15; friuolus in Qu. 15; degusto in Qu. 17 and 92.

5. The above list is far from exhaustive, but it is enough to prove that the version of the D.U.C. is from the same hand which rendered the Quaestiones. Can we then determine the date of the latter?

(1) These Quaestiones cite over a hundred verses of Genesis, and these citations are all taken from a pre-Jeromian Latin version. If the version was made in Italy, this would fix its date in the fourth century about; and that it was made in Italy is probable from the words used to translate the D.U.C. p. 474, l. 36 *καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν βάρβαρον*, viz.: non Graeciam totumque Romanum solum, sed etiam Barbariae partes.

(2) Either the translator or an early scribe of the Quaestiones interpolates in Qu. 73 the following attack on the Apollinarists: et asserunt ipsum coelum animal esse: inde credo Apollinaristas incarnationis animam negasse, indignam saluatoris existimasse. Such a note would not have been written later than about A.D. 400.

6. The commentaries of Ambrose of Milan on Genesis are for the most part paraphrases of Philo, to whom the Christian bishop refers as '*aliqui ante nos*' in De Noe et Arca c. 14, or '*nonnulli ante nos*,' ibidem n. 63. Now these commentaries have points of resemblance with the Latin Quaestiones of a kind to indicate that Ambrose used them up. Such is the use of the phrase altior sensus, subtilior interpretatio, adsero (in De Abr. c. viii. n. 54), demigro (De Abr. l. 2, c. 9, n. 64). Unfortunately we do not find a commentary of Ambrose on the part of Genesis embraced by these Latin Quaestiones. Ambrose stops short about where they begin. Is it possible that he had the fuller version of Philo, of which these 102 Quaestiones are a fragment, and that he tore it up as he went along? This is possible, but the explanations of Hebrew names occasionally added by the translator, and in one place an actual citation of Hebrew, suggest that the version was one made for Hieronymus. Thus Qu. 97, 101, and 90: Ego me confiteor legisse in Hebraeo compunctionem et taciturnitatem eisdem literis declaratam: et aliud incredibile in psalmo lxiv.

Perhaps these notes were added by Hieronymus, who cannot however be regarded as the author; for the Latin is too barbarous for him to have written it. But there is a difficulty in this view also, for the Latin translator himself seems to have added most, if not all these notes, interspersed in the text; and in Qu. 44 he implies in the following words that his version embraced much more of Philo than these 102 quaestiones: Iam peruide quanta est unitas in mathematico tractatu, et hic in prioribus translatis libris. The Old Latin Version therefore comprised, as Wendland (*Neu entdeckte Fragm.* p. 85) also remarks, the lost treatise περὶ ἀριθμῶν, and how much of Philo besides we cannot judge.

7. The net result of our discussion then is this, that this Old Latin Version was made between 300 and 400 A.D.; and if the notice of the Apollinarists which it contains was added by the translator himself, then it cannot be much anterior to the latter date[1].

As to the family of text represented by the Latin, nothing need be said here, as the question has been discussed in the introduction upon the sources of the Greek text. The Basle text is the better and more complete of the two, and I have therefore reprinted it, adding the variants of the Paris edition at the foot of the page. The variants in the margin of the text are from the margin of the Basle edition and are presumably from the second manuscript which Sichardus used.

8. In the Vatican library, I found yet another Latin version bearing the date 1545 in the MS. Ottoboniana 870, p. 2. This gives a text of the family which I call γ, and is composed in very elegant Latin; I should say by some scholar of the Renaissance. It begins as follows: Cum de Essaeis disseruerim qui actiuam uitam aemulati, eam ita in omnibus exercuerunt, ut pluribus partibus, ut leuissime dicam, excelluerint, iam et de iis qui contemplationem amplexi sunt, rei tractatae seriem ordinemque prosequens, quae de iis dici conuenit dicam nihil domo allatum adiiciens, &c. This may be the work of Lilius Typhernas, of the rest of whose Latin versions of Philo I have seen copies in the Barberini and Vatican libraries.

[1] Pitra, whose judgement on such a point carries weight, assigns this Old Latin Version to the age of Tertullian.

TEXT OF THE LATIN VERSION.

Philonis Iudaei liber de statu Essaeorum, id est Monachorum, qui temporibus Agrippae regis monasteria sibi fecerunt.

M. 471 De statu Essaeorum disputaturus, qui actibus ipsis non uerbis aemulati sunt semper agere uitam, ne mediocrius adseram in pluribus partibus differentiores, statim etiam religionem ipsis rebus speculantes, integre indicabo, nihil de meo pro commendatione meliori inserendo, quod solet inopia bonorum poetis, omnibusque causidicis contingere, sed sine arte circumplexus ueritatem, quam ualde etiam eloquentissimos uitare optime noui. Certandum est ergo, atque deluctandum, ne magnitudo uirtutis eorum rea silentii existat, iis qui omnem rem optimam ubique praedicari permittunt, dum benevolentia philosophi de prima statim salutatione nominis comprobatur. Cultores ergo et cultricis pietatis merito vocentur, plus quam medicina remedia promittentes, oppido enim corpora curat, haec etiam animas reficit pessimis imbecillitatibus insanabiliter detentas, quas prouiderunt libidines, et amores, et tristitiarum trepidantia, usurpatione atque insipientia et iniquitate, caeterorum-

At que uitiorum et malitiarum inexplicabilis congeries. *Ad quantum

M. 472 uero naturaliter, uel de sacris potius legibus sunt instructi, [1] illud [2] colere [3] quod est [4] etiam [5] boni melior, et [6] uno syncerior, et [7] unionis praecipua [8] fons est. [9] His [10] comparandus [11] est, [12] qui [13] se nimium [14] superstitiosos adserunt, [15] aut nempe eis qui elementa honorificant [16] terrena, aquam, aërem, ignem, quibus etiam [17] pronomina posuere altera; Ignem [18] quidem Vulcanum, pro accendendo puto uocantes, Iunonem aërem [19] pro leuando uel suspendendo: aquam uero Neptunum forsitan [20] proputando, terram uero Demetorem, [21] ad quantum mater omnium esse putatur, [22] plantatorum atque animalium. Et quidem nomina sophistarum sunt inuenticula, elementa

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[1] Paris ed. begins at illud [2] colere] pro colore [3] quod] quoque [4] etiam] ,quod etiam [5] bono [6] unus [7] unius [8] frons [9] His] Hos enim [10] comparandos [11] omit est, [12] quibus [13] omit se nimium [14] superstitiosus asserat. [15] omit aut [16] terram [17] nomina [18] quidem] uero [19] pro] a [20] proputando] a potando [21] ad quantum] aut quoniam [22] plantatorem. Atque animalium equidem

uero materies sine anima, ab se [1]immobili artifici subiecta, ad M. 472
omnes figurarum et qualitatum species : altera uero quae apothelismata uocant, solem, lunam, aliasque [2]stellas, planetas *autem aut
[3]minus [4]planetarum usque coelum ac mundum, ne [5]ipsa ab se
[6]facta sunt, sed a quodam creatore perfectissimae disciplinae.
Certe semideos alii colentes ignominia [7]dignum : [8]quoniam *autem enim
modo et mortalis idem sit et immortalis? [9]Omittam originem
erroris puerilis inconstantiae plenam, [10]quam uisi sunt non sine
pernicie sua obiicere beatis, diuinisque uirtutibus, utpote mortalibus
uxoribus immorantes conuenerant totius uitii [11]insontes et [12]felices.
Delubra quoque et simulacra, quorum [13]materia lapides et ligna,
quae ante paullulum sine forma ingenio artis incisa, quorum
[14]germana uel *patria [15]lauacrum [16]usu uel [17]pedum lauandorum, paria
aliisque inhonestis [18]usibus, quae tenebrarum non luminis ministerio
cedunt. Aegyptiorum proinde portenta [19]nec meminisse melius,
qui muta animalia non modo mansueta, sed etiam immanissima
pro deorum honore posuisse sublunaribus auris. De arida quidem
[20]leonem : undarum uero [21]inuicinissimum crocodilum, [22]et de uolatilibus miluum, [23]Aegyptiacam [24]aucellam, ibin : [25]haec intuentes
substantiae carentia et escae egentia, et ad edendum rapacissima, et
plena stercoris, [26]*uirulenta, atque [27]homicidas uariis subiecta morbis vorulentia
nec tantum [28]naturali morte, sed etiam [29]negatitio uenerantur
[30]mites homines immanissima, et rationabiles minus rationabilia, et
quibus propinquitas est ad diuinitatem, [31]ne monstris [32]quidem M. 473
[33]*comparandis ut [34]principes et [35]domini, obnoxia et *fabulosa comparati
suscipientes [36], sed hos quidem, qui non tantum eiusdem societatis, famulosa
sed etiam proximantes sibi repleuerunt uerbositatis, sine medela
permanere dignum [37]est intuitu [38]mentis, qui praecipuus est sensuum
[39]portus [40]obstrusi. Dico autem non corporales oculos, sed animae
[41]quae uerum et mendacium [42]directo [43]cognoscit. Genus igitur

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[1] immobilis [2] stellas. Planetae [3] minus] inter [4] planetarum usque] omit [5] ipsa] ipsi quidem [6] facti [7] dignum:] digni sunt [8] quonam autem] quo enim [9] Omittam] Denique in huius [10] quam uisi] qua nisi [11] insontes] ui sonantes [12] felices arbores et delubra [13] materies [14] germana uel] germinalis [15] lauacro [16] usurpata [17] lau. ped. [18] after usibus add deputata [19] nec] uero [20] leonem] bouem [21] inuictissimum [22] omit et [23] add aut before Aeg. [24] aucellam] auem [25] haec uidentes mente carentes, escarum egentia [26] uiolenta atque [27] homicidiosa, [28] naturalis [29] negatitio] fortuitae, [30] omit mites [31] ne] non [32] quidem] quibus [33] comparandis] corporati sunt: [34] principem [35] domini] deum morti [36] full stop instead of comma [37] est: [38] mentis] tamen [39] omit portus [40] , obstruso [41] quae] quibus [42] directe [43] cognoscitur.

M. 473 religiosum, semper cernere doctum substantialis culminis maiestatem, digne pietati [1]admittitur commendari, sensibilem [2]onosolem transgreditur, et mundi huius inordinantiam [3]deserat, ut ita ad perfectam beatitudinem deducatur: ad uota namque religionis commeantes non ex usitato nec ex mandato cuiusquam, aut deprecatione, sed amore caelesti rapiuntur, utpote [4]debachantes, et more corybantum [5]praesagantes, donec uideant quod desiderant. Hactenus pro amore immortalis et beatissimae uitae iam se defunctos existimantes, omissa temporali gleba dimisere substantias filiis, aliisque cognatis, spontanea uoluntate ante tempus [6]prae haereditati, quibus autem parentelae non sunt, proximis, uel amicis admittunt: oportuit enim [7]oculatas diuitias diligentes caecum relinquere sensum [8]his qui adhuc mente caligant. Anaxagoram et Democritum Graeci decantant, quod [9]philosophiae cupidine pulsati, pasturas ouium locupletes massas suas [10]promiserunt. [11]Miror huiusmodi uiros [12]etiam [13]ipsos pecuniarum meliores [14]fuisse, [15]sed quanto meliores, qui non pecudis possessiones dimiserunt, sed [16]hominum penuriis subuenerunt, parentes, uel amicos ex [17]inopia copiosos efficientes, et illud [18]quidem non integri concilii, ne furiosos dicam uiros, quos tota Graecia praefert. [19]Attamen sobrium cum sapientia [20]superueniente [21]moderatum, quid em amplius gerant aduersarii [22]obsidentes? Aut secant aut [23]excidunt contrariorum regiones, ut raritate necessariorum oppressi [24]prosternantur. In hoc [25]Democritiani suos laesere consanguineos, [26]manu facta [27]suis [28]pauperiem confitentes, non [29]insidia utique, sed ex improuiso [30]contemsere, [31]quod alteris quanto meliores esse credamus, et mirabiliores, eos qui non minus philosophiae integritatem superantes, [32]munificentiam pro tarditate usi, misericordiam desidiae praeponentes, dimisere [33]substantias, non ad [34]dissipandum. [35]ut et aliis
M. 474 [36]prodessent [37]illi pro copiositate, se uero pro expeditione *uanae
verae religionis, [38]nec curae [39]praediorum tempora consumant, nec

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[1] adnititur [2] omit ono [3] deserit [4] debacchantes] uacantes [5] praesagientes [6] praehaereditatis [7] occultas [8] iis [9] philosophiae] filiis sophiae [10] permiserunt [11] omit miror [12] before etiam add dicunt [13] ipsis pecuniis [14] omit fuisse [15] omit sed [16] add et before hominum [17] inopibus [18] add faciunt after quidem [19] habent tamen [20] supereluente [21] moderatum. Quid [22] obs.? Aut s. aut] obsidentes hanc sectam: ut [23] excedant [24] prosternantur in hoc [25] Democritiani suos laesere] remotionis loco. Hos esse [26] manu facta] manifesta [27] sui [28] pauperie [29] insidia] in desidia [30] after contemsere full stop [31] quod] sed [32] munificentia [33] substantiam [34] dissipandam [35] ut et aliis] utilius [36] prodesse [37] illi] illis rati [38] nec] ne [39] praeliorum

pecuniarum sollicitudo deiiciat. Tempori autem [1]parsisse, quam M. 474
optimum est, quoniam secundum medicum Hippocraten, uita
quidem breuis, ars uero longa. Hoc mihi uidetur etiam Homerus
insinuasse paucis carminibus tertiae decimae rapsodiae: [2]*μυσῶντ'
ἀγχεμάχων καὶ ἀγαυῶν ἱππημόλγων γλακτοφάγων.* [3]Eosdemque [4]*ἀβίους*
appellat, hoc est sine uita, sollicitudo enim domesticarum rerum
iniurias parturire consueuit, ipsamque iniquitatem generare solet.
Iustitia uero propositi melioris est, [5]secundum naturales diuitiae
constant, omnem sensum uanarum gloriarum superantes, omissis
enim possessionibus, iam a nulla re [6]decepti, recedunt impoenitibi-
liter relictis fratribus, uxore, parentibus, et [7]omni [8]pluriuaria
propinquitate, et amicitiarum [9]societates, [10]ipsosque lares, quanti
sunt et uiri quarum consuetudo ponderosa atque insidiosa est.
[11]Transmigrant ergo non in altera ciuitate [12]*sursum, ut solent rursum
uenditionibus subiecti, serui infelicissimi qui per [13]immutationem
[14]dominii libertatem [15]adipiscere *solent. Omnis enim ciuitas, sperant
etiam legibus perfoederata, [16]perturbationis fons est infinitis rea
conditionibus, quas non sustinebit, qui semel [17]amori sapientiae
deditus euigilauerit. Solent aliqui etiam extra muros commorantes,
in hortis uel [18]*uni telluris [19]casis solitudinem imitari, non fastidio unicellulis
humani [20]odii, sed pro [21]disparalitate [22]morum uitantes, dum
inutiles eas et noxias esse cognoscunt. Plurimis itaque locis orbis
terrarum hoc inuenitur genus, *prouenit enim perfecti boni com- conuenit
potem [23]non [24]Graeciam, totumque Romanum solum, sed etiam
Barbariae [25]partes. [26]Abundat [27]autem in Egypto per loca quae
legum castella uocantur, et praesertim circa Alexandriam, [28]undique
optimi uiri aptissimos saltus elegerunt, [29]ut patriae [30]*meliora [31]loca molliora
[32]compotentes [33]immorantur, religionis est optima *religio altera, regio
super stagnum quod [34]maria [35]uocatur, collis [36]humilior is, [37]spatio-
sitas nimia pro [38]cautela habitantium, et aëris temperantia prouisus,

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[1] parsisse] consuluisse [2] instead of Greek reads per musas et Scythas equini lactis esores demisissimos. [3] Eosdemque] Hos denique [4] abios [5] after secundum add quam [6] decepti] detenti [7] omnium [8] plurifaria [9] societate [10] ipsosque . . . uiri] omit [11] Transmigrant ergo] Transmigrationem [12] sursum, ut] perquirere [13] mutationem [14] domini [15] adip. sol.] sperant se adipisci. [16] perturbationum [17] am. sap. ded.] diuini amoris ardoribus [18] unicellulis [19] add aut before casis [20] odii] commercii [21] disparitate [22] add turbas after morum [23] add esse before non [24] add modo after Graeciam [25] omit stop after partes. [26] abundare [27] omit autem [28] undique] utique [29] ut] et [30] melioris [31] loco [32] compotentis [33] immorantur religionis. Est [34] maria] pro mari [35] uocatur] habetur [36] humilior is] est humilis [37] spatiositatis nimiae [38] cautela] tutela

M. 475 munitionem enim castella uicina faciunt, temperiem uero aurae
pracitant stagni maritimo situ adhaerente, et uicino aequore [1] *parciant: stagni enim spissiores, et pelagi leuiores, [2] commixta [3] sanabilem statum operantur. Cellulae tamen uniuersis [4] ualde [5] humilissimae, pro solis calore et [6] aëris absconsione, nec proximae [7] sibi, ut mos est [8] in [9] oppidis molestus et fastidiosus. Amatores etiam maximae solitudinis densas habere uicinitates, [10] nec tamen longius sibi pro uoto suae communionis, ut etiam si latronum impetus contingat, [11] alterutro auxilientur. Singulis ergo habitaculum est religiosum, quod semnium uocant, siue monasterium, in quo desolati [12] modestissimae uitae [13] sacramentis occupantur: non potus [14] illic, nec cibus inducitur, aut quodlibet pro corporis necessitudine, sed [15] legis et eloquia diuina per choros prophetarum dignis destinata praesagia, quibus ad puritatem disciplinae, et integritatem pietatis [16] animis eriguntur, atque magnificantur, incessabilem in se habentes dei commemorationem, ut etiam ipsis uisionibus non aliud quicquam, nisi splendores diuinarum uirtutum, [17] coelestium imagines speculentur. Plurimi etiam adhuc somno detenti, uerba proferunt religiosa, atque saluberrima sapientiae decreta. Singulis autem diebus bis orare consueti, mane atque uespere: oriente quidem sole, eam sibi placationem a deo dari precantur, quae possit mentes eorum [18] coelesti luminis largitate saginare. [19] Hac causa uero, ut anima totius sensualitatis huius mundi libera, in sua sede atque albo stabilita, ueritati copuletur. Inter matutinum et uespertinum tempus, proprio uacant exercitio, diuinis interpellantes Scripturis, scrutantes sapientiae titulos, et disserentes, scientes [20] momenta oratoriae interpretationis pro existimatione absconsae naturae [21] declarari. Habent etiam tractatus uirorum antiquorum, qui huius consilii principes facti, quam plurima
M. 476 pignora [22] diluendarum lectionum demisere, quos utpote [23] magistros imitantes, iisdem moribus [24] gaudent. Uoluntatis [25] non tantum
deitatis *ueritatis figuras explorant legentes, sed etiam cantica, et hymnos in deum multimodis [26] metris, et armoniae sonis magnopere

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[1] parciant] pariunt [2] mixtae [3] salubrem [4] omit ualde [5] humillimae [6] aetheris [7] sibi] sunt [8] omit in [9] oppidis. Molestum enim et fastidiosum est amatores [10] nec] habent [11] alterutro] mutuo [12] modestissime, [13] sacramentis] sacratissimae exercitiis [14] illuc [15] legere tantum et eloqui solent diuina [16] animi [17] coelestiumque [18] coelestis [19] Hac causa uero] Hoc auspicantes [20] momenta] nomen [21] declarare [22] dilucidandarum [23] magistros] uiros [24] gaudent uoluntatis. [25] non] nec [26] metri

describunt. Sex quidem diebus semoti singuli, apud se philo- M. 476
sophantur, nec limen cellulae transeuntes, neque e longinquo respicientes perdurant. [1]Septimis [2]autem diebus conueniunt, pia concilii communicatione secundum [3]aetates [4]ordinantur considentes, cum competenti habitu dexteram coelantes supra pectus et gremia colli: sinistram [5]*ligero leniter lumbis remissam, [6]hic praesidens liero unus [7]senior sectarum peritissimus, mitiori aspectu, uoce [8]constantissima sermocinatur, cum rationabilitate atque sapientia, non tortuositate [9]uerborum, ut solent causidici, aut sophistarum fallacia disputare, sed ipsius intelligentiae [10]inuestigatam ueritatem, quae non [11]pinnis aurium resilit, sed per auditum in animam cautius [12]penetrando [13]penetrante permanet. Silentio tamen [14]alteri omnes [15]auscultantes, suffragia non uerbis, sed consensu mentis, aut uultus, aut capitis motu referunt. Hoc commune est monasterium, [16]qua septimis [17]adunantur diebus, duplici [18]structura munitum, una uirorum, altera [19]mulierum: coetu discernuntur. Ex usu [20]enim etiam foeminae sectantur [21]eiusdem praepositi fructum zelo deifico: medius autem utrarunque cellularum paries, tertio uel quarto cubitu exaltatus, uice thoracis aedificatus, reliquam altitudinem usque ad tectum apertum habet, duabus hoc causis, ut et [22]pudori foeminini sexus seruetur reuerentia et [23]auscultatio sit facillima, nullo offendente tractatoris [24]responsa. Abstinentiam praecipue pro fundamento cordis dedicantes, sequentes superaedificant uirtutes. Cibum aut potum [25]nemo eorum ante solis [26]tangit occasum, [27]lumine enim [28]diiudicant philosophiae indaginem, tenebris uero corporis necessitudinem [29]admittunt adeo [30]differentiora per diem, [31]huic uero modicum noctis [32]tribuerunt, nonnulli tamen post triduum [33]commonentur ad escam, quibus maior disciplinae amor inhaesit. Alii uero usque adeo indeliciantur sapientiae [34]gremiis, atque responsis locupletissimis, ut etiam duplum tempus [35]sustinent, denique [36]uix post sex dies cibantur, ex more iam instituti, utpote

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[1] Septimo [2] after autem add iis [3] omit aetates [4] ordinationem
[5] ligero] uero [6] hic praesidens] sic residentibus illis [7] seniorum
[8] constantissimus [9] uerborum omit [10] inuestigantes [11] pinnis] pruritu
[12] penetrans [13] omit penetrante [14] alterutrim
[15] osculantes [16] qua] quo [17] adunantur] conueniunt [18] instructura
[19] mulierum, coetu discernitur. [20] enim] etiam [21] eius propositi
[22] pudoris foeminei [23] osculatio [24] responso [25] nemo] mensa
[26] before tangit add non [27] lumini [28] adiudicant [29] adm. ad.] admittunt. Deo [30] differentiora] differenti hora [31] , huic uero] cultum et per
[32] tribuunt [33] commouentur [34] gremiis] quaestionibus
[35] sustineant [36] omit uix

M. 477 [1]*cicare *quae [2]*eris haustus [3]quibus [4]fallor, quorum esuries [5]praesonantia uocis lenitur. Festiuissimam itaque [6]sacratissimam diem septimam credentes, praesentiori priuilegio remunerantur, in qua post animae diligentiam, corpus reficiunt tanquam ouiculae, superfluis laboribus [7]relaxati: cibantur enim nihil exquisitum, sed panem uilissimum, [8]et sales, [9]*propulentis, et ditiores ad escam hyssopo condientes utuntur. Potus eis aqua [10]fontanea, quas enim imposuit [11]miserabili [12]uentri natura [13]domina [14]humano generi. Esuriem ac sitim omnino despiciunt, non pro blandimento quicquam requirentes, nisi haec utilissima, quorum [15]absque uiuere non est. Ita cibantur ne esuriant, et bibunt ne sitiant. Satietatem pro [16]insidia animae atque corporis aspernantur. Indumentorum [17]tamen gemina species, una tegminis, altera [18]per amictum sine ornamento: remissior enim [19]et expedita uel paratissima ad hoc tantum operata, [20]dum simulat et amictus friuolus humilitatibus mansionis pro [21]amphibilo [22]pallium de pelle [23]hiberna [24]grossiorem, aestate uero [25]*cobolio [26]hoc modo sine [27]typo [28]immorantur [29], per [30]omnia scientes supercilium [31]mendositatis initium, uirtutem uero simplicitatis amicam, manant enim utraque fontis uice: [32]*emerdatio enim [33]plurifarie malorum species, a ueritate uero [34]diuitiae humanarum atque diuinarum rerum. Uelim etiam communes conuocationes eorum, et hilariores in conuiuiis *moras, [35]edicere, e diuerso ponendo caetera [36]conuiuia: illi enim [37]assidue [38]*miraculo satiati, quasi non uino [39]epotato, sed [40]incitamento furoris, aut quicquid peius per excessum animi inusitatum [41]ea aliquid crepitantes, ueluti canes indomiti, [42]exululant, et resurgunt aduersus se, [43]morsibus inuicem laniantes, aliquoties et detondentes auriculas, et nares dentibus desecantes, degustant et digitos, [44]aliqua membra comedunt et reuera Cyclopis et Ulyssis fabulam ueram ostendunt,

cicala aquae aeris
opulenti
colobio
emendant
mores meraculo

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[1] cicare] ea [2] eris haustus] omit [3] add de before quibus [4] fallor, quorum] omit [5] praesonantia] propter sonantiam [6] add ac before sacratissimam [7] relaxantur [8] et sales] addito sale [9] pro pulmentis [10] fontana [11] mirabilis [12] omit uentri [13] dominas [14] humani generis [15] after absque add usu [16] desidia [17] tamen omit [18] per amictum] pro amictu [19] add est before et [20] dum simulat] tum simulatur [21] amphibolo [22] pallio [23] hiberno and add tempore [24] grossiore [25] cobolio] utuntur colobio. [26] Hoc [27] add et fuco after typo [28] morantur [29] omit comma [30] omnia: scientes [31] mendacitatis [32] emerdatio] ex mendacio [33] plurifariae [34] omit diuitiae [35] seducere [36] add mortalium before conuiuia [37] assiduo [38] meraculo [39] optato [40] incitamento furoris] incremento uini, curiosi [41] omit ea [42] exululantur [43] moribus [44] aliaque

et siquid [1]crudelius irrogantes. [2]Illi enim inimicos [3]uerendo M. 477
[4]ulciscabantur, [5]ii amicos et parentes, [6]in [7]ipso mensuram [8]libamini [9]nefando operantur, [10]in inuicem rabientes pro foedere, connubia infoederata gerentes et omnem speciem nequitiarum irrogantes, et qui poterant esse in melioribus [11]*luctatoribus miserabile certamen exhibent, illi [12]nanque pro corona adipiscenda [13]spectiores [14]gestiunt [15]uideri pro uictoriae et laude exercitii, [16]ii M. 478
uero usque ad [17]tenebras. luctatores

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[1] add est after crudelius [2] ille [3] uerendos [4] ulciscebatur [5] Hi [6] in] per [7] ipsam [8] libaminum and add contaminantes [9] nefanda [10] omit in [11] laetatoribus [12] nanque] itaque [13] spectiores] spes [14] gestant [15] uideri] optimas [16] hi [17] after tenebras add peregrinando deueniunt. The editions and MSS. of the Latin Version break off at this point.

THE ARMENIAN VERSION.

The Armenian version of the D. U. C. is here printed from four codices, referred to at the foot of each page as A, B, C, D.

A is a codex belonging to the library of the Mechitarists at Venice, whither it was transferred early in this century from the library of the Armenian church at Lemberg. It is a large folio, exquisitely written in cursive hand, in double columns, on the finest parchment. It is signed by the royal scribe Basil, who testifies that he wrote the entire book with his own hand for the use of the king of Armenia, Haethoum or Hayton the Second, in the year of the Armenian era 745, that is A. D. 1296. I print the text exactly as it stands in this codex.

B is a codex of the Patriarchal library at Edschmiadzin in the province of Ararat. It is in form a small square octavo, and is written in a large and neat cursive hand, on bombycine paper. It is signed by the scribe Karapet the elder, who wrote it at the request of the Vardapet Kirakos in the Armenian year 774, that is A. D. 1325. In Kharenian's catalogue this codex is numbered 2049.5, and in the newer MS. catalogue of the library, no. 2092. Beside the D. U. C. it contains the fourth book of the Quaestiones in Genesin, the Allegories of the Sacred Laws, de Providentia I and II, de Animalibus and the Uita Abrahami. In the same library, no. 2051.7 of Kharenian's catalogue is a companion volume to B, which contains the rest of the version of Philo. This volume was completed by the same scribe in March, A. D. 1342, that is seventeen years later than the fellow-volume.

C is no. 2046.2 (Kharenian's catalogue) of the library of Edschmiadzin. It is of folio size, on bombycine paper, written in a good cursive hand, A. D. 1329, at Cracow in Poland. This codex contains the whole of the Armenian version of Philo.

D is a codex of the Mechitarist library in Venice, written, as the colophon proves, by Vartan, a disciple of John Erznkatzi, during the latter's life-time. This teacher was born about A. D. 1250, and died about 1326. Therefore this codex must belong at least to the beginning of the fourteenth century. It is written in a good cursive hand, on paper. This description only applies to the first half of the volume, which, however, contains the D. U. C., with certain other treatises. The rest of the codex is by a later and unknown hand.

The age and authorship of the Armenian versions of Philo cannot be precisely determined. That the whole of them are the work of one hand and of one age, is clear from the uniformity of style which pervades them. Throughout, the same Greek expressions are interpreted by the same Armenian equivalents. This version is already quoted by the Armenian historian Elisaeus, so that it cannot be later than about A. D. 450. The D. U. C. itself is cited in the History of Moses Chorenensis, also in the version and adaptation of Apthonius ascribed to the same Moses. The O. T. citations in this version also belong to a period when the Armenian Vulgate had not yet fully established itself, i. e. to a period ending about A. D. 450. Lastly, the language and diction of the version testifies to the same date. It is unmistakably that of the golden age of Armenian literature, of what is called the age of the Translators, which lasted, roughly speaking, from 350–500 A. D.

As a version it is marvellously faithful, reproducing the Greek original word for word, and as a rule without any change in the order. Hence its great value as a means of determining the Greek text. The family of text represented by the Armenian version has been already dwelt upon in my introductory chapter. But it should be added that my inferences as stated in that chapter only applied to the D. U. C., and not to the rest of the treatises preserved in this version.

A = first Venice MS., written A. D. 1296.
B = 2049.5 of Edschmiadzin, written A. D. 1325.
C = 2046.2 of Edschmiadzin, written A. D. 1329.
D = second Venice MS., written about A. D. 1320.

ՓԻԼՈՆԻ

ՅԱՂԱԳՍ ՎԱՐՈՒՑ ԿԵՆԱՑ

ՏԵՍԱԿԱՆԻ[1]

M. 471 ԶԵՍՍԵԱՅՑՆ *սակս խաւսեցեալ, որք զգործական*[2] *նախանձն առին, և գործեցին զկենցաղըս*[3] *ամենայնիւ, կամ զդժոխըմբերագոյնն ասել, յոլով մասամբքն, զանցուցին աստէն. և յաղագս այնոցիկ որք*[4] *զտեսութիւնն խնդութեամբ ընկալան, կարգաւ պատմութեան*[5] *զհետ անցանելով զարժանաւորսն ասացից: Ոչինչ ընտրուստ առ 'ի զարդարել, և լաւ*[6] *երևեցուցանել յաւելեալ, որ գործել սովորութիւն է առ նուազութեան*[7] *բարեաց ախորժակաց, ամենեցուն քերթողաց և բանագրաց. այլ մեծապէս զնոյն ինքն բուռն հարեալ զճշմարտութենէն, առ որ գիտեմ, թէ և*[8] *դժնդակագոյն ոք ասել հրաժարեալ ի բաց փախիցէ: Բայց սակայն աշխատութիւն առաջի դնել և հանդիսանալ և մարտընչել արժան է. քանզի ոչ է պարտ և արժան զմեծութիւն առաքինութեան արանցս՝ պատճառս անձայնութեան լինել այնոցիկ որք ոչ ինչ բարի*[9] *լռութեամբ զանց առնել իրաւացուցին: Իսկ կամք ախորժանաց իմաստասիրաց, անդէն վաղվաղակի երևին ի ձեռն կոչման անուանս. քանզի բուժիչք ըստ երկոցուն ազգաց՝ ըստ արուին և ըստ իգին ստուգապէս կոչին: Կամ*

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[1] *միակեցացն է գիրքս այս* is added in D; *միայնակեցայցն է* in B. [2] *կենցաղիւ* is added in D. [3] BD read *զվարս* in text; B adds *կենցաղս* in marg. [4] B adds *պատմութեան* after *որք*; D adds it in marg. [5] Instead of *պատմութեան* BD have *գործոյս.* [6] *ի լաւ* in D. [7] *նուազութիւն* in D. [8] B has *և ի.* [9] *զբարի* in D.

*ըստ այնմ որ զբժշկական խոստմանն[1] լաւագոյն ես քան
զայն որ ըստ քաղաքացն է[2]: Վանզի սէ, զմարմին բժշկէ
միայն. իսկ այն և զանձինս հիւանդութեամբ ըմբռնեալս
դժընդակաւք և դժուարաւք առ ի բժշկութիւն, յորոց
ի վերայ հասեալ անկան հեշտ ցանկութիւնք. և ցանկու-
թիւնք[3], և երկիւղ, և տրտմութիւն[4] և աւելաստացութիւնք,
և անզգամութիւնք, և անիրաւութիւնք, և այլոց ես ախտից
և չարութեանց անզրաւ և անվճար բազմութիւն: Կամ ըստ
այնմ որ ի բնութենէն և ի տէրունեան աւրինաց[5] խրատեալք
եղեն, բժշկել զէն էապէս, որ և քան զբարին առաւելագոյն* M. 472
*է, և քան զմին լուսաւորագոյն է և պարզագոյն, և քան
զմիայնակն սկզբնեղագոյն. զորս ընդ ո՛ւմ[6] ումեք բաղդատել
պարտ և արժան է այնոցիկ որ խոստման զբարեպաշտու-
թիւնն: Իսկ արդ արդեւք զայնոսի՞կ որք զտարերս պատու-
եցին, զերկիր, զջուր, զաւդ, զհուր. որոց և մականուանըս
եդին, այլս՝ ա՛յլք: Զհուրն՝ Հեփեստոս, առ ի լուցանելն
և բորբոքել կարծեմ թէ կոչեցին: Իսկ Հերա՝ զաւդ, առ
ի համբառնալն և վերամբարձիլ առ ի բարձրութիւն իմն.
և զջուր՝ Պոսիդոնա[7], ինձ թուի թէ վասն ըմպելին լինելոյ.
իսկ զերկիր՝ Դեմետրա՛, ըստ որում մայր ամենայնի թուի
գոլ, կենդանեաց և տնկոց: Այլ անուանքս այս իմաստակա՛ց
են գիւտք: Իսկ տարերքս անշունչ նիւթ է և յինքեան
բնութենէ անշա՛րժ է, անկեալ դնի ընդ արուեստագիտաւն՝
առ ամենայն բնութեանց ձևոց և որակաց տեսակս: Այլ
զբացակատարուածսն. զարեգական, զլուսնի[8], կամ զայլ
աստեղս՝ զմոլորակսն և զանմոլարսն. կամ առ հասարակ
զամենա՛յն երկին և զաշխարհ: Այլ և սոքա ոչ յինքեանց
եղեն. այլ յումեմնէ արարչէ ի կատարելագունէ հանճարով:
Այլ զկիսաստուածսըն. ըստ որում այս[9] և մեծին ծաղու
արժանի է: Վանզի զիա՞րդ նոյն անմահ և մահկանացու*

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[1] B *խոստմանանն*. [2] B has *զբաղմացն*, but writes *քաղաքացն* below line. [3] B *ցանկութիւն*. [4] B *տրտմութիւնք*. [5] B *աւրինացն*. [6] D *ընդ որո՛ւմ*. [7] *Պիսիդոնա* CD. [8] *զարեգակն, զլուսին* D. [9] Over *այս* B writes *և*.

իցէ, առանց այնորիկ[1] որ և զսկիզբն[2] լինելութեան նոցա
ըմբռնելի և բասրելի գոլ՝ մանկաբարոյ անարգելութեամբ լի.
զոր իշխեն և համարձակեալ են, ո՛չ սրբաբար յարել և ընդ-
հարկանել ընդ երանելի և ընդ աստուածային զաւրութիւնսն,
եթէ ի կանայս մահկանացուս մոլեալք խառնակեցան՝[3] որ
անկցորդք են և անընդունակ ամենայն ախտի, և երիցս երջա-
նիկք: Այլ զփայտեայ պատկերսն[4] և զքարեղէնս. որոց
գոյացութիւն նիւթոյն, քարինք և փայտք, որ յառաջ քան
զսակաւ մի կատարելապէս անկերպ[5] էին. բայց ի քարա-
հատաց[6] և ի փայտահարաց յիւրեանց արմատոյն ի բաց
կորեալ[7], որոց եղբարքն մասունք և ազգակիցքն՝ լոգարանք
եղեն և ոտնալուացք և այլք յանարգացն, որք առ ի խաւարին
պէտսն սպաս տանին առաւել քան եթէ ի լուսոյ: Քանզի
զայնցանէ որք առ եգիպտացիսն և ոչ յիշել բարւոք է, որ
զանասուն կենդանիսն՝ և ո՛չ զընտանիսն միայն, այլ և զգա-
զանացն զվայրենագոյնսն ածեալ անցուցին յաստուածոց պա-
տիւս, ի մի ըստ միոջէ[8] յիւրաքանչիւր ումեքէ յայնցանէ
որք ընդ լուսնաւս են. ի ցամաքայնոց զառիւծն, և ի ջրայնոց
զգաւառականն իւրեանց զկոկորդիլոս[9], և յաւդագնացից զցինն,
և զեգիպտացի ըզցեձն: Եւ զայսոսիկ տեսանելով ծնեալս,
և սնընդեան կարաւտս, առ ի կերակուրս անյագս, և լի՛ս
յաւելորդացն, թունաբեռս և մարդակերս, և ընդ ամենազան
ախտիւք անկեալս. և ո՛չ միայն բնական մահու, այլ և բռնաւո-
րագունաւն բազում անգամ՝ դէպ եղև զի ապականեալք եղեն՝
երկիրպագանեն, ընտանիքն՝ անձեռնընդելեացն վայրենեացն,
և բանաւորքն անասնոցն, և որք ազգակցութիւն ունին առ
աստուածայինն, այնց որք և ոչ ընդ Թերսիտայ բաղդա-
M. 473 տեսցին. իշխանքն և տեարքն, ընդ ծառայութեան անկելոց
և ի սպասաւորութիւն կարգելոցն բնութեամբ:

Այլ սոքա վասն զի ոչ միայն զհամատոհմիկսն, այլ և

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[1] այնոցիկ D. [2] սկիզբն D. [3] In marg. of B is the Scholion որպէս սկայքն նոյն և զհրեշտակէն. [4] զփայտա-պատկերսն D. [5] անկերպք D. [6] ի քարատաց D. [7] կորեալք B. [8] ի միոջէ ի միոջէ D. [9] զկրոկոդիլոս BD.

զայնոսիկ որ մերձենան առ Նոսա, լի առնեն ընդվայրաբանու-Թեան շատխաւսուԹեամբ, անբոյժ և առանց սփոփանաց լեցին, որք զերեսս զՀարկաւորագոյն զգայուԹեանցն ճայրո-տեալք շլացան. և ասեմ ոչ զմարմնոյս, այլ զանձին[1], *որով ճշմարիտն և սուտն*[2] *գիտացեալ ճանաչի: Իսկ տեսական*[3] *ազգն՝ տեսանել միշտ ուսուամն ընկալեալ՝ Ի՞ն տեսման բաղ-ձասցի, և ըստ իմանալի արեգակնն*[4] *զանց արասցէ*[5], *և մի՛ երբեք զդասն զայն լքցէ. որ առ ի կատարելականն տանի բարեբաստուԹիւն: Իսկ որք ի տեսուԹիւն՝*[6] *ոչ ի սովորու-Թենէ և ոչ ի խրատուէ ուրուք, այլ յերկնային տափանացն յափշտակեալք՝ իբրև զաստուածարեալսն և զմոլեալսն բա-րեաւն, և զկոկոզացեալսն՝ աստուածարէն, և աստուածա-զգեստք լինին, մինչև զայն որում փափագենն՝ տեսցեն. և ապա վասն անմաՀկանացու կենացն փափագանաց՝ վախճանե՛լ և կատարե՛լ ընդելանին զմաՀկանացու կեանսն. բառնան, Թողուն զժառանգուԹիւնսն՝ ազգին, կամաւոր բարուք յառա-ջագոյն ժառանգեալք: Իսկ որոց ազգ ո՛չ գոյ, ընկերա՛ց և բարեկամա՛ց: Քանզի պարտ և արժան է այնոցիկ՝ որք զտեսաւղսն*[7] *զմեծուԹիւն ի պատրաստէ ընկալան, զկոյրն տեղի տալ և ընձեռել այնոցիկ որք տակաւին ևս մտաւքն*[8] *կուրացեալ են: ԶԱնաքսագորաս և զԴիմոկրիտոս ելլենա-ցիք երգեն, զի իմաստասիրուԹեանն*[9] *բաղձանաւք բախեալք*[10], *պաճարարաւտս Թողին լինել զժառանգուԹիւնսն: Հիացեա՛լ զարմացեալ եմ ընդ արսն*[11] *և ես, զի եղեն ի վերոյ*[12] *քան զցանկուԹիւն ընչից. այլ ո՞րչափ լաւագոյնք են որք ո՛չ պաճարացն Թոյլ ետուն արաւտ լինել զժառանգուԹիւնսն, այլ զմարդկան զազգայնոց զկա՛րաւտուԹիւն կամ զբարեկամաց*

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[1] *զանձինս* C. [2] B has *ստուգն* and omits the words which follow *գիտ. ճ. իսկ տես.* [3] *ուսմնական* D. [4] *արեգա-կանն* C. [5] *ոչ զանց արասցէ* D. [6] After *տեսուԹի* D adds *անցանենն. զմիտս Հաճելով ողջացուցանեն*: B adds *անցին* and in marg. the words *զմիտս Հաճել ողջացուցին.* [7] *զտեսողն* D. [8] D adds *էին.* [9] *զիմաստուԹեանն* D. [10] B has *բաղխեալք* and in marg. writes *խաշն.* [11] *ընդ արսս* D; B omits *ընդ արսն* in text, but writes in marg. thus *բն. ընդ արսն.* [12] *ի վերայ* BC.

լցուցին, և ի վարանելոց՝ ձեռնհասս և ընչեղս երևեցուցին: Վանզի այն առանց քննութեան և ընդ միտ ածելոյ և փորձի[1] է, զի մի մոլեկան ինչ ասացից ի վերայ արանցս՝ ընդ որոց զարմացաւ Ելլաս ընդ գործն[2]: Իսկ այս զգաստ և իմաստուն և հանդերձ ճշմարիտ խոհականութեամբ ստուգեալ ասելեաւ[3], թշնամիքն և պատերազմաւղք զինչ ինչ աւելի գործեն կամ հնձեն և ծառակոտոր առնեն զթշնամեացն զերկիր, զի նուաճութեամբ կարաւտութեան[4] հարկաւորացն՝ ճնշեալք և վտանգեալք առաջի կացցեն:

Այս դիմակրիտեանքն ընդ յարենէն[5] մերձաւորս գործեցին. ձեռակերտ[6] աղքատութիւն և կարաւտութիւն նոցա կազմեցին, թերևս ոչ առ խորել և առ նշխարել այլ վասն ոչն յառաջագոյն տեսանելոյ և ընդ միտ ածելոյ և հոգ տանելոյ զայլոցըն աւգուտ: Ընդ որչափ սոքա լաւագոյնք և սքանչելագոյնք են, վարեցեալք ոչ նուազաւք առ ի յիմաստասիրութիւնն[7] յարձակմամբ, զմեծամտութիւն փոխանակ քամահանաց յարգեալ և շնորհեալ զժառանգութիւնսն, այլ ոչ ապականեալ, զի և այլոց և[8] անձանց աւգուտ արասցեն.
M. 474 զնոսա առատ և մեծ ժառանգութեամբ ստացուածոց[9], և զանձինս իմաստասէրն[10] լինելով: Վանզի ստացուածոցն և ընչիցն հոգք, որք վարինն նոքաւք[11] հաշեն և մաշեն. իսկ ժամանակի ինայ առնել[12] բարւոք է. վասն զի ըստ Հիպոկրատեայ, եթէ կեանք սուղ և արուեստ երկայն, զայս ինձ թուի և Հոմերոս առակէ, Եղիադա ի սկզբան երեքտասան ներորդի հագներգութեան ի ձեռն այսոց տաղից ասելով. Այիսացւոց որ ի միմեանց վերայ կեան և մեռանին և զմիմեանսասիրաց. ձիակրթաց, կատնակերաց[13], աւրապարենից, արդարոց մարդկան: Իբրու թէ որ առ ի կեանս աշխարհիս

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[1] ընդ փորձի է D. [2] ընդ գործան D. [3] BCD have the true reading աւելեաւ. [4] կարաւտութեամբ D. [5] արեւնէան D; յարեանէան B. [6] ձեռակերտք D. [7] յիմաստասիրութիւն BC. [8] և D. [9] ստացուածոցն B. [10] իմաստասէրսն D; իմաստասէրս C. [11] B adds Հոգըսն: C reads Նոքաւք. [12] խնամ առնել CD. [13] կաթնակերաց D.

փոյթ ունի ինչս համբարել, զանիրաւութիւն ընաւորեցաւ ծնանել վասն անզուգութեան: Ոսկ արդարութիւն[1] *և ընդդէմ ախորժակաց՝ սակս զուգութեան. ըստ որում ընու-թեանն մեծութիւն որոշեալ և սահմանեալ է, և բարեբաստիկ և*[2] *քան զայն*[3] *որ ի մեռոտի կարծիսն*[4] *պանծացեալ է:*

Ընդ յորժամ ի բաց կացցեն ի ժառանգութենէ ստացուա-ծոցն ոչ ի միոջէ խմբէ ևս այնուհետև և[5] *ոչ պարտեալք, փախչին առանց յետս դառնալոյ, լքեալ թողեալ զեղբարս, զկանայս, զորդիս, զա՛զգըս, զբազմամարդիկ ազգակցութիւնս, զընդունելութիւնս*[6] *ընկերաց, զգաւառս յորում ծնեալ եղեն և սնան. վասն զի սովորականն ձգա՛ղ է և բռնադատու և պատրել կարողագոյն: Վաղթեալ*[7] *փոխի*[8] *ո՛չ յայլ քաղաք, իբրու զի թէ առ ի գին խընդրելով յայնցանէ որ ստացեալն ունին, իբրու թշուառականք, կամ իբրու ծառայք, ի տերանց ի բաց փոփոխումն, ո՛չ ազատութիւն իւրեանց պաճարելով: Ոանզի ամենայն քաղաք, և յայնցանէ որ քաջաւրինաւքն վարին, լի՛ են խուճապիւք խռովութեանց և անբաւ արկածիւք աղետի, որում միանգամայն զի ասացից, ոչ ոք կարէ*[9] *տանել յիմաստասիրութենէ: Ա՛յլ արտաքոյ ուրեմն քան զպարիսպն արարեա՛լ*[10] *սոցա զշրջանն, ի պարտէզս, և կայ մի*[11] *միայն և յապահո՛վ վայր զՀանդարտութեան և զդադարման զՀետ անցեալք, ոչ զմիայնութիւնն ախորժեցին վասն մարդատեցութեանն, այլ զայն որ յանմանից սովո-րութիւնն ընդ նոսա միաբանութեանն խառնմանն էր, անաւ-գուտ և վնասակար գիտացեալք:*

Ոանզի բազում ուրեք յաշխարհի է ազգս. քանզի պարտ և արժան է կատարելագունի բարւոյ Հասանել Ելլադայ և բարբարոսական ազգին. բայց առաւելեալ է Եգիպտոսի ըստ իւրաքանչիւր կոչեցելոց աւրինաց, և մանաւանդ շուրջ

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[1] *արդարութեան* B. [2] *բարեբաստիկ էր քան* D; *բար. է քան* B. [3] B adds *զայն* in marg. [4] *կարծեացն* D. [5] om. *և* C. [6] *զընտելութիւնս* D. [7] *գայթեալ* sic B. [8] *փոխին* D. [9] *կարասցէ* for *տանել* D; B om. *ոչ ոք կարէ* and has *տեսանել*. [10] *տարեալ* D. [11] *և կամ ի միայն* BCD.

զԱղեքսանդրաւ։ Իսկ որք ամենայն ուստեք առաքինիքն են,
իբրև ի գաւառ բժշկաց[1] զընակափոխութիւնն առնեն, առ
ի յաջողակագոյն իմն և ի դէպ վայր[2], որ է գեր ի վերոյ
լճին Մարեայ։ Եւ կայ ի բարձրաւանդակի վերայ յոյժ
զնստագունի, ի դէպ և ի ճահ յաղագս զգուշութեան և
աւդոց քաղցրախառնութեան. քանզի զգուշութիւնն շուրջքն
M. 475 մատուցանեն գոմք և գեաւղք։ Իսկ զառ ի յաւդն քաղցրա-
խառնութիւն որ ի լճէն բերանքն արձակին ի ծովն, և որք
ի ծովէքն մաւտի ելոյ որ ելանեն ստէպ ըստէպ սղոխք[3]
աւդոյ, անաւսրունք այն որ ի ծովէն, և թանձունքն որ ի
լճէն[4]. որոց խառնուածն առողջագոյն հաստատութիւն կենաց
գործէ։ Իսկ տունք ի մի վայր եկելոցն յոյժ գձուձք են,
առ երկուս իրս հարկաւորագոյնք. ձեղուն ի վերոյ ունելով,
զյարեգականէն խարշումն և զաւդոյն ցրտութիւն։ Քանզի
ոչ մաւտ ի մաւտ են իբրև ի քաղաքս, քանզի խուճապաւղ
է և դժուարահաճոյ այնոցիկ որ զյապահով հանդարտու-
թիւնն սիրեցին, դրակցութիւնքն[5]։ Եւ ո՛չ յոյժ հեռի,
վասն որոյ բուռն հարեալ[6] զմիաբանութենէ սիրոյ. և զի
թէ աւազակաց եղիցի յարձակումն[7] ի վերայ՝ միմեանց աւգ-
նեսցեն։ Եւ ի միում միում իւրաքանչիւր ումեք՝ է տէրու-
նեան տնակ[8], որ կոչի պարկեշտանոց և միայնարան. յորում
միայնանալով նոքա՝ զպարկեշտ և զնազելի վարուց զխոր-
հուրդսն կատարեն։ Ո՛չինչ ի ներքս տանելով, ո՛չ ըմպելի՝
ոչ կերակուր. և ոչինչ մի յայնցանէ[9] որ միանգամ առ ի
մարմնոյն պէտս են հարկաւորք. այլ աւրէնս և պատգամս
յաստուծոյ տուեալ[10] ի ձեռն մարգարէիցն, և երգս աւր-
հնութեան. և զայլսն որովք հանճար և բարեպաշտութիւն
առ հասարակ աճեն և կատարին։ Քանզի միշտ անմոռաց
ունին զաստուծոյ յիշատակն. մինչ զի և ի ձեռն անրջից ո՛չ

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[1] բժշկական in marg. A and C *e correctura*; ի գաւառ պաշտօնէից բժշկաց D and BC in marg. [2] և դէպ վայր D; և ի դէպ վայրս B. [3] սղողք D. [4] ի լճի են D. [5] դրա-կցորդութիւնքն D. [6] ունին add BD. [7] յարուցումն D. [8] տէրունեանն and om. տնակ B. [9] և ոչ մինչ յայսցանէ և D; և ոչ մի ինչ յայնցանէ B. [10] տուեալս D.

այլ ինչ, այլ գգեղեցիկ զաստուածային առաքինութեանցն և զաւրութեանց տեսակս տեսանել. քանզի բազումք և խաւսին ընդ քուն. զանուրջսն մեկնելով զաստուածայինսն իմաստութեանն զմիշտերգելի[1] և զսքանչելի աւրէնսն: Բայց երկիցս ըստ միում միում աւուր սովորեցին յաղաւթս կալ, ընդ առաւաւտսն և ընդ երեկոյս. իբրև արև ծագէ, բարաւրութիւն խնդրելով, զճապէսն բարաւրութիւն, երկնային լուսովն զմիտսն առնուլ[2]: Իսկ իբրու մտանէ, վասն զանձն ի զգայութեանց և ի զգալեացն խուճապէ ամենևին թեթև եղեալ՝ յիւրում խորհրդարանի և բնակութեանն եղեալ՝ զճշմարտութիւնն հետախուզել: Իսկ զյառաւաւտէ մինչև ցերեկոյ զերկայնութիւն տուընջեանն՝ առհասարակ ամենայն է նոցա վարժմնք տեսութեան: Քանզի դիպելով տէրունեան գրոցն, իմաստասիրութեամբ գործեն զհայրենի աւրինադրութիւնն այլաբանելով. վասն զի նշանակ զճառին մեկնութեանս կարծեն ծածկեցելոյ[3] բընութեանն ի[4] կարծիս ազդեցելոյ: Բայց է սոցա և շարագրածք հին արանց, որք աղանդին առաջնորդք և սկիզբն եղեն, բազո՛ւմ յիշատակարանս այնըր որ յայլաբանեալսն տեսակի թողին. որովք[5] ըսկըզբնատպաւք վարելով նոքա[6], նմանութիւն բերեն զկա- M. 476
մացն նոցա զաւրինակ: Ապա ուրեմն ոչ տեսանեն միայն, այլ և առնեն երգս և աւրհնութիւնս յաստուածս՝ ի ձեռն ամենազան չափոց և նուագաց: Զոր նազելի և պարկեշտ յարմարմամբ հարկաւորապէս գծեն. զվեց աւուրսն իւրաքանչիւր ոք[7] միայնացեալք ինքեանք առ իրեարս յասիցելում ի միայնանոցսն իմաստասիրեն, ըստ գաւիթն[8] ո՛չ ելանելով արտաքս, և ո՛չ ի բարձրաւանդակէ ուստեք ի բա՛ց վայր հայելով: Իսկ յեւթներորդումն ի մի վայր գան իբրև ի հասարակ ժողովարան, և ըստ հասակի անցեալ նստին, հանդերձ վայելչական ձևով, ի ներքս[9] զձեռսն ունելով,

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[1] զմիշտ զերգելի D. [2] առնլով D. [3] ծածկեցելոց D.
[4] B omits ի կարծիս to և շարա inclusive. [5] իբրու is added in BD.
[6] նոքա om. D. [7] ոք om. D. [8] ըստ գաւիթսն D. [9] և ի ներքսն B.

զաչն ի մէջ կրծիցն և ծնաւտին, իսկ զահեակն զըսպեալ[1] և ամփոփեալ առ կշտին. և ի մէջ անցեալ ծերունի ոք և որ աւրինացն հմտագոյն, խաւսի համեստ հայեցուածաք և համեստագոյն ձայնիւ խորհրդով և իմաստութեաւբ. ոչ դժնդակութիւն բանից, որպէս ճարտասանքդ[2] և այժմ իմաստակքդ[3] ի մէջ անցեալ ցոյցս առնեն, այլ զ՝ի միտն[4] քննելով և մեկնելով զըստուգութիւն, որ ոչ ի վերայ ծայրից ականջացն անցեալ նստի, այլ ի ձեռն լսաւորութեանն[5] յոգիսն գայ. և ի վերայ նորա անցանէ հաստատութեամբ և խաղաղութեամբ. այլքն ամենեքին նստին և լսեն, զգովութիւնն ակնարկութեան աչէ՛ք քան գլխոյ ազդելով զայս միայն: Իսկ հասարակ պարկեշտանոցս այս, յոր յերթևերորդումն գան ժողովին, կրկին գաւիթ է. մին յառնանոցն և մին ի կանանոցն զատուցեալ և որոշեալ[6]: Արանցն և կանայք ըստ սովորութեան լսեն ընդ նոսա և նախանձին[7] զնոյն նախանձ, և զնոյն կամ յինքեան[8] բերեն: Իսկ ի մէջ տանն՝[9] որմ ի յատակէն յերիս և ի չորս կանգունս ի վերկոյս գեղեցիկ շինեալ[10] լանջաբերձ: Իսկ մինչև ցձեղունն՝ վերնատուն բացարձակ թողեալ յաղագս երկուց իրաց, զի զվայելչական պատկառանս կնոջ բնութեանն ամբողջ պահեսցէ, և զի զընդունելութիւնն լսելոյ զբանն դիւրաւ ունիցի առնել: Ընդեալ նստեալ լինին մաւտ յայն վայր ուր լսելն գոյ, ոչ իրիք ընդ այնր որ խաւսին ձայնին ընդ ոտս անկանելոյ[11]. և արգելաւորութիւն՝ իրրև հիմն իմն յառաջագոյն եդեալ յոգւոյնըն, զայլսն ևս ի վերայ շինեն զառաքինութիւնան: Այց կերակուր կամ ըմպելի ոչ ոք ի սոցանէ ընկալցի յառաջ քան զմուտս արեգական. վասն զի զիմաստասիրելն արժանի լուսոյ համարին, և խաւարին՝ զմարմնոյն հարկաւորս. վասն որոյ միումն զտիւն[12], իսկ հարկաւորացն՝ զգիշերոյն զոգոյն

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[1] զագեալ B. [2] ճարտարասանքդ B. [3] իմաստակդ D. [4] այլ զի զմիտան D. [5] լսաւորութեան B. [6] զատուցեալս և որոշեալս D. [7] նախանձեալ D. [8] յինքեանս B. [9] տանցն B. [10] շինեալ է B. [11] անգելոյ D. [12] զտեւն BC.

ինչ մասն եռուն։ Բայց ոմանք յերիս աւուրս յուշ արկանեն
կերակուրս, յորս աւելի հանճարոյ փափագումն հիմնացեալ
և հաստատեա՛լ է։ Եւ ոմանք այսպէս ուրախ լինին և
զուարճանան, յիմաստասիրութենէն կերակրեալք մեծապէս
և առատաբար զաւրէնսն բաշխելով տալով, մինչ զի երկպատի՛կ
ժամանակ քան զայս ժուժալ, և հազիւ հազ յետ վեց աւուր
ճաշակել կերակուր հարկաւոր, ընդելեալք իբր ասեն զճրպ-
ռանցդ ազգք, աւդով կերակրիլ, երգոյն՝ որպէս կարծեմ, M. 477
զկարաւտութիւնն դիւրաւ անցուցեալ[1]։ Քանզի զեւթնե-
րորդն ամենասուրբ իմն և ամենատա՛ւն գոլ կարծեցեալք,
առանձինն իմն[2] և մեկնակ և զատ պատուոյ արժանի առնեն[3].
յորում յետ անձինն խնամոյ և դարմանոյ՝ և զմարմինն
պարարեն, որպէս գոյ տեսանել և ըզպաճարսդ, ի ստէպ
ստէպ[4] վաստակոյ երկոցն թողացուցանեն։ Եւ կերակրին՝ ո՛չ
բազմապատիկ ինչ խահիւք, այլ հա՛ց անպաճոյճ, և աղ
խորտիկ, զորս խահամոքքն համեմեն զոպայիւ. և է ըմպելի
սոցա վտակայեն ջուր ինքնախաղաց[5]։ Քանզի զորս բնու-
թիւնս կացոյց ի վերայ մահկանացու ազգիս տիկնայս՝
զծարաւ և զքաղց, ողոքեն և դադարեցուցանեն, յայնցանէ
որ առ ի յողոքանս ինչ է մատուցանելով և ո՛չ ինչ, այլ զնոյն
ինքն զպիտանացուն. առանց որոց կեալն ո՛չ գոյ հնար։ Վասն
այսորիկ ուտեն զի մի՛ քաղցիցեն, ըմպեն[6] զի մի՛ ծարաւեսցին.
բայց ի լիութենէ շուայտութեան[7] իբր ի թշնամւոյ և ի
խորիչ վնասակարէ անձին և մարմնոյ խոյս տուեալ խո-
տորին։

Վասն զի և ծածկութի կրկին տեսակ է, հանդերձ և տո՛ւն։
Արդ յաղագս տանն ասացեալ է յառաջագոյն[8], զի է անպա-
ճոյճ և առանց խոհելոյ, առ պիտանացուն միա՛յն գործեցեալ.
և զգեստն նոյնպէս[9] դուզնաքեայ և առանց պաճուճանաց,
առ ի յապրանս ի ցրտոյ և տաւթոյ. քանզի վերարկու

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[1] դիւրացուցեալ BD. [2] իմն om. D. [3] առնել B.
[4] D adds յաճախ. [5] խաղացեալ D; խաղաց B. [6] և
ըմպեն B. [7] շուայտութենէ D. [8] յառաջագոյնն D.
[9] նոյնպէս և B.

փոխանակ թաւ մորթոյ՝ ձմերայնի[1], և թիկնանոց ամարայնի կտաւի: Վասնզի ամենայնիւ վարժին անշպարտութեամբ, գիտացեալք[2] զի շպարտութեան՝[3] ստուխիւն սկիզբն է[4], և անշպարտութեան՝ ճշմարտութիւն, և երկաքանչիւր ոք զաւրէն աղբեր[5] ունի: Վասնզի հոսին և բխեն ի տէն՝ բազմաւրինակ չարեացն տեսակք. իսկ ի ճշմարտէն՝[6] շահ.ք ստացուածոց բարեաց, մարդկայնոցն և աստուածայնոցն:

Նայց կամիմ և զի հասարակն[7] ժողովս միաբանութեան նոցա, և զպայծառագոյնս զուարթագոյնըս ի գինարբուս[8] զվարն ասել, հակառակ և ընդդէմ սմին կացուցեալ զայլոցն գինարբուս: Վասնզի սոքա յորժամ զանապակն յինքեանս ամասցեն, ոչ իբրև զգինի արբեալ, այլ իբրև սխալական[9] ինն և յուզիչ[10] և զմոլեգնոտ ինչ. և թէ այլ ևս ինչ իցէ դժնդակագոյն մոլեգնութիւն, կատաղութեան[11] խորհրդոյ մոլեգնութեան բնական, խռնչէն և մոլին և կատաղին զաւրէն շանց վայրենեաց և անձեռնընդելից, և ի վերայ յարուցեալք խածատեն ըզմիմեանս և փաղաղեն, ի բաց հատանելով զըռընգունս և զականջս, զմասունս[12], զայլս ևս մասն մարմնոյն. մինչ զի զայն որ ի վերայ Սիկղոպայ և Ոդեւսեայ ընկերացն զառաստպելն յայտնի ցուցանիլ ի նոցանէ[13] ճշմարիտ, պատառս և թուռս մարդկան ուտելով, որպէս ասէ քերթողն, և հմագոյն և խակագոյն քան թէ նա: Այսն զի նա թշնամի համարեալ ունէր. իսկ սոքա՝ սովորս և ընդ՛ելս և բարեկամս. և է երբեք զի և զազգակիցս[14] առ աղ և առ սեղան, աննուէր և առանց խաղաղութեան, ի նուէր խաղաղութեանն գործեցին: Եւ ոմանք իսկ և զամենայն աւրինակն յինքեանս նմանեցուցանելով, զայնոցիկ որ ի կրթական հանգէսսն են, և հատանեն և խոտան գործեն, իբրև զընտիր և զփորձ

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[1] ձմերանոյ D. [2] B adds իշխէ. [3] հպարտութենէ C. [4] զի հպարտութեան սկիզբն ստուխիւն իշխէ D. So B only adding է before իշխէ. [5] աղբիւր B and in marg. սկզբն. [6] ի ճշմարտութենէն BD. [7] զհասարակն D. [8] գինարբուսն B. [9] սղալական B. [10] սուզիչ D. [11] կատաղութիւն D. [12] զմատունս զայլ ևս մասունս BD. [13] ի սոցանէ BCD. [14] զազգակիցս D.

դահեկան զվարժս կրթուԹեանն, որք փոխանակ նահատակաց
ԹշուառականՔ, քանզի զայս ի վերայ նոցա ասելի է: Զի
որ[1] զգաստուԹեամբ չընԹացարանն և ի գաղանամարտս,
նոքա տեսողաք վարելով այնոքիւք որ առ ամենայն հեԹա-
նոսն փորձագոյնքն, ի տուընջեան, և[2] յաղագս յաղԹուԹեան M. 478
և պսակաց ողջմպիականաց՝ և արուեստիւ[3] գործեն: Իսկ
նոքա խոտան և արհամարհ և անարգ գործ գործելով ի
գինարբուսն, գիշերի ի խաւարի արբենալով և սխալակելով[4]
և զանցանելով զգինւով առանց հանճարոյ, և չարահնարու-
Թեամբ՝ յանարգուԹիւն և ի Թըշնամանս, և դժուարին
հարուածս այնոցիկ որ կրեն գործն զկրան: Պպա ԹԷ
ո՛չ ոք զաւրէն համոզակեր Թափչի ի մէջ անցեալ քակեսցէ,
մեծաւ և աւելի իշխանուԹեամբ, յաղԹէն և մարտչէն և
մրցէն. մահ միանգամայն և սպանուԹիւն[5] գործելով: Վհանդի
կրեն՝ ո՛չ դուզնաքեայ յայնցանէ զոր ընդ այլսն անցուցանեն
զոր ինչ ո՛չ գիտեն, խելագար[6] առնելով. որք զգինին՝ ո՛չ
որպէս կատակերգուն ասէ՝ առ ի չար մերձաւորացն միայն
ըմպեն զայն, այլ և առ իւրեանց չար ըմպելով յանձն
առնուն. վասն որոյ որք յառաջ սակաւ մի ի մէջ անցեալ
ի գինարբուս առողջք և բարեկամք, յետ սակաւ մի ելանեն
ի դուրս Թշնամիք. և մարմնովք յապաւեալ և չարեալք և
զըմբրեալք. և ոմանք ի նոցանէ ոսոխաց և դատաւորաց, և
ոմանք պատանաց և սպեղանեաց և բժշկաց, և առ ի սոցանէն
աւգնականուԹեան կարաւտեալ անքատին. և ոմանք որք
ի չափաւորագունաց[7] գոլ Թուին գինարբուաց՝ իբրև զմանր
բագոր զանապակն ըմպելով, Թմբրեալք և Թրջեալք և զըմ-
բրեալք, և զահեկեայ զարմուկն ի դուրս կորզեալ հանեալ
և զվիզն ի վայր արկեալ ի նէրքս դարձուցանելով ի
բաժակն, խոր քնով ըմբռնեալք[8] լինին. ո՛չ ինչ ո՛չ գիտելով
և ո՛չ լսելով, իբրև մի միայն ունելով զգայուԹիւն զաղընԹո-
րակագոյնն[9] ճաշակաւորուԹիւն:

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[1] զի որ] զոր BD. [2] B omits և. [3] արուեստի D.
[4] սխալակելով B. [5] և սպականուԹիւն D. [6] խելա-
գարաբար BD. [7] չափաւորագունացն B. [8] ընպռնեալք B.
[9] զաննԹորակագոյնն D.

Բայց գիտեմ զոմանս որք յորժամ սխալակեալք[1] եղիցին, յառաջ մինչ չև կատարելապէս թըմբրիլ[2] և թալալ, նաև ընկղմիլ[3], ի զկնի այնր ի միւս ևս գինարբուս հրաւիրելով, հանգանակ[4] ի մէջ արկանելով յառաջագոյն պատրաստ[5]. մասն կարծելով զառ ի ձեռինն ուրախութեան գոլ զայնր[6] որ յաղագս հանդերձելոյ արբեցութեանն յոյսն կայր. և զայսաւրինակ կելով, անտունք և անբնակք և անգաւառք և անվայրք լինին. թշնամիք ծնողաց և կանանց և մանկանց. և թշնամիք հայրենի գաւառին, և թշնամիք և անձանց իւրեանց: Զանզի խռնաւուտ և անապուր և շուայտեալ կեանք կենցաղոյս, ամենեցուն դաւող թշնամի է: Բայց թերևս ոք ընկալեալ յարգեսցէ զայն՝ որ յածեալ և հռչակեալ է այժմ գինարբուացն ամենայն ուրեք գործ, ըստ փափաքման իտալական բազմազան խրախճանութեանն և փափկութեան: Ընդ որ նախանձեցան ելլենացիք և բարբարոսք, առ ի ցոյցս առաւել քան ի բարեկեցութիւն առնելոյ զպատրաստութիւնս կազմածոյն. եռակրմպանոցմն և բազմակրմպանոց, տաճարս ի կրայի[7] պատենից և ի փղոսկրէ կազմեալս և ի պատուականագոյն նիւթոյ. որոց բազում ինչ է որ յախճապակապատ է. անկողինս ծիրանի ոսկեհուռ անկեալս, և այլ ծաղկաներկս յամենապատիկ երանգոց, առ երեսացն ձգումն և կորզումն. բաժակաց և ըմպելեաց բազմութիւն, կարգեցելոց և մի ըստ միոջէ եդելոց ըստ իւրաքանչիւր տեսակի: Ափսէք և տաշտք և ըմպիկք[8] և պատժանակք, և բազմաձև արուեստականագոյն նաւակք և ճախարակեայք[9], իմաստուն հանճարեղ արանց ճշգրիտ ստուգութեամբ կազմեալ ձեռագործք. և պաշտաւնեայք սպասաւորք՝ ծառայք և աղախնայք գեղեցկակերպք և յոյժ գեղաղէշք՝ որպէս

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[1] սղխալակեալք B. [2] թմպրիլ B. [3] թալանալ և ընկղմիլ BD. [4] C in marg. խաղս : AB in marg. հաղս : հանկանակ D. [5] պատրաստին BD. [6] զայն D. [7] ի կրայպատենից D; ի կրախպ. B; ի կրայխպ. C. [8] ըմպելիք D; ըմպինք pr. C, which late hand corr. to ըմպանակ. [9] ճախարակեալք D.

զի երթեալք անդ, ոչ[1] յաղագս սպասու առաւել քան թէ M. 479
երևելով ջտեսողացն զերեսս ի հեշտ ցանկութիւն ձգել։
Վասնզի ի սոցանէն մանկագոյնքն որ են՝ զգինին պաշտեն, և
զջուրն բերեն հաւժկուագոյնքն[2], լոգացեալք և լուացեալք
և ողորկեալք զդէմն յարդարեն և նըկարագրեն, և զՏեր
գլխոյն գեղեցիկ իմն աւրինակաւ[3] յարմարեալ հիւսուն, և
վարսակալաւ յաւրինեալ շպտին, քանզի թաւագէսք են, որ
ոչն սափրին ամենևին, բայց զառաջի ճակատոյն միայն
զՏերան[4] քաղեն, այնչափ մինչև ի հարթել և ի զուգել
բոլորաձև գծոյ կազմեալ կերպարան։ Եւ պատմուճանս
սարգանկուս[5] և սպիտակս ունին, և գաւտի ածեալք՝ ի
վերկոյս զՏանդերձն ժողովեալ զառաջիկողմանէսն խոնար-
հագոյն քան զբարձն ի ներքոյ ծնկին։ Իսկ զկնիսն ի վեր
սակաւ մի ընդ քամակն. և երկաքանչիւր ոք կողմն
գանգրաձև գեղեցիկ խորշաքաղ արարեալ ի վերայ միմեանց
ծալմամբ, ըստ նոցունց պատմուճանաց ի միասին ձգմամբ
ընդ գաւտեաւն Տանգրիճաձև ամփոփմանըն. և յերկոցունց
կողմանց՝ խինձ[6] ի վերայ թողացուցեալ կախեն զՏովտագոյնս[7]
կողմանցն։ Եւ անցեալ կան առ նոսին սկլք պարմանիք՝[8]
առաջին տէգ մուրուացն արձակեալ, մաւրուքն[9] այն ինչ
դեռադեռ ծաղկեալք. խաղ յառաջ սակաւ մի մանկատուփացն
եղեալ, ընդ վարժ կրթուԹեան անցեալք, յոյժ աւելագոր-
ծուԹեան կախարդուԹեամբ, առ ծանրագոյն սպասաւորու-
Թիւն, ցոյցք Տացցուաց բառացի մեծուԹեան, որպէս գիտա-
ցին որք վարինն և ի կիր առնուն[10]։ Իսկ որպէս ունի
ճըշմարտուԹիւնն[11] անբարեփորձուԹեան. և առ այսոքիւք
ևս Տացից և խոհից, և զանազան կազմուԹեանց պայծառու-
Թիւնք. յորս Տացարարք և ամէքարարք աշխատին[12] Տոգ
տանելով, ոչ զճաշակաւորուԹիւնն որ էր Տարկաւոր՝ Տեշտա-

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[1] զի ոչ B. [2] Հուժկուագոյնքն D; Հաւժկուագոյնք BC. [3] յաւրինակաւ D. [4] զծայրսն D. [5] սարգանկուսս D. [6] ծոց in marg. ABCD. [7] զՏովտագոյն D. [8] պարմանիկք B adding in marg. պարասաց. [9] D omits մաւրուքն. [10] առնուն B. [11] ճշմարտուԹիւն B. [12] աշխարՀին D.

ցուցանել միայն պայծառութեամբ, այլ և զերեսն մաքրութեամբ : Որդ եւթն և աւելիք ևս ի ներքս տարեալ լինին սեղանք, լի՛ք ամենայնիւ որ ինչ միանգամ երկիր և ծով և գետք և աւդ բերեն, յամենայնէ ընտրեա՛լ, զամենայն ինչ ազնիւ մի՛ մի[1] ցամաքայնո՛ց, ջրայնո՛ց, աւդագնացաց· յորոց իւրաքանչիւր ոք որոշեալ և մեկնեալ է և կազմութեամբ պատրաստութեան, և համեմոցն ամոքանաւք, զի մի՛ և մի ինչ ազգ ամենևին մի՛ մնացէ որ ինչ ի բնութեանս է : Ջուսկ յետոյ, մրգոցն ի ներքս մուծեալ՝ լինին լցեա՛լք առանց այնր ի կաքաւանսն և յերգս[2]· և զայն որ ասինն մակընթրակք, և ապա այնք արտաքս հանեալ լինին ունա՛յն վասն կերողացն անյագութեան· որք զաւրէն եթիայց[3] ամանալով[4] փաղաղեն, մինչև յոսկերացն նոցա անգամ ուտել. իսկ զայլսն լափատեն, և ձրձելով կիսակեր թողուն. զի յորժամ կատարելապէս ի բաց հրաժարեսցեն՝ զորովայնն մինչ ի պարանոցն լցեալ, և թափուր և ունայն են ցանկութեամբք, յապուշ և յետս կալով ի խահիցն կերակրոց· զվիզն այսր անդր շուրջ ածեալ[5], աչաւք և ռնգամբք շուրջ լապլիզեն և լակոտան[6], զոմանց ի նոցանէ[7] զանազանութիւն մսոցն և ըզբաղմութիւն[8], և զոմանց զբուրումն զճենճերական[9] հոտոյն· և ապա յորժամ յերկոցունց՝ ի խահէն և ի հոտոյն եղիցին յագեալք, գովել հրամայեն սակաւ մի զկազմութիւնն և զհացտուն, վասն բազմապայծառ պատրաստութեանն : Այլ զի՞ զայսոսիկ վայելէ յերկարել, որ ի բազմաց ահա ի չափաւորացն և ի համեստաց ըստգտեալ է, պատուելով[10] և ընդարձակելով զցանկութիւնս[11] որոց փոքրկութիւնն[12] և նեղութիւն աւգտակար էր. քանզի ըղձիւք
M. 480 ոք յիրաւի՛ արդեւք ըղձանայ զանըղձանալիսն զծարաւ և զքաղց, քան զայն որ յայսպիսի խրախութեան առատ և անբաւ կերակրոց և ըմպելեաց մեծութիւնն եղև :

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[1] ի ցամաքայնոց D. [2] յերգսն B. [3] եթեայց B. [4] եթւփեայց ամայալով D. [5] ածելով D. [6] լափլիզեն և զակոտան D. [7] յայնցանէ D. [8] զբաղմութեան B. [9] զճենճերակոյն B. [10] պատառելով BD. [11] զցանկութիւնսն D. [12] փոքրկութեամբն B.

Այնոցիկ որ յԵլլադա գինարբուք եղեն, հռչակագոյնք և նշանաւորք, երկուք այսոքիկ են, յորս դէպ եղև և Սոկրատայ պատահել. մին յորժամ զԿալլիաս պսակեալ, յԱւտոսիկա զյաղթութեան խրախութիւնսն[1] վայելէր. և մին Ագաթոնա, զորս և յիշատակի արժանի արարին արք որք և բարուք և սովորութեամբք և բանիւք[2] իմաստասէրք եղեն, Քսենոփոն և Պղատոն. քանզի[3] մատեանս[4] գրեցին իբր արժանիս յիշատակի, որովք կարծեցին ի կիր առնուլ ցոյցս աւրինակի զյետ այսոցիկն, զայն որ ի գինարբուսն հացկերութաց, նուագաւոր կրաւնիւք վարեսցին։ Բայց սակայն և այսոքիկ բաղդատեալք ընդ մերս, որք զտեսականն խնդութեամբ ընկալան զվարս կենցաղոյս, ծաղր երևեալ գտցի։ Քանզի հեշտ ցանկութիւնս[5] ունի երկաքանչիւր ոք. և մարդկաւրէնագոյն է Քսենոփոնտայն. քանզի կանայք փողհարք և կաքաւիչք և սքանչելագործք. և քերթողք ծաղուց՝ առ ի ծաղր ինչ կատականաց գործել և յանառակ խնդութիւն զարթուցանելով մեծամեծս[6] փքային։ Եւ են և այլ խաղք որք[7] պայծառագոյն յընդարձակութեան կամակ ախորժութիւնք եղեն։ Իսկ պղատոնականն՝ բոլորն գրեթէ՝ է յաղագս տուփանաց. ոչ արանց ի կանայս մոլեցելոց[8], և կանանց յարս միայն, քանզի խորշին և ակնածեն և զսպեալ ամփոփին ցանկութիւնքս այսոքիկ[9] աւրինաւք բնութեան. բայց արք յարուս՝ հասակաւ միայն զանազանեալք։

Եւ քանզի որ ինչ միանգամ յաղագս տուփաւորին և երկնային Աստղկանն պայծառագոյն ինչ ասել թուի յաղագս խրախութեան և զուարճութեան ամենայն առեալ եղև։ Քանզի զյոլով[10] մասն սորա հասարակական և ընդհանուր աշխարհական տուփաւորն առեալ ընկալաւ. զզաւրութիւնն, զկենցաղաւգուտն առաքինութիւն, զըստ պատերազմին և զըստ խաղաղութեանն ի բաց բառնալով, բայց իգական ախտ յոգիսն

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[1] խրախութիւնն D. [2] բանիւք և B. [3] քանզի և BD. [4] ի մատեանս D. [5] հեշտ ցանկութիւն D. [6] B has մեծամեծր and writes ս over ր. [7] որ B. [8] մոլելոց B. [9] այնոքիւք B. [10] յոլով BD.

գործելով և կնամարդիս[1] կազմելով: Որոց պարտ և արժան էր ամենեցուն առ ի զաւրութիւն կրթութեան զանձինս վարժել, ապականելով ըզմանկական հասակն ի տափեցելոց դաս և ի կարգ ածելով, ինաս գործեաց և տափողացն ի[2] Հարկաւորագոյնսն, զմարմին և զանձն և զժառանգութիւն. քանզի Հարկ է մանկատափի մտացն ձգիլ և կորզիլ առ մանկականսն, և առ այսոսիկ սրատեսիլ լինել: իսկ առ այլսն ամենայն առ իւրսն և առ հասարակացն կուրանալ: Եւ մարմինքն քանցեալ[3] ի ցանկութենէն, և մանաւանդ եթէ վրիպեսցէ՝ հաշիլ և մաշիլ. և ժառանգութիւնն անհոգացեալ պղերգութեամբ դերևանալ և նուազել յերկուց իրաց, յանփութենէն և ի տափելոյն ծախուց, և բուսանել[4] յայսմանէ և միւս ևս այլ մեծ ընդհանուր աշխարհական չար. անմարդութիւն և ամայութիւն քաղաքաց, և նուազութիւն առաքինի ազգին մարդկան, ամլութիւն և անպտղութիւն հնարին գտանել, որք նմանել կամին անտեղեակ և անհմուտ մըշակաց,
M. 481 որք փոխանակ թանձրահող դաշտացն զաղտաղտուկ անդաստանս և զքարուտ և զապալերկ վայրն[5] սերմանեն[6], զայն առ որով[7] ոչ ինչ ամենևին բնաւորեալ է բուսուցանել, և զսերմանեալն յինքն նեխել և փտե զսերմանսն: Այլ լեառ զառասպելացն ստեղծուածս, որք և զերկմարմինսն որք ի[8] սկզբանն խառնեալք ընդ միմեանս բնութեամբ միաւորական զաւրութեամբ, դարձեալ իբրև մասունք ի մի վայր եկեալք ի բաց անջատեցան ի յարմարութենէն յորմէ ըմբռնեալք էին ի միաբանութիւն, լուծեալք քակտեցան. քանզի դիւրաւ պատրել և խաբել կարեն ամենայն զոյգքն նորոգութեամբ խորհրդոց մտածութեամբ զականջսըն խանձիւ որսալ. զորոց ի բաղում ժամանակաց Ովսեսի աշակերտքն ուսեալ[9] յառաջին հասակէն բաղձալ ճշմարտութեանն՝ քամհեն և արհամարհեն, անպատրելիք[10] և անխաբք անցուցանեն զաւուրս իւ-

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[1] այրամարդիս BD. [2] և ի B. [3] քաղցեալ D; քառցեալ B. [4] բուսանիլ BD. [5] վայրս B. [6] D omits սերմանեն. [7] այն առ որովն B. [8] For ի B reads զի. [9] ուսեալք B. [10] անպարտելիք D.

բեանց: Ա՛յլ վասն զի անուանի և նշանակաւոր հռչակեալ[1] միաբանութեան գինարբուքըն, այսքանիւ լի՛ է շատախօսու[2] ընդվայրաբանութեամբ յինքեանս ունել[3] զկշտամբանս յանդիմանութեան, եթէ ո՞չ առ ի փառս է[4] հռչակեալ համբաւն յաղագս նոցա, իբրու կարի՛ յոյժ ուղիղ գործողաց որ ի[5] համբաւն կամեսցի հայել, հակառակ ընդդէմ եդեալ զգինարբուս այնոցիկ որ նուիրեցին զիւրեանց զկեանսն հանճարոյ խրատու, և տեսութեան բնութեանս իրաց, ըստ մարգարէին Ա՝ովսեսի սուրբ տէրունեան պատմութեան խրատուց:

Առաքն նախ առաջին ի մի վայր ժողովին յետ եւթն եւթն շաբաթուց[6] ո՛չ միայն ի պարզ բնութենէ եւթներկին, այլ և ի զաւրութենէ սորա պակուցեալ քանզի սուրբ և անբիծ և յաւերժակոյս զսէ գիտեն. և է նախատաւնակ մեծի տաւնին յիսներեակն[7], սրբագոյն և բնականագոյն թիւ, յուղղանկիւնոյ եռանկիւնոյն զաւրութենէ, որ է սկիզբն բոլորին լինելու թեան[8] բաղկացեալ: Եւ յորժամ ի մի վայր եկեալ ժողովեսցին սպիտակազգեստք, պայծառք, և զուարթք. բուն հանդերձ[9] վերնային պարկեշտութեան հաւանութեամբն, և նշան արարեալ նոցա աւրաւորակին,—քանզի այսպէս նոցա անուանել սովորութիւն է զյայսոսիկն սպասաւորութիւնս կարգեալս,—յառաջ քան զբազմելն յոտն կան, մի ըստ միոջէ կարգաւ յաւրինեալք, և զերեսս և զձեռս յերկինս համբարձեալք: Ո՛չերեսն, վասն զի տեսլեանն[10] արժանի՛ս տեսանել խրատեցան: Եւ զձեռնն, վասն[11] զի մաքուրք[12] յառուածոց են, և ո՛չ ի միոյ իմէք ի պատճառէ ի շահից աւգտէ ապականեալք. յաղաւթս կան առ աստուած՝ զգինարբուս խրախճանութեանն իւրեանց հաճոյ և կամակ լինել և ըստ մնացն

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[1] հռչակեցուցեալ D. [2] So A, leaving an erasure: շատխաւսութեամբ D; լեթեան BC. [3] ունելով D. [4] ի փառս և ի D: ի փ. և B. [5] D omits որ ի: B has և ի. [6] In marg. of B is the scholion յորելեանն է. [7] D corrects յիսներեակն into յիսներեկին. [8] լինելութենն B. [9] հանդերձ բուն BD, and B writes in marg. տաւն է կ. եկեղպանն է. [10] զտեսլեանն D. [11] B omits վասն. [12] մաքուր C.

ախորժակաց[1] Հանդիպել: Իսկ յետ աղաւթիցն ծերունիքն կողմանին մի ըստ միոջէ կարգաւ ըստ որոշմանն. և ծերունիս ոչ զբազմամեայս և զհինսն համարին, եթէ յամր՝ ուղիղ
M. 482 կամաց յաւժարութեան բաղձացան, այլ զյառաջնըմէ հասա-
կէն զարգացեալ տեսական մասին իմաստասիրութեան. որ գեղեցիկ և սքանչելի և աստուածայինն է: Եւ են ընդ սոսա ի հացկերութիւն[2] և կանայք, որոց յոլովք ի նոցանէ պառաւունք[3] կոյսք, զորբութիւն կուսութեանն ոչ ի հարկէ՝ որպէս ոմանք յառ Հեթանոսսն քրմացն պահեն առաւել քան ըստ կամաւոր բարուց, վասն նախանձու և փափաքման իմաստութեան. ընդ որում կեալ փոյթ յանձին կալեալք, զմարմնաւոր հեշտ ցանկութեամբքն քամահեցին. ոչ մահացու[4] ծննդոց, այլ անմահից բաղձացեալք, զորս միայն կարաւղ է ծնանել աստուածասէր անձն. սերմանեալ ի նա զճառագայթսն զմտաւորս Հաւրն, որովք կարասցէ տեսանել զիմաստութեանն աւրէնս: Եւ որոշեալ և զատուցեալ է բաղմականքն, առանձինն[5] և զատ, արանցն յայրկողմն, և մեկուսի և զատ՝ կանանցն յահեակ կողմն, զոր կարծեսցէ ոք անկողինս, թէպէտ և ոչ արդեւք բազմապատիկ պայծառութիւն ունին, բայց սակայն կակղագոյնք են, իբրև ազատ մարդկան և իմաստասիրութեան[6] նահատակաց պատրաստեալ. և պարիսպք են ի դուշնաքեայ նիւթոյ. յորոց կարի գձուձ գետնաստորս ի գաւառին պրտուղն, սակաւ մի վերամբարձեալս ընդ արմկամբքն զի յայն յեցցին. քանզի զղակռնական խստավարութիւնն թողացուցեալ, բայց միշտ և ամենայն ուրեք զազատ դիւրութիւնն ի կիր առնուն, մեծաւ զաւրութեամբ ի հեշտ ցանկութենէ տուփանաց[7] ի բաց հրաժարեալք: Եւ սպաս պաշտաման կրեն ոչ ի ծառայից և յաղախնաց[8], զազգն ազատս[9] ստացուածս համարեալ ոչ ըստ բնութեան, քանզի սէ ազատս զամենեսին ծնաւ: Իսկ ոմանց անիրաւութիւնքն և ագահու-

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[1] և ըստ ամենայն ախորժանաց D. [2] հացկերութիւնն D. [3] պատառունք B. [4] մահկանացու BD. [5] և ոչ D. [6] իմաստասիրութեանն B. [7] ի տուփանաց B. [8] յաղախնանց B. [9] Instead of զազգն ազատս BD have զանազատաց.

թիւնք և աւելաստացութիւնք, նախանձ բերեալ ընդ սկզբնաշարին անզուգութեան, ի լուծ ծառայութեանն[1] արկեալ զգտարագունիցն զաւրութիւն, ընդ հղաբագունիւքըն մուծին: Եւ ի սուրբ ի տէրունեան ի գինարբուս յայս[2] ծառայ և ոչ մի ոք ոչ էր, որպէս ասացի[3], բայց ազատք պաշտէին զարբանեկական պէտսն կատարելով՝ ոչ բռնութեամբ, և ոչ հրամանաց կային անսային, այլ կամաւորք[4] բարուք յառաջանային անցանելով ի փութոյն և յաւժարութենէն զհրամանաւն: Վասնզի և ոչ դուզնաքեաչք ոք ազատք կարգեալ լինին առ սպասաւորութիւն պաշտամանս այսորիկ, այլ պատանիք ի ժողովի[5] միաբանութեան հանդերձ ամենայն խնամով ի բուն յառաքինութեան[6] ընտրեալք. զոր աւրինակ պարտ և արժան է իմաստունս և ազատս և առ վերին առաքինութեանն ծայր ճեպեալս, իբրև որդիք հարազատք պատուասիրաբար խնդութեամբ հարց և մարց պաշտաւն մատուցանեն, հասարակ ծնաւղս համարելով, և քան զայնոսիկ որ յարենէն են՝[7] ևս ընտանեգոյնս:

Այլ եթէ արդարև քան զքաջաբարութիւն ոչ ինչ է ընտանեգոյն այնոցիկ որ զբարի խորհուրդն առաջի արկեալ է, անիգձատք վայր[8] թողեալ զպատմուճանսն մտանեն պաշտեն, իբրև չոչ ինչ բնաւ ամենևին կերպարան ծառայական ձևոյ M. 483 յանձինս բերելով: Այս ի գինարբուս գիտեմ զի ոմանք ծիծաղեսցին լսելով, բայց ծիծաղեսցին որք լալեաց և աշխարանաց արժանի կեանս կեան: Վասնի յաւուրսն յայնոսիկ ամենևին ոչ տանին ի ներքս, այլ ջուր ականակիտ. յոլովից ի նոցանէ հով, բայց ջերմ" ծերունեացըն փափկակեցցն, և սեղան մաքուր յարիւնաւորաց, յորոյ[9] վերայ հաց կերակուր և խորտիկ աղ, որոց էր երբեք զի և զոպա համեմով ամրեալ լինէր, վասն փափկավարացն: Վանզի զգաստութիւն և համեստութիւն՝ որպէս քահանայիցն պատարագս մատուցանել, և սոցա վարս ունել ուղիղ[10] բանն առեալ. քանզի գինի ան-

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[1] ծառայութեան B. [2] յայսոսիկ D. [3] ասացին B.
[4] կամաւոր D. [5] ի ժողով ի C. [6] առաքինութիւն BD.
[7] D omits են. [8] ի վայր B. [9] յորոց BD. [10] ուղղել B.

կգայուԹեան է դեղ, և խահ.ք բազմապատիկ՝[1] *պաճարոցն, զանյագագոյնն զարԹուցանեն և գրգռեն զՀեշտ ցանկուԹիւնն: Եւ առաջին կերակուրքն նոցա այսպիսիք են: Խակ յետ ընկողմանելոյ ՀացկերուԹացն, որովք ազդեցի գաստուք կարգաւն, և կալ սարկաւագացն յաւրինաւոր զարդու, առ ի սպաս պաշտամանն պատրաստս. և գահերէցն ի նոցանէ՝ իբրու Հասարակ լուսԹիւն եղև, և ԵրԹ ոչ՝ ո՛չ գոյ*[2] *ասել ումեք, բայց ևս առաւել քան յառաջագոյն*[3]*, մինչ զի և ո՛չ անգամ ումեք իշխել բարբառել և կամ շունչ կլանել սաստկագոյն, խընդիր ոմանց որ ի սուրբ ի տէրունեան գիրս*[4] *կայ առարկելոց*[5] *լուծանէ և մեկնէ, Հոգ ինչ ո՛չ տանելով, իբրու ԹԷ ցոյցս ինչ առնել: Վասնզի ո՛չ գժընդակուԹեան ճարտարուԹեան բանիւք՝ բարգաւաճանաց փառասիրուԹեան ցանկացեալ է, տեսանել ինչ փափագեալ ստուգագոյն և ճշմարտագոյն. և տեսեալ՝ ո՛չ չարակնել և նախանձ վարկանել, զայնոսիկ որք ԹԷպէտ ո՛չ նմանապէս զսրատեսուԹիւնն ունին, այլ զի*[6] *զուսանելոյն զբաղձանս ցանկուԹեան Հաւասար և զոյգ ունին: Եւ նա անցեալ կայ Հաստատուն և Հանդարտիկ ի կիր արկեալ զվարդապետուԹիւնն, ասելով*[7] *և յերկարելով, և ի վերջոյին բուռն Հարկանելով և բազում անգամ զնոյն կրկնելով, ածելով*[8] *յոգիսն զմիտս բանին. քանզի մեկնուԹեամբ արագն և կարի յոյժ տագնապաբար առանց ոգի առնելոյ յընդելուզանելոյն, լսողացն միտք զՀետ երԹալ անկարացեալ*[9] *վերջանան, և անցեալ մեան ի Հասմանէ ըմբռնման ասիցելոցն: Խակ որք շականչեն*[10] *զականչսն և զաչսն ի նա կառուցանեն, ի միում ի նմին կայանի ձևոյ կալով մեալով ունգնդրուԹիւն առնեն. զիմանալն և զմիտ*[11] *առնուլն և*

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[1] *բազմապատիկք* B. [2] *ԵրԹ ոչ գոյ* D; *ԵրԹ ոչ գո* B: Gregory of Dathev has the following scholion: *և ԵրԹ ոչ՝ լծ ԵրԹ ոչ էին լուռ ոչ գո ասել.* [3] *զյառաջագոյնն* D. [4] *գիրսն* B. [5] *առարկելոյ* D. [6] For *այլ զի* B has *քանզի.* [7] *յամելով* BD. [8] *ածելով* ABD in text, but in marg. of AD *կ* is added, as if the reading should be *կածելով*; in C the letter *կ* is written above *ա.* [9] *անկաբացեալք* B. [10] *շականչանեն* BD. [11] *և զի միտ առնուլն* D.

զհասանելն, ակնարկութեամբ և հայեցածովք նշանակելով։ Իսկ զգովութիւն[1] ասողին՝ զուարճութեամբ, և գրեթէ այսր անդր տանելով բերելով զդէմսն։ Իսկ զվարանսն և զտարակուսանսն, հանդարտագոյն և հեզ շարժմամբ գլխոյ և ծայրիւ մատինն աջոյ ձեռինն։ Բա՛յց ոչ նուազ յընկողմանելոցն՝ որք յոտն անցեալ կան մանկտին միտ դնեն. և պատմութիւն տէրունեան սուրբ գրոցն լինի ըստ մտածութեան այլաբանութեամբ. քանզի ամենայն աւրէնադրութիւնն համարեալ է արանցս[2] այսոցիկ նմանել[3] կենդանւոյ, որ մարմին ունի զճառական հրամանսն, և հոգի որ կայ ի բառսն անտեսանելի միտքն, իբրև հայելեաւ զանուանցն զգեղեցիկ և զսքանչելի գեղեցկութիւն մտացն որ կայ ի ներքս տեսանելով. և զնշանսն բանալով և մերկանալով, և հովանի երևեցու- M. 484
ցանելով, և մերկ ի լոյս ի դուրս բերեալ զմտածութիւնս խորհրդոցն, այնոցիկ՝ որք կարեն ի փոքր մի յիշեցուցանելոյ՝[4] զաներևոյթն ի ձեռն երևելեացն տեսանել։ Արդ յորժամ զահերէցն բաւական և շատ խաւսել թուեսցի, և ըստ կամացն նոցա հանդիպել[5] սմա խաւսքն, գեղեցիկ ուշիւ նպատակի, բռնահարութեամբք, և սոցա ունգնդրութիւնն, կայթո՛ւմն յամենեցունց իբրև ի միասին խնդութեամբ հեշտութեան զգածելոց երից միայն եղև։ Եւ ապա աւագն յոտն կացեալ՝ երգ աւրհնութեան երգէ արարեալ աստուծոյ, զոր նորոգ իւր արարեալ[6], և սկզբնաւն իմն հնոց քերթողացն. քանզի չափս և նուագս[7] բազումս թողին տաղից, եռաչափաց, առճանապարհական երգոց, փրկաւետա՛ց, նուիրականա՛ց, յարաբագնա՛ց, չափականա՛ց, կայականա՛ց, պարաւորա՛ց. շրջմամբ[8] և բազմաշրջմամբք, գեղեցիկ և լաւ չափեցելոց. յետ որոյ և այլքն մի ըստ միոջէ, և ըստ հասակի վայելչական զարդու, ամենեցուն մեծաւ լռութեամբ ունգնդրութիւն արարելոց։ Բայց յորժամ զծայրայանգսն, և զ՛ ի վերայս աւրհնութեանն

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1 զգուշութիւն B. 2 համարեալն արանցս այսոցիկ նմանեալ D. 3 նմանեալ B. 4 յիշելոյ B. 5 հանդիպիլ D. 6 արարեալ է B. 7 զսկզբնաւն B. 8 շրջմամբք BC.

երգել պիտեսցի, քանզի յայնժամ ամենեքին հնչեն՝ արք և կանայք:

Եւ յորժամ իւրաքանչիւր ոք կատարեսցէ զաւրհնութիւնն՝ մանկունքն զյառաջ սակաւ մի ինչ ասացեալ զսահմանն ի նեղքս տանին, յորոց վերայ ամենասուրբ կերակուրն հաց խմորեալ, հանդերձ խահիւ աղի ընդ որ զոպա խառնեալ է, վասն պատկառանաց նուիրեցելոյ[1] ի սուրբ տաճարին ի տէրունեան սեղանոյն. քանզի ի վերայ սորա են հաց[2] և աղ առանց ամոքանաց. անխմոր են հացքն, և աղն անխառն: Յանգի վայելուչ և արժանի իսկ էր պարզագոյնքն և լուսաւորագոյնքն[3] և մեկնակքն, առաքինւոյ և լաւի քահանայիցն մասն բաշխիլ տալ մասին պաշտամանն մրցանակ: Իսկ այլոցն ընդ ներմանն նախանձել, և հրաժարել ի նոցունց, զի ունիցին պատիւ նահապետութեան վճռին: Եւ յետ ընթրեացն՝ զսուրբ և զքաղաքելին առնեն զգիշերապաշտաւնն զայս աւրինակ. յատն կան առ հասարակ ամենեքին. և ի միջոցի ընթրակերոցին, նախ զառաջինն երկուք լինին պարք, մին արանց և մին[4] կանանց. և իշխան և առաջնորդ յերկոսին
M. 485 կողմանն ընտրեալ լինի ըստ երկաքանչիւրոցն պատուականագոյն, և նուագաւորագոյնն: Ապա երգեն արարեալ աւրհնութիւնս յաստուած, բազում չափաւք և նուագաւք. մինչ առ հասարակ հնչեն ամենեքին[5], և միաւորեալ զուգաձայն յարմարութեամբ ձեռս շարժելով, խնդալից զուարթանան և աստուածարեն: Իջ երբեք զառ ի յաստուած երգն, և ջ երբեք զչափաւորսն, և շրջանս գ'ի պարսն[6] և անդրէն շրջանս առնեն. և ապա յորժամ երկաքանչիւր ոք ի պարուցն առանձինն ինքն ըստ ինքեան յատուկ խրախ եղեալ կերակրեսցի իբրև աստուածարութեամբ՝ յանապակէն յինքեանս[7] կորզեալ յաստուածսիրութենէն, խառնին և լինին մի պար յերկոցունց, նմանութիւն այնր որ ի Հինն երբեմն եղև ի Կարմիր

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[1] նուիրել D. [2] հացք B. [3] լաւագոյնքն D. [4] մի ... և մի D. [5] ամենեքեան հնչեն D. [6] զկաքաւս առնուն is added in marg. of AC, and in text of BD (but առնեն in B). [7] BD have յիւրեանս, which AC write in the marg.

ծովուն, յաղագս սքանչելեացն որ գործեցաւ անդր[1]. քանզի ծովին Հրամանաւ[2] աստուածոյ, ոմանց փրկութեան պատճառք, և ոմանց համաւրէն սատակմանն լինի. քանզի պատառեցելոյ և բռնաւոր խզմամբ այսր անդր ժողովեցելոյ. և յիւրաքանչիւր կողմանց ընդդէմ միմեանց զաւրէն պարսպաց կառուցեալ եղեն, ի մէջ երկոցունց վայրն յաշխարհապողոտեայ ճանապարհ և ի ցամաք ամենեցուն պատառեալ ընդարձակիւր. ընդ որ ժողովուրդն հետևակեաց մինչև ցայնկոյս ցամաքն առ բարձաւանդակագոյնսն յուղարկեալք: Եւ ի վերայ յարձակեալ նոցա Թըշնամեացն, որձանք[3] կուտակելոյ հոսանացն, միոյն ի միոջէ կողմանէ[4], և միւսոյն ի միւսմէ, ի ցամաք մասն հոսեցելոյ, որք զհետ անցին ի Թշնամեացն՝ հեղեղեալք ապականին: Այս տեսեալ և կրեալ նոցա, որ քան զբան և քան զմիտս և քան զյոյս ի վեր և մեծ գործ, և աստուածազգեստք[5] եղեալ արք և կանայք մի պար եղեալք՝ զգոհացողականն աւրհնութիւն ի փրկիչն աստուած երգէին: Եւ առաջնորդքն արանցն Ա՝ովսէս մարգարէ, և կանանցն Ա՝արիամ մարգարէ: Սոցա յաւէտ նմանութիւն արարեալ պաշտաւնէիցս այսոցիկ պար, նուագաւք զուգահնչմամբք[6] և զուգաբարբառով, առ ծանր հնչիւն արանցն, կանանցն սուրն խառնեալ յարմարական և նուագաւոր բաղաձայնութիւն կատարէր, և արդարև՝ երաժշտական. քանզի ամենաբարի էին միտք, ամենաբարի բարբառքն, և նազելի և պարկեշտ պաշտաւորակքն. և կատարած մտացն և բառիցն և պարաւորացն բարեպաշտութիւն. և արբեցեալք մինչև ի վաղորդեայն, գեղեցիկ արբեցութեամբ այսուիկ, ոչ ծանրացեալք գլխով և ոչ թառամեալք[7], այլ զուարթ և արթուն, առաւել քան թէ յորժամ զառաջինն եկին ի գինարբուսն, զերեսսն և զբոլոր մարմինսն՝ ընդ այգն ընդ առաւաւտն կացեալ. յորժամ՝ տեսցեն զարեգակն, ըղձեռս ի վեր համբարձեալ յերկին, զճշմա-

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[1] որ գործեցան անդ D. [2] Հրամանաւն B. [3] յորձանք D. [4] կողմանէն D. [5] աստուածազգեացք D. [6] զուգահնչմամբքն B. [7] թեառամեալք D.

M. 486 *բիտ բարձրութիւնն*[1] *և զճշմարտութիւն*[2] *ըղձիւք խընդրեն, և սրակնութիւն խորհրդոյ և մտաց. և յետ աղաւթից յիւրեանցն իւրաքանչիւր ոք ի նազելի պարկեշտանոցն անցեալ գնան, դարձեալ զսովորական իմաստասիրութիւնն շահին և ստանան: Արդ յաղագս պաշտաւնէից այսքան, որք զտեսութիւն խնդութեամբ ընկալան զբնութեանս, և զայնոցիկ որ ի սմայն է*[3]*, և հոգւով միայն տեսողացն, երկնի*[4] *և աշխարհի քաղաքավարաց: Այլ հաւրն և արարչին բոլորեցուն մտերիմ հարազատութեամբ յանձնեալք յառաքինութենէ*[5]*, որ զսէրն նոցա*[6] *առթեաց՝ ընտանեգոյն և առանձինն պատիւ քաջալերութեան*[7] *առաջի եդեալ, որ քան զամենայն լաւագոյն է բարեբաստութիւն, ի նոյն ի ծայրն հասեալ քաջաբարութեան*[8]*:*

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[1] *բարեբարութիւնն* A in marg., and BD in text. [2] *զճշմարտութիւնն* B. [3] *ի սմանէ* D. [4] *երանի* D. [5] *յառաքինութեանցն* D. [6] *սոցա* D. [7] The Greek = *քաջալաւութեան*; D has *քաջաբերութեամբ*. [8] *քաջաբերութեան* CD; but C has *-թիւն* in marg.

THE EUSEBIAN EXCERPTS.

These are important as an aid to the fixing of the text of the D. U. C., and as such have been already considered in the introductory chapter upon the Sources of the Text, §§ 18 and 19. The text here printed of the sixteenth and seventeenth chapters of the second book of Eusebius Hist. Ecclesiae, is that of Heinichen's Edition, published at Leipsic, 1868. I have not added at the foot of the page the whole of Heinichen's critical notes; but only those which have a bearing upon the Philonean matter imbedded in the Eusebian text. I have supplemented Heinichen's notes from a few sources not open to him; and chiefly from the Old Armenian Version of the Historia Ecclesiae. This is in turn a translation of the Syriac Version, of the text of which it represents the earliest form. The Eusebian excerpts are frequently found in manuscripts of the De Coelesti Hierarchia of the pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita. Thus in a Florentine Codex, San Marco 686, a well-written parchment book of the tenth century, they follow the De Coel. Hier. f. 216 v. under the title: *Φίλωνος περὶ τῶν ἐκ περιτομῆς πιστευσάντων ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Χριστιανῶν ἅμα καὶ μοναχῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιγεγραμμένου λόγου αὐτῷ περὶ βίου θεωρητικοῦ ἢ περὶ ἱκετῶν.* The excerpts, as in this codex, were collated for me by Dr. Rostagno, and I have added a few of its readings. That they were transferred at an early date into copies of the pseudo-Dionysius is clear, for Scotus Erigena already in the ninth century included them in his barbarous Latin Version of that writer.

As an adjunct to the Greek Text of these two chapters of Eusebius, follows the Latin Version of the same made by Rufinus early in the fifth century. This I print exactly as it stands in the Bodleian Codex Laudianus Misc. n. 294, adding at foot of page the readings of two other codices belonging to the same library, as well as the readings and critical notes of the edition of 1740.

ΚΕΦ. Ιϛ.

Ὡς πρῶτος ὁ Μάρκος τοῖς κατ' Αἴγυπτον τὴν εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν γνῶσιν ἐκήρυξεν.

(Nic. H. E. ii. 15.)

Τοῦτον δὲ Μάρκον πρῶτον φασὶν ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου στειλάμενον, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ δὴ καὶ συνεγράψατο κηρύξαι, ἐκκλησίας τε πρῶτον ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας συστήσασθαι. Τοσαύτη δ' ἄρα τῶν αὐτόθι πεπιστευκότων πληθὺς ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν ἐκ πρώτης ἐπιβολῆς συνέστη, δι' ἀσκήσεως φιλοσοφωτάτης τε καὶ σφοδροτάτης, ὡς καὶ γραφῆς αὐτῶν ἀξιῶσαι τὰς διατριβὰς καὶ τὰς συνηλύσεις, τά τε συμπόσια, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πᾶσαν τοῦ βίου ἀγωγὴν τὸν Φίλωνα.

ΚΕΦ. ΙΖ.

Οἷα περὶ τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἀσκητῶν ὁ Φίλων ἱστορεῖ.

(Nic. H. E. ii. 16, 17.)

Ὃν καὶ λόγος ἔχει κατὰ Κλαύδιον ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης εἰς ὁμιλίαν ἐλθεῖν Πέτρῳ, τοῖς ἐκεῖσε τότε κηρύττοντι. Καὶ οὐκ ἀπεικὸς ἂν εἴη τοῦτό γε, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὅ φαμεν αὐτῷ σύγγραμμα εἰς ὕστερον καὶ μετὰ χρόνους αὐτῷ πεπονημένον, σαφῶς τοὺς εἰς ἔτι νῦν καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς πεφυλαγμένους τῆς ἐκκλησίας περιέχει κανόνας. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν βίον τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀσκητῶν ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα ἀκριβέστατα ἱστορῶν, γένοιτ' ἂν ἔκδηλος, οὐκ εἰδὼς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποδεχόμενος, ἐκθειάζων τε καὶ σεμνύνων τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν ἀποστολικοὺς ἄνδρας, ἐξ Ἑβραίων ὡς ἔοικε γεγονότας, ταύτῃ τε Ἰουδαϊκώτερον τῶν παλαιῶν ἔτι τὰ πλεῖστα διατηροῦντας ἐθῶν. Πρῶτον γέ τοι τὸ μηδὲν πέρα τῆς ἀληθείας οἴκοθεν καὶ ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ προσθήσειν ἐν οἷς ἱστορήσειν ἔμελλεν ἀπισχυρισάμενος, ἐν ᾧ ἐπέγραψε λόγῳ περὶ βίου θεωρητικοῦ ἢ ἱκετῶν, θεραπευτὰς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς σὺν αὐτοῖς γυναῖκας θεραπευτρίδας ἀποκαλεῖσθαί φησι, τὰς αἰτίας ἐπειπὼν τῆς τοιᾶσδε προσρήσεως, ἤτοι παρὰ τὸ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν προσιόντων αὐτοῖς, τῶν ἀπὸ κακίας παθῶν, ἰατρῶν δίκην ἀπαλλάττοντας ἀκεῖσθαι καὶ θεραπεύειν, ἢ τῆς περὶ τὸ θεῖον καθαρᾶς καὶ εἰλικρινοῦς θεραπείας τε καὶ θρησκείας ἕνεκα. Εἶτ' οὖν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ ταύτην αὐτοῖς ἐπιτέθειται τὴν προσηγορίαν, οἰκείως ἐπιγράψας τῷ

τρόπῳ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὔνομα, εἴτε καὶ ὄντως τοῦτ' αὐτοὺς ἐκάλουν κατ' ἀρχὰς οἱ πρῶτοι, μηδαμῶς πω τῆς Χριστιανῶν προσρήσεως ἀνὰ πάντα τόπον ἐπιπεφημισμένης, οὔ τί πω διατείνεσθαι ἀναγκαῖον. Ὅμως δ' οὖν ἐν πρώτοις τὴν ἀπόταξιν αὐτοῖς τῆς οὐσίας μαρτυρεῖ, φάσκων ἀρχομένους φιλοσοφεῖν, ἐξίστασθαι τοῖς προσήκουσι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων. Ἔπειτα πάσαις ἀποταξαμένους ταῖς τοῦ βίου φροντίσιν, ἔξω τειχῶν προελθόντας[1], ἐν μοναγρίοις καὶ κήποις τὰς διατριβὰς ποιεῖσθαι, τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἀνομοίων ἐπιμιξίας ἀλυσιτελεῖς καὶ βλαβερὰς εὖ εἰδότας, τῶν κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ τοῦθ' ὡς εἰκὸς ἐπιτελούντων ἐκθύμῳ καὶ θερμοτάτῃ πίστει, τὸν προφητικὸν ζηλοῦν ἀσκούντων βίον. Καὶ γὰρ οὖν κἂν ταῖς ὁμολογουμέναις τῶν ἀποστόλων Πράξεσιν ἐμφέρεται, ὅτι δὴ πάντες οἱ τῶν ἀποστόλων γνώριμοι, τὰ κτήματα καὶ τὰς ὑπάρξεις διαπιπράσκοντες, ἐμέριζον ἅπασι καθ' ὅ ἄν τις χρείαν εἶχεν, ὡς μηδὲ εἶναί τινα ἐνδεῆ παρ' αὐτοῖς·

Ὅσοι γοῦν κτήτορες χωρίων ἢ οἰκιῶν ὑπῆρχον,

ὡς ὁ λόγος φησί,

πωλοῦντες ἔφερον τὰς τιμὰς τῶν πιπρασκομένων, ἐτίθεσάν τε παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὥστε διαδίδοσθαι ἑκάστῳ καθ' ὅ ἄν τις χρείαν εἶχεν.

Τὰ παραπλήσια δὲ τούτοις μαρτυρήσας τοῖς δηλουμένοις ὁ Φίλων, συλλαβαῖς αὐταῖς ἐπιφέρει λέγων·

Πολλαχοῦ μὲν οὖν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐστὶ τὸ γένος. Ἔδει γὰρ ἀγαθοῦ τελείου μετασχεῖν καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα[2] καὶ τὴν βάρβαρον. Πλεονάζει δ' ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν ἐπικαλουμένων νομῶν, καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. Οἱ δὲ πανταχόθεν ἄριστοι, καθάπερ εἰς πατρίδα θεραπευτῶν, ἀποικίαν στέλλονται πρός τι χωρίον ἐπιτηδειότατον, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ λίμνης Μαρίας[3] κείμενον ἐπὶ γεωλόφου χθαμαλωτέρου σφόδρα εὐκαίρως, ἀσφαλείας τε ἕνεκα[4] καὶ ἀέρος εὐκρασίας.

Εἶθ' ἑξῆς τὰς οἰκήσεις αὐτῶν ὁποῖαί τινες ἦσαν διαγράψας, περὶ τῶν κατὰ χώραν ἐκκλησιῶν ταῦτά φησιν·

Ἐν ἑκάστῃ δὲ οἰκίᾳ ἔστιν οἴκημα ἱερὸν ὃ καλεῖται σεμνεῖον καὶ μοναστήριον, ἐν ᾧ μονούμενοι τὰ τοῦ σεμνοῦ βίου μυστήρια τελοῦνται, μηδὲν

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[1] *προσελθόντας* Cod. Bibl. Venet. n. 338 : *προελθόντας* cett. Ruf. [Heinichen]. The Arm. Version implies *προελθόντας*.

[2] Heinichen negligently omits from his text the words *καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα*.

[3] *Μαρείας* Cod. Bibl. Venet. n. 338 : Ruf. MSS. 'Meroe.' Ruf. ed. 'Mariae.'

[4] *ἕνεκεν* Cod. Bibl. Venet. n. 338 (Heinichen).

εἰσκομίζοντες, μὴ ποτόν, μὴ σιτίον, μηδέ[1] τι τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα πρὸς τὰς τοῦ σώματος χρείας ἀναγκαῖα, ἀλλὰ νόμους καὶ λόγια θεσπισθέντα διὰ προφητῶν καὶ ὕμνους, καὶ τ' ἄλλα οἷς ἐπιστήμη καὶ εὐσέβεια συναύξονται καὶ τελειοῦνται[2].

Καὶ μεθ' ἕτερά φησι·

Τὸ δ' ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ μέχρις ἑσπέρας διάστημα σύμπαν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ἄσκησις. Ἐντυγχάνοντες γὰρ τοῖς ἱεροῖς γράμμασι, τὴν πάτριον φιλοσοφοῦσι φιλοσοφίαν[3] ἀλληγοροῦντες, ἐπειδὴ σύμβολα τὰ τῆς ῥητῆς ἑρμηνείας νομίζουσιν ἀποκεκρυμμένης φύσεως, ἐν ὑπονοίαις δηλουμένης[4]. Ἔστι δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ συγγράμματα παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἳ τῆς αἱρέσεως αὐτῶν ἀρχηγέται γενόμενοι, πολλὰ μνημεῖα τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἀλληγορουμένοις ἰδέας ἀπέλιπον, οἷς καθάπερ τισὶν ἀρχετύποις χρώμενοι, μιμοῦνται τῆς προαιρέσεως τὸν τρόπον.

Ταῦτα μὲν[5] ἔοικεν εἰρῆσθαι τῷ ἀνδρί, τὰς ἱερὰς ἐξηγουμένων αὐτῶν ἐπακροασαμένῳ γραφάς. Τάχα δ' εἰκός, ἅ φησιν ἀρχαίων παρ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι συγγράμματα, τά τε εὐαγγέλια καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀποστόλων γραφάς[6], διηγήσεις τέ τινας κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς τῶν πάλαι προφητῶν ἑρμηνευτικάς, ὁποίας ἥ τε πρὸς Ἑβραίους, καὶ ἄλλαι πλείους τοῦ Παύλου περιέχουσιν ἐπιστολαί, ταῦτα εἶναι. Εἶτα πάλιν ἑξῆς περὶ τοῦ νέους αὐτοὺς[7] ποιεῖσθαι ψαλμοὺς οὕτως γράφει·

Ὥστ' οὐ θεωροῦσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιοῦσιν ἄσματα καὶ ὕμνους εἰς τὸν Θεόν, διὰ παντοίων μέτρων καὶ μελῶν, ῥυθμοῖς[8] σεμνοτέροις ἀναγκαίως χαράσσοντες.

Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα προιὼν ὁ λόγος ἐν ταὐτῷ διέξεισιν, ἐκεῖνα δ' ἀναγκαῖον ἐφάνη δεῖν ἀναλέξασθαι, δι' ὧν τὰ χαρακτηρισ-

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[1] *μήτε* Cod. Regius et Cod. Bibl. Paris n. 1431, *μηδέ* cett. (4).

[2] *συναύξεται καὶ τελειοῦται* in Codex San Marco, n. 686.

[3] Heinichen has this note: '*Τὴν π. φιλοσοφοῦσι σοφίαν* B C G H R[a] Sch., *τὴν π. φιλοσοφοῦσι φιλοσοφίαν* D F[a] Nic. Str., *φιλοσοφοῦσι τὴν πάτριον φιλοσοφίαν* A E[a] O Steph. Val. Br. Lr. Philo: Ruf. '*ad divinam philosophiam per sacras litteras imbuuntur.*' Heinichen does not notice that Ruf. continues: 'patrum leges in allegoricam' &c., from which it appears that in his copy of Eusebius was read *νομοθεσίαν*. The Arm. Version of Eusebius implies *φιλοσοφοῦσι τὴν π. φιλοσοφίαν.*

[4] *δηλούμενα* in Cod. Reg. and Cod. Paris. n. 1431.

[5] *οὖν* Val. [6] *τυγχάνειν* Val. [7] *τοῖς* Val.

[8] Heinichen has this note: '*ῥυθμοῖς* C F[a b] G (adm.) H R[a], ἃ *ῥυθμοῖς* Philo, *ἀριθμοῖς* A E[a] G O Lr., quae lectio haud dubie ex Philonis verbis orta est. Ruf. vertit: omnibus eos et metris et sonis honesta satis et suavi compage modulantes.' Cod. San Marco, n. 686, has *ἀριθμοῖς*.

τικὰ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἀγωγῆς ὑποτίθεται. Εἰ δέ τῳ μὴ δοκεῖ τὰ εἰρημένα ἴδια εἶναι τῆς κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πολιτείας, δύνασθαι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις παρὰ τοὺς δεδηλωμένους ἁρμόττειν, πειθέσθω κἂν ἀπὸ τῶν ἑξῆς αὐτοῦ φωνῶν, ἐν αἷς ἀναμφήριστον, εἰ εὐγνωμονοίη, κομίσεται τὴν περὶ τοῦδε μαρτυρίαν. Γράφει γὰρ ὧδε·

Ἐγκράτειαν δ' ὥσπερ τινὰ θεμέλιον προκαταβαλλόμενοι τῇ ψυχῇ, τὰς ἄλλας ἐποικοδομοῦσιν ἀρετάς. Σιτίον ἢ ποτὸν[1] οὐδεὶς ἂν αὐτῶν προσενέγκαιτο πρὸ ἡλίου δύσεως, ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν φιλοσοφεῖν ἄξιον φωτὸς[2] κρίνουσιν εἶναι, σκότους δὲ τὰς τοῦ σώματος ἀνάγκας, ὅθεν τῷ[3] μὲν ἡμέρας[4], ταῖς[5] δὲ νυκτὸς βραχύ τι μέρος ἀπένειμαν[6]. Ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν[7] ὑπομιμνήσκονται τροφῆς, οἷς πλείων ὁ πόθος ἐπιστήμης ἐνίδρυται, τινὲς δ' οὕτως ἐνευφραίνονται καὶ τρυφῶσιν ὑπὸ σοφίας ἑστιώμενοι πλουσίως καὶ ἀφθόνως τὰ δόγματα χορηγούσης, ὡς καὶ πρὸς[8] διπλασίονα χρόνον ἀντέχειν, καὶ μόγις δι' ἓξ ἡμερῶν ἀπογεύεσθαι τροφῆς ἀναγκαίας ἐθισθέντες.

Ταύτας τοῦ Φίλωνος σαφεῖς καὶ ἀναντιρρήτους περὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ὑπάρχειν ἡγούμεθα λέξεις. Εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀντιλέγων τις ἔτι σκληρύνοιτο, καὶ οὗτος[9] ἀπαλλαττέσθω τῆς δυσπιστίας, ἐναργεστέραις πειθαρχῶν ἀποδείξεσιν, ἃς οὐ παρά τισιν, ἢ μόνῃ τῇ τῶν Χριστιανῶν εὑρεῖν ἐστὶ κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον θρησκείᾳ. Φησὶ γὰρ δὴ τοῖς περὶ ὧν ὁ λόγος, καὶ γυναῖκας συνεῖναι.

Ὧν αἱ πλεῖσται γηραλέαι τυγχάνουσι παρθένοι[10], τὴν ἁγνείαν οὐκ ἀνάγκῃ, καθάπερ ἔνιαι τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησιν ἱερειῶν, φυλάξασαι[11] μᾶλλον, ἢ καθ' ἑκούσιον

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[1] So Cod. San Marco, 686. Heinichen has following note: '*σιτίον ἢ ποτὸν* AE^{a}F^{b}GH: Ruf. *cibum potumque*. *σιτίον δὲ ἢ ποτὸν* O Phil. Lr., *σίτιον γὰρ ἢ ποτὸν* CF^{a}R^{a} Nic. Val. Str. Br. Sch.' Arm. has *σίτ. δὲ ἢ π.*

[2] Heinichen has note as follows: *ἄξιον φωτὸς* E^{a}GO Philo: Ruf. *tempus lucis*, &c., *φ. ἄξ.* CF^{a}GH Nic. Val. Sch.

[3] Heinichen notes: *τὸ* C, *ᾧ* F.

[4] Heinichen notes: *ἡμέραν* AE^{a}GHO, *ἡμέρας* CF$^{a\,b}$G^{a}R^{a} Phil. Val. Sch. Cod. San Marco, 686, reads *ἡμέραν*.

[5] Heinichen notes: '*τοῖς* AE^{a}G (a sec. m.) HO(R^{a}) Lr., *ταῖς* G (a pr. m.) Philo, *τὸ* CF$^{a\,b}$. Fortasse Eusebius scripsit *τῷ*.' The Arm. implies: *ὅθεν τῷ μὲν ἡμέραν, ταῖς δὲ*.

[6] *ἔνειμαν* AE^{a}GH Step. Str. Br. Phil. [Heinichen].

[7] Heinichen notes: *οὐκ* post *διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν* perperam add. Val. contra codd. Phil. Nic. et ipsum Rufinum, qui recte vertit: 'Nonnulli autem etiam post triduum in communionem veniunt cibi.' Read commonitionem.

[8] Cod. San Marco, 686, omits *πρός*.

[9] *οὕτως* Val.

[10] Heinichen notes thus: '*γηραλέαι τυγχάνουσι παρθ.* CF^{a}GR^{a} Ruf. (grandaevae sunt virgines), *γηρ. παρθ. τυγχ.* AE^{a}F^{b} Steph. Str. Br., *γηρ. ἀεὶ παρθ. τυγχ.* HO Lr.' The Arm. = 'most of them have grown old in virginity.'

[11] Cod. San Marco, 686, reads *φυλάττουσαι*.

γνώμην, διὰ ζῆλον καὶ πόθον σοφίας, ᾗ συμβιοῦν σπουδάσασαι, τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἡδονῶν ἠλόγησαν, οὐ θνητῶν ἐκγόνων, ἀλλ' ἀθανάτων ὀρεχθεῖσαι, ἃ μόνη τίκτειν ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς οἷά τε ἐστὶν ἡ θεοφιλὴς ψυχή.

Εἶθ' ὑποκαταβὰς ἐμφαντικώτερον ἐκτίθεται καὶ ταῦτα·

Αἱ δ' ἐξηγήσεις τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων γίνονται αὐτοῖς δι' ὑπονοιῶν ἐν ἀλληγορίαις. Ἅπασα γὰρ ἡ νομοθεσία δοκεῖ τοῖς ἀνδράσι τούτοις ἐοικέναι ζώῳ, καὶ σῶμα μὲν ἔχειν τὰς ῥητὰς λέξεις[1], ψυχὴν δὲ τὸν ἐναποκείμενον ταῖς λέξεσιν ἀόρατον νοῦν, ὃν ἤρξατο διαφερόντως ἡ θρησκεία[2] αὕτη θεωρεῖν, ὡς διὰ κατόπτρου τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐξαίσια κάλλη νοημάτων ἐμφαινόμενα κατιδοῦσα.

Τί δεῖ τούτοις ἐπιλέγειν τὰς ἐπὶ ταὐτὸν συνόδους, καὶ τὰς ἰδίᾳ μὲν ἀνδρῶν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ γυναικῶν ἐν ταὐτῷ διατριβάς, καὶ τὰς ἐξ ἔθους εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν πρὸς ἡμῶν ἐπιτελουμένας ἀσκήσεις, ἃς διαφερόντως κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σωτηρίου πάθους ἑορτήν, ἐν ἀσιτίαις καὶ διανυκτερεύσεσιν, προσοχαῖς τε τῶν θείων λόγων ἐκτελεῖν εἰώθαμεν. ἃ καὶ ἐπ' ἀκριβέστερον αὐτός, ὃν καὶ εἰς δεῦρο τετήρηται παρὰ μόνοις ἡμῖν τρόπον, ἐπισημηνάμενος ὁ δηλωθεὶς ἀνήρ, τῇ ἰδίᾳ παραδέδωκε γραφῇ· καὶ μάλιστά γε τὰς τῆς μεγάλης ἑορτῆς παννυχίδας, καὶ τὰς ἐν ταύταις ἀσκήσεις, τούς τε λέγεσθαι εἰωθότας πρὸς ἡμῶν ὕμνους ἱστορῶν, καὶ ὡς ἑνὸς μετὰ ῥυθμοῦ κοσμίως ἐπιψάλλοντος, οἱ λοιποὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἀκροώμενοι, τῶν ὕμνων τὰ ἀκροτελεύτια συνεξηχοῦσιν, ὅπως τε κατὰ τὰς δεδηλωμένας ἡμέρας ἐπὶ στιβάδων χαμευνοῦντες, οἴνου μὲν τοπαράπαν, ὡς αὐτοῖς ῥήμασιν ἀνέγραψεν, οὐδ'[3] ἀπογεύονται, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν ἐναίμων τινός, ὕδωρ δὲ μόνον αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ ποτόν[4], καὶ προσόψημα μετ' ἄρτου ἅλες καὶ ὕσσωπον. Πρὸς τούτοις γράφει τὸν τῆς προστασίας τρόπον τῶν τὰς ἐκκλη-

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[1] Heinichen notes thus: '*ῥητὰς λέξεις* C F^{a} R^{a} Nic., *ῥητὰς διατάξεις* A E^{a} H Philo, *θνητὰς διατάξεις* O Lr. perperam. Ruf. vertit: "ipsam litteram et *ea quae secundum litteram designantur*."' The Arm. implies *τὰς ῥητὰς λέξεις*. Just below Cod. San Marco, 686, reads *ταῖς διαλέξεσιν* for *ταῖς λέξεσιν*.

[2] Heinichen has following note: '*ἡ θρησκεία αὕτη* C F$^{a\,b}$ R^{a}, *ἡ οἰκία αὕτη* male G H O Lr., quae lectiones, ut recte notavit Schwegler, fluxerunt e Philone cuius verba haec sunt: *ἀόρατον νοῦν, ἐν ᾧ ἤρξατο ἡ λογικὴ ψυχὴ διαφερόντως τὰ οἰκεῖα θεωρεῖν*.' The Arm. however involves *ἡ οἰκία αὕτη*, while the Greek original which here underlay the version of Rufinus is beyond reach of conjecture. Cod. San Marco, 686, has *τῇ οἰκείᾳ αὐγῇ θεωρεῖν*.

[3] Heinichen notes thus: *οὐδ'* C F$^{a\,b}$ G H (O R^{a}) Nic. Ruf. ('ne gustu quidem contingat'), *οὐκ* A E^{a} Steph. Val. Str.

[4] Heinichen notes thus: *ἐστὶ ποτόν* C F$^{a\,b}$ O R^{a} Nic. Sch. Lr., *ἐστὶ τὸ ποτόν* cett.

σιαστικὰς λειτουργίας ἐγκεχειρισμένων, διακονίας τε καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀνωτάτω τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς προεδρίας. Τούτων δ' ὅτῳ πόθος ἔνεστι τῆς ἀκριβοῦς ἐπιστάσεως, μάθοι ἂν ἐκ τῆς δηλωθείσης τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἱστορίας. Ὅτι δὲ τοὺς πρώτους κήρυκας τῆς κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον διδασκαλίας, τά τε ἀρχῆθεν πρὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔθη παραδεδομένα καταλαβὼν ὁ Φίλων ταῦτ' ἔγραφε, παντί τῳ δῆλον.

THE LATIN VERSION BY RUFINUS OF EUSEBIUS HIST. ECCLES.

Bk. ii. Chs. 16 and 17.

The following notices of the MSS. used are taken from the Rev. Dr. Coxe's Catalogue of Bodleian MSS.:—

132 = Bibliothecae Canonicianae Cod. Lat. scriptores Ecclesiastici, 132. Codex membranaceus, in folio, ff. 157, sec. xiv. ineuntis; bene exaratus et servatus.

294 = Codex Laudianus Miscellaneus 294. Codex membranaceus, in folio, ff. 106, sec. xii. exeuntis [olim 763]. The Text here printed is that of this MS.

450 = Codex Laudianus Miscellaneus 450. Codex membranaceus, in folio, ff. 105, sec. xii. exeuntis, binis columnis bene exaratus [olim 1319].

Euseb. H. E. ii. 16.

Hunc autem marcum tradunt primum ad Egyptum perexisse atque in ibi evangelium quod ipse conscripserat predicasse et ipsum primum ecclesiam apud Alexandriam constituisse. Tanta autem fertur[1] multitudo credentium virorum ac mulierum primo ingressu exemplo sobrietatis eius et continentiae congregata ut etiam conversatio eorum qui per ipsum crediderant[2] et vita totius abstinentiae ac frugalitatis[3] eorum sobriaque convivia librorum memoriae mandarentur[4] a viro disertissimo philone. Quem sermo tenet temporibus claudii imperatoris romam venisse et petrum apostolum vidisse: atque eius adhesisse colloquiis verbum dei

[1] refertur 132, 450 and ed. of 1740 [2] So 132 and pr. m. 450 [3] frugi 132, 450, [4] traderentur *for* mandarentur *in* 450

predicantis; quod valde est verisimile: quia et scripturam istam quam diximus posterioribus ab eo temporibus constat esse compositam, in qua evidentissime omnia ecclesiae instituta conplectitur · quae et tunc tradita sunt et in hodiernum servantur[1] a nobis; sed et abstinentium vitas eorum dumtaxat qui nunc in ecclesiis vel monasteriis degunt describit ad liquidum: unde plane manifestissime proditur non solum sciens quae nostra sunt sed et amplectens: quippe qui divinis laudibus extulit sui temporis apostolicos viros ex hebreorum quantum intelligi datur principue genere credentes: quoniam quidem constat quod hi qui sub apostolis ex Israelitis[2] credebant · iudaicis adhuc institutionibus et legis observationibus inherebant.

EUSEB. H. E. ii. 17.

Hic igitur describens haec in libello quem de vita theoretica[3] vel supplicum adtitulavit · nihil omnino vel de[4] proprio vel extrinsecus addidit · sed[5] primo omnium viros ipsos cultores et feminas cum ipsis ait cultrices appellari · Causam vero huius[6] vocabuli vel ex eo ductam quod convenientium ad se animas tanquam rudes et agrestes excolerent vel quod erga dei cultum pura et integra conscientia perdurarent. Quod nomen sive ipse imposuit primis illis ex ipsorum actibus colligens · sive vere in initiis ita appellabantur qui secundum evangelium vivebant · antequam christianorum appellatio per omnem locum diffunderetur nihil interest · dum modo ex ipsis rebus nomen ad quos pertineat conprobetur · Dicit ergo primo omnium quod renuntient cunctis facultatibus suis · qui se ad huiuscemodi philosophiam dederunt · et bonis suis quibus inter est[7] cedant. Tum deinde quod omnes etiam vitae sollicitudines procul abiciant · et extra urbem egressi in hortulis uel exiguis quibusque agellulis degant · refugientes inparis propositi consortia et vitae dissimilis contubernia · scientes impedimento esse haec · arduum volentibus iter[8] virtutis incedere; Tali quippe ordine calore fidei incitati · hi qui primitus credebant vitam duxisse memorantur · sicut evidenter in actibus apostolorum legimus scriptum quia omnes qui credebant · sub apostolis possessiones suas et predia vendentes · praetia ponebant ante pedes apostolorum et dividebantur unicuique prout opus erat · ita ut

[1] conservantur 450 [2] Israeliticis 450 et ed. 1740 [3] Theorica 132, 450 [4] vel de omitted in ed. 1740 [5] add et 132, 450 [6] huiuscemodi 132, 450 [7] intersint 450; intersunt ed. 1740: utuntur cod. Reg. Suec. [8] arduas . . . uias cod. Reg. Suec.

non esset quisquam in eis egens; Quia ergo et hic similia scribit geri ab eis · qui apud alexandriam credebant · sicut illi qui in hyerosolumis ante crediderant · certum est quod idem actus eademque institutio · eandem sine dubio et religionis fidem designet; Denique libro ipsi [1] de quo supra diximus tale initium dedit; In multis est inquit orbis terrae partibus [2] hoc genus hominum · oportebat namque perfecti huius boni participem fieri omnem greciam omnemque barbariem. In egypto tamen maior est copia per singula quaeque territoria · principue autem circa alexandriam; Nam optimus quisque ex omnibus locis · velut ad uberis patriae glebam festinus occurrit colonus; Regio quaedam est filosophiae magis quam frugibus oportuna supra lacum cui meroe [3] nomen est sita · colliculis quibusdam molliter et clementer erecta · ad munimentum [4] simul atque aeris temperiem commoda; Post haec descriptis eorum habitaculis · ut se habeat singulorum qualitas [5] et situs · etiam de ecclesiis quae apud eos sunt ita dicit. Est autem inquit in singulis locis consecrata orationis [6] domus quae appellatur semnion vel monasterium · semnion autem in nostra lingua [7] · significare potest honestorum conventiculum · in quod secedentes [8] inquit honesta et casta vitae misteria celebrant · nihil illuc prorsus quod ad cibum potumque pertinet inferentes · vel ad reliqua humani corporis ministeria · sed legis tantum libros et volumina prophetarum · ymnos quoque [9] in deum ceteraque [10] his similia · in quorum disciplinis atque exercitiis instituti · at [11] perfectam beatamque vitam studiis iugibus coalescant [12]; Et post aliquanta iterum dicit; Ab ortu autem diei usque ad vesperam · omne eis spatium in studiorum exercitiis ducitur · quibus ad divinam filosophiam per sacras litteras inbuuntur · patrum leges in allegoricam intelligentiam deducentes · quoniam quidem formas esse et imagines ea quae in legis littera scripta sunt opinantur · latentis intrinsecus [13] profundi cuiusdam divinique mysterii; Habent autem etiam disputationes quasdam et interpretationes veterum virorum · qui et auctores ipsius hereseos [14] exstiterunt · quos eis allegoricae ac figuralis intelligentiae normam · quam plurimis scriptorum suorum constat tradidisse monimentis · quorum illi velut itineris sui ducum [15] · et

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[1] 450 illi [2] 450 part. ter. [3] mariae ed. 1740 [4] 450 monim.
[5] 450 qu. sing. [6] 450 orationi. So 132 and ed. 1740 [7] 450 l. nost.
[8] 450 in quo sedentes, 132 in quod sedentes, 450 *etiam lituram monstrat*
[9] 450 hymnosque [10] 450 et cetera [11] 132 ad [12] coalescunt ed. 1740
[13] 450 *add.* aliquid *quod vult del. aliquis* [14] 450 philosophiae *sup. lit.*
[15] ducem 294: ducum ed. 1740

auctorum instituta pariter sequuntur et morem · Haec autem dixisse hunc virum certum est de evangelicis atque apostolicis libris · in quibus quomodo lex et prophetia spiritualiter[1] intelligi debeat edocetur ; Post pauca rursus etiam de eo quod psalmos faciant novos ita scribit ; Itaque non solum subtilius intelligunt ymnos veterum · sed et ipsi faciunt novos in deum · omnibus eos et metris et sonis honesta satis et suavi compage modulantes ; Multa quidem et alia in eodem libro enumerat · quae a nostris vel in ecclesia vel in monasteriis exercentur · sed properandum nobis est illa ex omnibus dicere quae eclesiasticam proprie continent formam · ex quibus[2] manifestum esse debeat ad ecclesiam pertinere quae scripta sunt. Ait ergo ; Continentiam vero velut fundamentum quoddam primo in anima[3] collocant ; et ita demum reliquas super hanc pergunt edificare virtutes ; Cibum potumque nullus eorum capit ante solis occasum · videlicet tempus lucis cum filosophiae studiis · curam vero corporis cum nocte sociantes ; Nonnulli autem etiam post triduum in commonitionem[4] veniunt cibi · quos scilicet edacior studiorum fames perurget · Iam vero hi qui in eruditionibus sapientiae et in profundiore intelligentia sacrorum voluminum conversantur · tanquam copiosis dapibus inhiantes expleri nequeunt · et contuendo acrius inflammantur · ita ut nec quarto iam nec quinto sed sexto demum die non tam desideratum quam necessarium corpori indulgeant cibum ; Haec filonem de nostrorum institutis referre quis potest dubitare. Quod si cui adhuc videtur ambiguum · adhibebimus etiam[5] alia eius dicta · quae nulli omnino nisi nostris tantummodo convenire etiam infidelissimus quisque fatebitur ; Ait ergo ; Cum viris autem quos dicimus sunt et feminae · in quibus plures iam grandevae sunt virgines · integritatem casti[6] corporis non necessitate aliqua sed devotione servantes · dum sapientiae studiis semet gestiunt non solum animo sed et corpore consecrare · indignum ducentes libidini mancipare vas ad capiendam sapientiam praeparatum · et edere mortalem partum eas a quibus divini verbi concubitus sacrosanctus et immortalis expetitur · ex quo posteritas relinquatur · nequaquam corruptelae mortalitatis obnoxia. Quod si adhuc parum[7] videtur istud audi quid post aliquanta scribat ;

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[1] 450 spiritaliter [2] 450 *add* cuivis. So ed. 1740 [3] 450 animo
[4] 450 communionem [5] 450 *add.* et just above uideatur adhuc in ed. 1740
[6] 450 et castitatem *where* et *is added above line and* castitate *was originally written* [7] 450 parvum

Tractatus autem sacrorum inquit voluminum huiuscemodi · habent · ut magis allegoricis opinionibus utantur · quoniam quidem omnis lex viris istis videtur animali esse similis · quod corpus quidem habeat ipsam litteram et ea quae secundum litteram designantur · animam[1] vero occultum in littera spiritualem et invisibilem sensum · quem illi ab auctoribus suis edocti · sublimius et nobilius velut inspicientes per speculum contemplantur · ex ipsis etiam nominibus admirandas quasdam species intelligentiae proferentes ; Quid[2] autem addere his opus est etiam de conventibus eorum quae conscribit[3] et ut seorsum quidem viri[4] seorsum etiam in isdem locis feminae congregentur et ut vigilias sicut apud nos fieri moris est peragant · et maxime diebus illis cum passionis dominicae solemnitas celebratur · cum in ieiuniis pernoctare et lectionibus sanctis auditum praebere consuevimus. Quae omnia supra dictus vir · eo ordine eademque consequentia · qua apud nos geruntur expressit et ut unus ex omnibus consurgens in medio · psalmum honestis modulis concinat · utque precinenti ei unum versiculum omnis multitudo respondeat · atque in ipsis diebus in terra recumbentes sicut antiquis[5] moris fuisse dicitur · vinum quidem nemo omnino ut ipse ait · ne gustu quidem contingat · sed nec quam libet carnem · tantum autem aqua sit eis[6] potus et panis cum sale vel ysopo cibus ; Addit adhuc his[7] quomodo sacerdotes vel ministri exhibeant[8] officia sua · vel quae sit supra omnia episcopalis apicis sedes. Quae cuncta si quis plenius vult et exploratius discere ostendimus ex quo ista fonte debet[9] haurire · in quibus supra dictus vir ecclesiasticae institutionis initia et originem apostolicae atque[10] evangelicae traditionis intexuit ; est autem idem Filo affluentissimus quidem in eloquentia · in sensibus autem profundissimus et interpretatione atque intelligentia divinarum scripturarum subtilissimus · copiose inveniens et copiosius eloquens. Multa denique divini nobis etiam ipse ingenii sui monimenta dereliquit.

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[1] 294 *male* anima [2] 450 quiddam *et* dam *sup. lit.* [3] scribit ed. 1740 [4] 450 *add.* separati [5] 450 antiqui [6] 450 eis sit ; ed. 1740 *reads* poculum [7] 450 si, 130 ad iis *ubi m. rec.* adhuc iis [8] 450 exhibebant [9] debeat ed. 1740 [10] *add* etiam ed. 1740

COMMENTARY ON THE TREATISE

ΠΕΡΙ ΒΙΟΥ ΘΕΩΡΗΤΙΚΟΥ

M. 471 471. 1. Ἐσσαίων] It would be harsh, even if possible, to take Philo's words in the following sense: 'Having treated of those of the Essenes who were zealous for the active life . . . , I will now proceed to say what is meet about those also of the Essenes who embraced contemplation.' This is however against the run of the sentence, and the accounts preserved in Philo, Josephus and Pliny of the Essenes prove that their sect was confined to Palestine.

πρακτικόν] Philo contrasts the Essenes and Therapeutae as representatives of the practical and contemplative life. Elsewhere he represents the latter life as the crowning episode of the former, just as in his ideal city Plato reserves the loftiest dialectic and the vision of the idea of the good for those who have spent their youth and middle life in warfare and the service of their fellow-men. Cp. Philo, De Praem. et Poen. § 8. 2. 416 *τῷ δὲ δι' ἀσκήσεως περιποιησαμένῳ φρόνησιν ὅρασις· μετὰ γὰρ τὸν ἐν νεότητι πρακτικὸν βίον ὁ ἐν γήρᾳ θεωρητικός, ἄριστος καὶ ἱερώτατος, ὃν οἷα κυβερνήτην ἄνωθεν παράπεμψας ἐπὶ πρύμναν ὁ θεὸς ἐνεχείρισε τοὺς οἴακας ὡς ἱκανῷ πηδαλιουχεῖν τὰ ἐπίγεια. Χωρὶς γὰρ θεωρίας ἐπιστημονικῆς οὐδὲν τῶν πραττομένων καλόν.*

3. ἀφορητότερον] A word common in classical prose writers. There can be no question that this is the true reading, yet it is only intelligible on the supposition that the writer was conscious of a large body of opinion favourable to the Essenes. There must have been numerous and uncompromising partisans of the Essenes, to whom it would be unpalatable (*ἀφορητότερον*) to hear that their ideal of life was superior only in most parts and aspects of life, and not in all. Of the interest felt in the Essenes even

by heathen writers, the description given of them in the elder Pliny's natural history is good proof. That the Hellenistic Jews took an equal interest in them, along with much patriotic pride, is clear from the space devoted to them by Josephus and by the double account of them supplied by Philo. In the Schools of Alexandria there must have been many a dispute between the partisans of the active and those of the contemplative life; and the former class of disputants may sometimes, even if they were Greeks, have pointed to the Essene communities of Palestine with their *συσσίτια* and transcendent fellowship, as living examples of their argument and as realizations of the ideal they preached. M. 471

5. **θεωρίαν**] Justin M. Dialogus c. Tryph. 218 C enumerates the *θεωρητικοί* as one of the sects of philosophers. He gives the following order: *Πλατωνικοί, Στωικοί, Περιπατητικοί, Θεωρητικοί, Πυθαγορικοί.* Otto inclines to the supposition that the Theoretici here were the Pyrrhonists. But as the neo-Pythagoreans follow in the list, may they not have been those who gave themselves up to contemplation as opposed to action? Perhaps the Therapeutae were a Jewish form of this sect, either in reality, or in Philo's judgement only. So to the mind of Josephus the Essenes resembled the Pythagoreans. In Porphyry the words *θεωρητικός* and *θεωρία* hold of him who discards luxury and pleasures, mortifies the flesh, and gives himself up to contemplation of the true Being (*ὄντως ὄν*), De Abstin. 53, Editio Nauck, p. 127, l. 14 and passim.

7. **οἰκοθεν**] Cf. Eurip. Med. 239 *δεῖ μάντιν εἶναι, μὴ μαθοῦσαν οἰκοθεν.* So in Plut. *πῶς ἄν τις διακρ.* 56 A *ἡ γὰρ οἰκοθεν κρίσις ἀντιμαρτυροῦσα.*

10. **ποιηταῖς καὶ λογογράφοις**] A common combination; cp. Plutarch *περὶ Ἰσίδος*, 358 F *οὐκ ἔοικε ταῖτα κομιδῆ μυθεύμασιν ἀραιοῖς καὶ διακένοις πλάσμασιν, οἷα ποιηταὶ καὶ λογογράφοι, καθάπερ οἱ ἀράχναι, γεννῶντες ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀνυποθέτου ὑφαίνουσι καὶ ἀποτείνουσιν.*

11. **διαθλητέον**] A rare word, except in Philo. It occurs in Ael. V. H. 5, 6, and in Clem. Alex. p. 29 (Potter).

12. **διαγωνιστέον**] This form only here, but *διαγωνίζομαι* is common in Thuc. and Xen.

13. **ἀφωνίας**] Plato, Conviv. p. 198 C *αὐτόν με λίθον τῇ ἀφωνίᾳ ποιήσειε.* Also in Hipp. Epid. 3. 1098: Athen. 8. 348 A: Galen. A rare word.

14. **προαίρεσις**] See note on p. 481. 45.

M. 471 16. θεραπευτρίδες] Not in L. & S. It occurs three times elsewhere in Philo.

ἐτύμως] 'In the literal sense of the word.' Not used in Attic prose in this sense, but common in Diodorus, Plutarch and Athenaeus.

18. κρείσσονα τῆς κατὰ πόλεις] Compare the depreciation of physicians in Mark 5. 25, 26 *καὶ γυνή τις οὖσα ἐν ῥύσει αἵματος ἔτη δώδεκα, καὶ πολλὰ παθοῦσα ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἰατρῶν καὶ δαπανήσασα τὰ παρ' ἑαυτῆς πάντα, καὶ μηδὲν ὠφεληθεῖσα, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εἰς τὸ χεῖρον ἐλθοῦσα.* Here, however, there seems to be no question of faith-healing; and the superiority of the Therapeutae lay in this—that they were physicians of the soul.

20. κατέσκηψαν] *ἅς* and *αἷς* after this verb are equally classical. The former occurs in Eurip. Med. 94; the latter, Alex. Aphr. Prob. 1. 40, Herod. 7. 134. But in early Greek the usual construction is *εἰς* with accusative, as in Herod. 7. 137, Eurip. Hipp. 1418, Thuc. 2. 49 (of the plague).

472. 1. τὸ ὄν] Perhaps *τὸ ὄντως ὄν* should be read as implied by the Armenian version. But I have hesitated to adopt any of the readings it implies, unless they appear in one of the Greek books, or unless these are all alike obviously corrupt. Philo's thought may be described as an identification of the abstract Being of Parmenidean philosophy with the Jewish God Jehovah 'I am.' Parmenides, however, when he wrote about *τὸ ἐόν*, did not conceive of it as a supersensible spirit, the very idea of which belongs to a later age. It is noticeable that in his writings generally, Philo ascribes moral and intellectual properties to the supreme being. It is antagonism to pagan cults which in this and in similar passages leads him to insist so strongly on abstract or pure being as the object of Jewish faith.

2. ἑνός] Cp. Plutarch De E apud Delphos 393 C *τὸ δὲ ἓν εἰλικρινὲς καὶ καθαρόν· ἑτέρου γὰρ μίξει πρὸς ἕτερον ὁ μιασμός.*

3. ἀρχεγονώτερον] This is a rare word in earlier Greek. Occurs first in Arist. Plant. 1. 3, 14, also in Damoxenus *συντρ.* l. 8; in Diodorus 1. 88; Clem. Alex. Protr. p. 56, 16 (ed. Potter) *τὸ πῦρ ὡς ἀρχέγονον σέβοντες.* The comparative in Them. Or. 13, p. 162 A *γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἔτι τὰ τούτων ἀρχεγονώτερα.*

ἐπαγγελλομένων] Mangey compares Paul I ep. ad Tim. 2. 10 *ὃ πρέπει γυναιξὶν ἐπαγγελλομέναις θεοσέβειαν.*

7–11. Cp. Plutarch περὶ Ἰσίδος, 363 D Ἕλληνες Κρόνον ἀλληγοροῦσι τὸν χρόνον, Ἥραν δὲ τὸν ἀέρα, γένεσιν δὲ Ἡφαίστου τὴν εἰς πῦρ ἀέρος μεταβολήν. Ibid. 367 C ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὅμοια τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν Στωικῶν θεολογουμένοις ἐστι. Καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι . . . Δήμητραν δὲ καὶ Κόρην, τὸ διὰ τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν καρπῶν διῆκον, Ποσειδῶνα δὲ τὸ διὰ τῆς θαλάττης. The popularity, in the first century A. D., of such explanations of the names of the gods is seen from the epitome of Cornutus, the tutor of Persius, from which I extract the following parallels (Cornuti compendium Theologiae Graecae, rec. Carolus Lang, Lipsiae, 1881); c. 3 Γυνὴ δὲ καὶ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ παραδέδοται ἡ Ἥρα, ἥτις ἐστὶν ὁ ἀήρ· συνῆπται γὰρ εὐθὺς αὐτῷ καὶ κεκόλληται αἰρομένη ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐκείνου αὐτῇ ἐπιβεβηκότος . . . c. 19 τὸ δ' ἐν χρήσει καὶ ἀερομιγὲς Ἥφαιστος, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἧφθαι ὠνομασμένος . . . c. 4 τὸν Ποσειδῶνα ἔφασαν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι Κρόνου καὶ Ῥέας υἱὸν εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐκ τῆς εἰρημένης μεταβολῆς γίνεται. Ποσειδῶν δέ ἐστιν ἡ ἀπεργαστικὴ τοῦ ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ περὶ τὴν γῆν ὑγροῦ δύναμις, εἶτ' οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς πόσεως οὕτω κληθεῖσα, κ.τ.λ. . . . c. 28 ἑξῆς δὲ περὶ Δήμητρος καὶ Ἑστίας, ὦ παῖ, λεκτέον· ἑκατέρα δ' ἔοικεν οὐχ ἑτέρα τῆς γῆς εἶναι . . . διὰ δὲ τὸ μητρὸς τρόπον φύειν τε καὶ τρέφειν πάντα Δήμητραν οἱονεὶ γῆν μητέρα οὖσαν. Compare Cicero, de Nat. Deor. 2. 25, 26, 28; Sextus Empir. Pyrrhon. 3. 118; Diog. Laert. 7. 147; Athenagoras' Apology, ch. 22; Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gentes § 42 (Potter, p. 56, 2 seqq.). M. 472

13. ἄψυχος ὕλη] Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gentes § 34 (Potter, p. 45, 30) προσκυνοῦσι δὲ οἱ θεοποιοί, οὐ θεοὺς καὶ δαίμονας, κατά γε αἴσθησιν τὴν ἐμήν, γῆν δὲ καὶ τέχνην, τὰ ἀγάλματα ὅπερ ἔστιν· ἔστι γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸ ἄγαλμα ὕλη νεκρὰ τεχνίτου χειρὶ μεμορφωμένη. Ibid. § 38 (Potter, p. 50, l. 18) ἐνδεὴς ἀεί ποτε ἡ ὕλη τῆς τέχνης· ὁ θεὸς δὲ ἀνενδεής. Προῆλθεν ἡ τέχνη, περιβέβληται τὸ σχῆμα ἡ ὕλη, . . . χρυσός ἐστι τὸ ἄγαλμά σου, ξύλον ἐστί, λίθος ἐστί, γῆ ἐστιν, ἐὰν ἄνωθεν νοήσῃς, μορφὴν παρὰ τοῦ τεχνίτου προσλαβοῦσα.

16. ἀποτελέσματα] So Polyb. 4. 78, 5 τέχνης ἀποτέλεσμα. So in Plutarch and Diodorus. In later Greek it came to mean the result upon human fortunes of certain conjunctions of the stars.

ἥλιον, σελήνην] Against the deification of sun and moon, cp. Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gentes § 42 ff (Potter, pp. 54 and 55). For Philo's phrase, cp. Celsus in Origen, lib. v, § 6.

21. Clement of Alexandria, Cohort. ad Gentes § 26 (Potter, 36, 4), assails the demigods: τοιοίδε μέντοι παρ' ὑμῖν οἵ τε δαίμονες, καὶ οἱ θεοί, καὶ εἴ τινες ἡμίθεοι, ὥσπερ ἡμίονοι, κέκληνται. Philo uses μειρακιώδους in

M. 472 the de Cherubim, 1. 150, 45. It occurs in Plato, Aristotle, Dion. H. de Isocr. 12, Longinus 3, 4 and Polybius.

22. θνητός] Cp. Plato, Symp. 202 E *πᾶν τὸ δαιμόνιον μεταξύ ἐστι θεοῦ τε καὶ θνητοῦ . . . θεὸς δὲ ἀνθρώπῳ οὐ μίγνυται.* Plato regarded the demons as the mediators between God and man, in the Jewish and Christian religions the angels had the same function. Compare also Maximus Tyr. diss. 14. 8 *ἢ γὰρ ἂν τῷ διὰ μέσου πολλῷ τὸ θνητὸν πρὸς τὸ ἀθάνατον διετειχίσθη τῆς οὐρανίου ἐπόψεως τε καὶ ὁμιλίας, ὅτι μὴ τῆς δαιμονίου ταύτης φύσεως, οἷον ἁρμονίας, κατὰ τὴν πρὸς ἑκάτερον συγγένειαν καταλαβούσης δεσμῷ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀσθένειαν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον κάλλος.*

25. τολμῶσιν] This passage does not necessarily imply that Philo really regarded the heathen gods as blessed and divine powers. He is merely echoing Plato's criticisms of the old Greek mythology, and in doing so takes as his own the standpoint of an enlightened Greek. So in the Leg. ad Caium, 2. 557–8 he reproaches Caligula for not imitating the virtues of the gods Dionysus, Herakles, and the Dioscuri whose titles he assumed. But in the de Opif. Mundi, c. 7, he does speak of the heavenly bodies as *θεῶν ἐμφανῶν τε καὶ αἰσθητῶν*, and to them he may here refer. Cp. Orig. c. Cels. lib. 5, § 10.

προσάπτειν] 'To attribute to.' So in Arist. Pol. 1. 11, 8; also in Diodorus and Polybius. A peculiarly Philonean use.

26. γυναιξὶν θνηταῖς] Cp. Simonis Iudaei Altercatio et Theophili Christiani. Ed. Harnack, p. 19: Simon loq. Proinde sicut mihi probasti principem illum (sc. Christum) esse, proba mihi nunc illum dei filium ex deo natum. Longe enim remota est diuinitas a coitibus humanis nec miscetur complexui.

28. ἀμέτοχοι] Add to the references, Philo, 2. 413, 46. Only elsewhere in Thuc. 1. 39—*ἐγκλημάτων* (but here the MSS. omit it), according to L. and S. But Steph. refers to Dioscor. 353 B; Simplic. in Epict. p. 180, 30; Euseb. pr. Ev. p. 254 B. Anon. in Walz. Rhett. vol. 1, p. 628, 17 and Plut. Mor. p. 877 F.

τρισευδαίμονες] Lucian *περὶ θυσιῶν* § 2 *τοὺς δ' αὖ Αἰθίοπας καὶ μακαρίους καὶ τρισευδαίμονας εἴποι τις ἄν.* Also in Euseb. Laus Constant. p. 770, 18, and c. Hierocl. ch. 16.

29. ξόανα] Perhaps here in the sense of a rude unshapen primitive idol. Cp. Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gentes § 30 (Potter, p. 40, l. 21) *καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, οἱ ἔτι παλαιότεροι, ξύλα ἰδρύοντο περιφανῆ, καὶ κίονας ἵστων ἐκ λίθων· ἃ δὴ καὶ ξόανα προσηγορεύετο, διὰ*

τὸ ἀποξεῖσθαι τῆς ὕλης. ἀμέλει ἐν Ἰκάρῳ, τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τὸ ἄγαλμα, M. 472
ξύλον ἦν οὐκ εἰργασμένον, καὶ τῆς κιθαιρωνίας Ἥρας ἐν Θεσπίᾳ, πρέμνον ἐκκεκομμένον· καὶ τὸ τῆς Σαμίας Ἥρας, ὡς φησὶν Ἀέθλιος, πρότερον μὲν ἦν σανίς, ὕστερον δέ, ἐπὶ Προκλέους ἄρχοντος, ἀνδριαντοειδὲς ἐγένετο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνθρώποις ἀπεικονίζεσθαι τὰ ξόανα ἤρξατο, βρέτη τὴν ἐκ βροτῶν ἐπωνυμίαν ἐκαρπώσατο. Cp. Clem. Alex. Strom. 1, pp. 348, 349 (Potter), Tertull. ad Nat. lib. 1. cap. 12, and Apol. c. 16.

31. **λιθοτόμων**] As an adj. in Xen. Cyr. 3. 2, 11.

δρυτόμων] Hom. Il. 11. 86. Aesop uses the form δρυοτόμος.

32. **συμφυΐας**] Plut. πρὸς Κολ. 1. 112 A μίξιν καὶ συμφυΐαν ἑνωτικήν.

33. **λουτροφόροι**] Hesych. says: κυρίως μὲν ἡ ὑδρία. Demosth. 1086. 15 λουτροφόρος ἐφέστηκεν ἐπὶ τῷ . . . τάφῳ, where L. & S. interpret λουτρ. to be the urn. But Poll. 8. 66 τῶν δὲ ἀγάλμων λουτροφόρος τῷ μνήματι ἐφίστατο κόρη. By attraction to λουτροφόροι the verb **γεγόνασι** is plural.

34. **ποδόνιπτρα**] L. and S. give ποδάνιπτρον as the right orthography. The same word occurs Iamblichi protrept. 313 K. In Homer, Od. 19. 343 and 504, Aristoph. apud Polluc. 7, 167: 10, 78 (fr. 290), ποδόνιπτρον = aqua qua pedes abluuntur. Theophilus ad Autolyc. p. 344 perhaps imitates Philo: τί μοι λοιπὸν καταλέγειν τὸ πλῆθος ὧν σέβονται ζῴων Αἰγύπτιοι, ἑρπετῶν τε καὶ κτηνῶν καὶ θηρίων καὶ πετεινῶν καὶ ἐνύδρων νηκτῶν. Ἔτι δὲ καὶ ποδόνιπτρα καὶ ἤχους αἰσχύνης; Εἰ δὲ Ἕλληνας εἴποις καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔθνη, σέβονται λίθους καὶ ξύλα καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν ὕλην. Cp. also Minuc. Felix Oct. c. 23 Et deus aereus uel argenteus de immundo uasculo, ut accepimus factum Aegyptio regi, conflatur, and the Apology of Apollonius, § 21, and Herodot. 2. 172.

36. **Αἰγυπτίοις**] Cp. Plutarch περὶ Ἰσίδος 379 E Αἰγυπτίων δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ θεραπεύοντες αὐτὰ τὰ ζῷα, καὶ περιέποντες ὡς θεούς, οὐ γέλωτος μόνον οὐδὲ χλευασμοῦ καταπεπλήκασι τὰς ἱερουργίας . . . τὸ μὲν γὰρ εἰς ταῦτα τὰ ζῷα τοὺς θεοὺς τὸν Τυφῶνα δείσαντας μεταβαλεῖν, οἷον ἀποκρύπτοντας ἑαυτοὺς σώμασιν ἴβεων καὶ κυνῶν καὶ ἱεράκων, πᾶσαν ὑπερπέπαικε τερατείαν καὶ μυθολογίαν. Plutarch, however, tries to find some justification by supposing that the various animals worshipped represent in symbolic wise various attributes of the divine being. Philo regards the worship of brutes as more degraded than that of idols. Not so Plutarch, περὶ Ἰσίδος 382 B ὅλως ἀξιοῦν μηδὲν ἄψυχον ἐμψύχου μηδὲ ἀναίσθητον αἰσθανομένου κρεῖττον εἶναι· μηδ' ἂν τὸν σύμπαντά τις χρυσὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ σμάραγδον εἰς ταὐτὸ συμφορήσῃ. Οὐκ ἐν χρυσαῖς γάρ, οὐδ' ἐν σχήμασιν, οὐδ' ἐν λειότησιν

M. 472 ἐγγίνεται τὸ θεῖον, ἀλλ' ἀτιμοτέραν ἔχει νεκρῶν μοῖραν ὅσα μὴ μέτεσχε μηδὲ μετέχειν τοῦ ζῆν πέφυκεν. Ἡ δὲ ζῶσα καὶ βλέπουσα καὶ κινήσεως ἀρχὴν ἐξ αὑτῆς ἔχουσα, καὶ γνῶσιν οἰκείων καὶ ἀλλοτρίων φύσις, κάλλους τε ἔσπακεν ἀπορροὴν καὶ μοῖραν ἐκ τοῦ φρονοῦντος, "ὅτῳ γυβερνᾶται τὸ σύμπαν" καθ' Ἡράκλειτον. Ὅθεν οὐ χεῖρον ἐν τούτοις εἰκάζεται τὸ θεῖον ἢ χαλκοῖς καὶ λιθίνοις δημιουργήμασιν. Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gentes § 25 (Potter, p. 33, l. 26), like Plutarch, contrasts the Egyptian and Greek cults to the disadvantage of the latter. The tone of the Apologia Aristidis is very similar to that of Philo, ch. 12 (first ed. R. Harris and A. Robinson, p. 107) Αἰγύπτιοι δέ, ἀβελτερώτεροι καὶ ἀφρονέστεροι τούτων ὄντες, χεῖρον πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπλανήθησαν. οὐ γὰρ ἠρκέσθησαν τοῖς τῶν Χαλδαίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων σεβάσμασιν, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ ἄλογα ζῷα παρεισήγαγον θεοὺς εἶναι χερσαῖά τε καὶ ἔνυδρα, καὶ τὰ φυτὰ καὶ βλαστά, καὶ ἐμάνθησαν ἐν πάσῃ μανίᾳ καὶ ἀσελγείᾳ χεῖρον πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. Athenagoras, Theophilus, Justin Martyr, and other Christian Apologists inveigh in similar terms. Indeed, all these writers in their assaults upon polytheism and idolatry approximate so closely in style and arrangement of matter to Philo, that there can be no doubt but that Jewish writers of Alexandria, and Philo in particular, served them as models. Tacitus, Hist. 4. 71, comments on the superstition of the plebs Alexandrina: 'dedita superstitionibus gens.' Cp. Diod. Sic. 1. 83.

41. **ἀεροπόρων**] Used by Plato twice.

42. **Αἰγυπτίαν**] Why is this epithet added? Cp. Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. 10. c. 28 Inuocant et Aegyptii ibes suas contra serpentium aduentum, where *suas* implies that they were peculiar to Egypt. So Diod. Sic. 1. 83 ἱέρακας καὶ τὰς καλουμένας παρ' αὐτοῖς ἴβεις.

44. **περιττωμάτων**] The liability of animals to evacuations made their worship doubly repulsive to Philo, and those who have been eye-witnesses of the reeking filth of a cow-temple in Benares will sympathise with his disgust. It was natural enough that ancient religionists should regard excrement, as a chief sign of the perishability of the flesh, with superstitious abhorrence. From Plutarch (περὶ Ἰσίδος) 352 F we know that the priests of Isis entertained such a feeling: Οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς οὕτω δυσχεραίνουσι τὴν τῶν περιττωμάτων φύσιν, ὥστε μὴ μόνον παραιτεῖσθαι τῶν ὀσπρίων τὰ πολλὰ καὶ τῶν κρεῶν τὰ μήλεια καὶ ὕεια, πολλὴν ποιοῦντα περίττωσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἅλας τῶν σιτίων ἐν ταῖς ἁγνείαις ἀφαιρεῖν. The scruples of the Zoroastrian priests on similar points are well explained and illustrated by Darme-

steter (Sacred Books of the East, vol. 4, p. 186). The Essenes, M. 472
like the ancient Jews (Deut. 23. 13 and 14), were scrupulous in burying their excrement out of the sight of the Sun-god. Compare the Pythagorean rule (Iamblichi Protrepticus 344 K) *πρὸς ἥλιον τετραμμένος μὴ οὔρει.* The same scruples made their way into Christianity, and in Clem. Alex. Strom. 3. 17. 59, p. 538 (193 Sylb.) we have an excerpt of the letter of Valentinus, *πρὸς Ἀγαθοπόδα*, in which we read that Jesus *ἤσθιεν καὶ ἔπινεν ἰδίως οὐκ ἀποδιδοὺς τὰ βρώματα. τοσαύτη ἦν αὐτῷ ἐγκρατείας δύναμις, ὥστε καὶ μὴ φθαρῆναι τὴν τροφὴν ἐν αὐτῷ, ἐπεὶ τὸ φθείρεσθαι αὐτὸς οὐκ εἶχεν.* Nor was this particular scruple confined to Docetic sects, for the orthodox Armenian Church participates in the belief. Thus Nerses Claiensis, the great twelfth-century doctor (Epistola II ad Iacobum Syrum, opera Latine, Venetiis 1832, vol. 1, pp. 84–90): Quid foedius in nobis est, quid magis inuitum euacuatione corruptorum? . . . . sicut ad litus maris Tiberiadis post resurrectionem manducauit et bibit partem pisc.is assi, quem petiit, et fauum mellis, neque audet quis dicere corruptionis solutionem adfuisse . . . . ita credatur de iis quoque cibis, quos ante resurrectionem manducauit, iuxta superius allatum exemplum fuisse. The Virgin Mary, after her miraculous conception, was similarly exempted from the necessities of human nature. That, says Nerses, was allowed to have been the case even by externis ethnicis, qui etsi non profiteantur (Christum) Deum nec filium, attamen ex eo quod illis innotescit natiuitas eus ex Uirgine, ne passiones quidem ei tribuunt, neque mortem, nedum profecto contemptibiles euacuationes. See below, note on p. 477. 22.

45. **ἀνθρωποβόρα**] Used in Nilus Epist. 339 of a lion. Theophil. 2. 7 *ἀνθρ. ἄνηρ.* In Euseb. H. E. 78. 2 (L. and S.).

νόσοις ἁλωτά] Plutarch de liberis educandis 5 D *Ἰσχὺς δὲ ζηλωτὸν μέν, ἀλλὰ νόσῳ εὐάλωτον καὶ γήρᾳ.* The phrase was a common one with moralists, for it recurs in Philo de Iosepho, 2. 60. 1 *Ἰσχὺς δ' εὐάλωτον νόσοις ἐκ μυρίων προφάσεων.*

50. The conjunction Arm.+A proves that Philo here wrote **θερσίτῃσι**, for which all the other sources, including the old Latin version, have the meaningless corruption *θηρσί τισι.* In late Greek literature, Thersites was the ideal of ugliness, a hardly human monster. He is often associated with apes, e. g. Plutarch *πῶς δεῖ τὸν νέον* 18 A *σαύραν ἢ πίθηκον ἢ Θερσίτου πρόσωπον ἰδόντες.* Cp. Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gentes § 37 (Potter, p. 49, l. 27) *ταῦθ' ὑμῶν οἱ*

M. 472 *θεοί, τὰ εἴδωλα, αἱ σκιαί, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις χωλαὶ ἐκεῖναι καὶ ῥυσαί, παραβλῶπες ὀφθαλμῶν, αἱ Λιταί, αἱ Θερσίτου μᾶλλον ἢ Διὸς θυγατέρες.* Cp. also the Scholia Graeca on Hom. Il. *β*. 235 (ed. Oxon. 1875) *ὁ ἐπονείδιστος καὶ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν Θερσίτης.* The Ionic form *θερσίτῃσι* suggests that Philo is here quoting a tag from some Ionic poet. Much of his reading must have been of Ionic writers like Protagoras, now lost to us. Ionic forms are often met with in the MSS. of Philo, e. g. *ἀκροθώρηκες* in this treatise 476. 26.

473. 5. **ἀθεράπευτοι**] Common in Philo. Also in Lucian, Galen. Erotian and Dioscorides.

8. **ψυχῆς**] This is a Pythagorean phrase. Cp. Iamblichi Protrept. 360 K *λαμπροτάτη τις εὐαυγία καὶ ἀδιάπταιστος περὶ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμα συνίσταται.* Plato Rep. 7. 533 D.

10. **προσδιδασκόμενον**] I have kept this reading in which the Greek MSS. agree, and from which the Arm. does not dissent; but *προδιδασκόμενον* is seen to be the true reading, if we compare p. 471. 24 and 481. 10.

11. It is a favourite thought of Philo's that religion is an ascent of the mind from and above all created things, even the sun and stars, to the contemplation of the one God and creator of all. To the testimonia cited may well be added the following from the De Praemiis et Poenis 2. 415 *ἀλλ' οὗτοί γε θεσπέσιοι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων διενηνοχότες . . . κάτωθεν ἄνω προῆλθον, οἷα διά τινος οὐρανίου κλίμακος ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων εἰκότι λογισμῷ στοχασάμενοι τὸν δημιουργόν. Εἰ δέ τινες ἠδυνήθησαν αὐτὸν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ καταλαβεῖν, ἑτέρῳ μηδενὶ χρησάμενοι λογισμῷ συνεργῷ πρὸς τὴν θέαν, ἐν ὁσίοις καὶ γνησίοις θεραπευταῖς καὶ θεοφιλέσιν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀναγραφέσθωσαν. Τούτων ἐστὶν ὁ Χαλδαϊστὶ μὲν προσαγορευόμενος Ἰσραήλ, Ἑλληνιστὶ δὲ ὁρῶν θεόν, οὐχ οἷός ἐστιν ὁ θεός, τοῦτο γὰρ ἀμήχανον . . . ἀλλ' ὅτι ἔστιν· οὐ παρ' ἑτέρου τινος μαθών, οὐχὶ τῶν κατὰ γῆν, οὐχὶ τῶν κατ' οὐρανόν, οὐχὶ τῶν ὅσα στοιχεῖα ἢ συγκρίματα, θνητά τε αὖ καὶ ἀθάνατα, ἀλλὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ μόνον κατακληθείς, τὴν ἰδίαν ὕπαρξιν ἀναφῆναι θελήσαντος ἱκέτῃ.* For the phrase 'seeing God,' cp. Matt. 5. 8 *μακάριοι οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ· ὅτι αὐτοὶ τὸν θεὸν ὄψονται.*

12. **τάξιν**] Cp. Galen *προτρεπτικός* 7 *ἐν μέσοις μὲν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεός, ἀμφ' αὐτὸν δ' ἅπαντες ἐν τάξει κεκόσμηνται χώραν ἕκαστος, ἣν ἐκεῖνος ἔδωκεν, οὐκ ἀπολείποντες.* Cp. Philo, De Hum. 2. 388, speaking of the people of Israel, *εὐπατρίδαι καὶ εὐγενεῖς, τὴν ἀνωτάτω τεταγμένοι τάξιν, ὑπὸ στρατάρχῃ τῷ ποιητῇ πάντων καὶ πατρί.* So De Nobil. 2. 443, of Abraham *Ἆρ' οὐκ ἂν εἴποι τις τὸν μετανάστην* as far as *καὶ πάντων πατρός;*

λειπέτω] For the thought cp. Philo, De Abrahamo, 2. 10 M. 473 Ὅτῳ δὲ μὴ μόνον ἐξεγένετο τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα ἐν τῇ φύσει δι' ἐπιστήμης καταλαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν τῶν συμπάντων ὁρᾶν, ἐπ' ἄκρον εὐδαιμονίας ἵστω προεληλυθώς. Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀνωτέρω θεοῦ, πρὸς ὃν εἴτις τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμα τείνας ἔφθακε, μονὴν εὐχέσθω καὶ κατάστασιν (alii στάσιν).

13. θεραπείαν] I have followed the consensus of the Greek books in this reading, though the Armenian sense *θεωρίαν* is equally good. Cp. Iamblichi Protrept. 42 K *τὴν προτροπὴν ἐπὶ τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὴν θεωρίαν.* This word came to mean in a later period the distinctively religious and monastic life. So in 473. 9, the Armenian implied *θεωρητικὸν γένος.*

ἰόντες] Imitated perhaps from Plato, Phaedr. 253 B *οἱ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνός τε καὶ ἑκάστου τῶν θεῶν οὕτω κατὰ τὸν θεὸν ἰόντες.*

14. παραινέσεως] Cp. Philo, De Abrahamo 2, 3 (of Abraham) *ὁ δὲ ἄνευ παραινέσεως δίχα τοῦ κελευσθῆναι γενόμενος εὔελπις.* Also De Sac. Ab. et C. 1. 164 *ὅσοι μὲν οὖν μαθήσει καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ προκόψαντες ἐτελειώθησαν, προσκληροῦνται πλείοσιν, οὐδὲ γὰρ ὀλίγος ἐστὶν ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἐξ ἀκοῆς καὶ ὑφηγήσεως μανθανόντων, οὓς λαὸν ὠνόμασεν. οἱ δὲ ἀνθρώπων μὲν ὑφηγήσεις ἀπολελοιπότες, μαθηταὶ δὲ θεοῦ εὐφυεῖς γεγονότες, τὴν ἄπονον ἐπιστήμην ἀνειληφότες, εἰς τὸ ἄφθαρτον καὶ τελειώτατον γένος μετανίστανται, κλῆρον ἀμείνω τῶν προτέρων [ἐν γενέσει βίων] ἐνδεδεγμένοι, ὧν ὁ Ἰσαὰκ θιασώτης ἀνωμολόγηται.*

παρακλήσεως] This is the regular term for 'an appeal' to the individual to rise to the higher life of philosophy. As such it occurs everywhere in Iamblichus. The Therapeutae needed no such appeal, because of their Jewish training in monotheism (471. 24, 473. 10, 481. 10). Cp. Acts 13. 15 *λόγος παρακλήσεως.*

16. βακχευόμενοι] Philo perhaps imitates Plato, Phaedr. 253 A *ἰχνεύοντες δὲ παρ' ἑαυτῶν ἀνευρίσκειν τὴν τοῦ σφετέρου θεοῦ φύσιν, εὐποροῦσι διὰ τὸ συντόνως ἠναγκάσθαι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν βλέπειν, καὶ ἐφαπτόμενοι αὐτοῦ τῇ μνήμῃ, ἐνθουσιῶντες, ἐξ ἐκείνου λαμβάνουσι τὰ ἤθη καὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα, καθ' ὅσον δυνατὸν θεοῦ ἀνθρώπῳ μετασχεῖν. Καὶ τούτων δὴ τὸν ἐρώμενον αἰτιώμενοι ἔτι τε μᾶλλον ἀγαπῶσι, κἂν ἐκ Διὸς ἁρπάσωσιν ὥσπερ αἱ βάκχαι, ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ἐρωμένου ψυχὴν ἐπαντλοῦντες ποιοῦσιν ὡς δυνατὸν ὁμοιότατον τῷ σφετέρῳ θεῷ.* Cp. also Plato, Conviv. 218 B *τῆς φιλοσόφου μανίας τε καὶ βακχείας.*

κορυβαντιῶντες] Philo perhaps imitates Plato, Ion 533 E *οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἡ μοῦσα ἐνθέους μὲν ποιεῖ αὐτή, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἐνθέων τούτων ἄλλων ἐνθουσιαζόντων ὁρμαθὸς ἐξαρτᾶται . . . καὶ οἱ μελοποιοὶ οἱ ἀγαθοὶ ὡσαύτως,*

M. 473 ὥσπερ οἱ Κορυβαντιῶντες οὐκ ἔμφρονες ὄντες ὀρχοῦνται . . . καὶ βακχεύουσι καὶ κατεχόμενοι, ὥσπερ αἱ βάκχαι ἀρύτονται κ.τ.λ.

17. ποθούμενον] Cp. Plato, Axioch. 366 A τὸν οὐράνιον ποθεῖ καὶ σύμφυλον αἰθέρα and Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 5. 234 μαθόντες δὲ ἄρα τῆς ἀληθείας τὴν ὁδόν, εὐθεῖαν βαδίζωμεν ἀμεταστρεπτί, ἄχρις ἂν περιτύχωμεν τῷ ποθουμένῳ. Clement may have had the D.U.C. present in his mind when he wrote these words.

19. θνητὸν βίον] The language in which Philo here and elsewhere describes the religious life is the same as was in vogue among philosophers, especially Pythagoreans. One instance will suffice from Iamblichi Protrept. 37 K ἐπὶ τέλει τοίνυν πρὸς τὴν **μετάστασιν** τῆς ψυχῆς προτρέπει καὶ τὴν ζωὴν αὐτῆς τὴν καθ' ἑαυτήν, καθ' ἣν ἀπήλλακται τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν τῷ σώματι συνηρτημένων φύσεων. λέγει δὲ οὕτως:

ἡνίοχον γνώμην στῆσον καθύπερθεν ἀρίστην,
ἣν δ' ἀπολείψας σῶμα ἐς αἰθέρ' ἐλεύθερον ἔλθῃς,
ἔσσεαι **ἀθάνατος** θεὸς ἄμβροτος, **οὐκέτι θνητός.**

Τὸ μὲν οὖν **ἐν** τῇ **ἀνωτάτω τάξει** τὸν ἄριστον νοῦν ἡγεμόνα προστήσασθαι, τῆς ψυχῆς ἀκραιφνῆ τὴν ὁμοιότητα διασῴζει πρὸς τοὺς θεούς, εἰς ἣν καὶ προτρέπει πρώτως· τὸ δ' **ἀπολιπεῖν τὸ σῶμα καὶ μεταστῆναι εἰς τὸν αἰθέρα**, μεταλλάττειν καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν εἰς τὴν τῶν θεῶν καθαρότητα **καὶ ἀντὶ θνητοῦ βίου ἀθάνατον ζωὴν προαιρεῖσθαι**, εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν οὐσίαν τε ἀποκαθίστασθαι παρέχει καὶ μετὰ θεῶν περίοδον, ἥνπερ εἴχομεν καὶ πρότερον πρὶν ἐλθεῖν εἰς ἀνθρώπινον εἶδος. Comp. Evang. Jo. 11. 25 ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ἀνάστασις καὶ ἡ ζωή· ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμὲ **κἂν** ἀποθάνῃ ζήσεται. Paul, 2 Cor. 6. 9 ὡς ἀγνοούμενοι καὶ ἐπιγινωσκόμενοι, ὡς ἀποθνήσκοντες καὶ ἰδοὺ ζῶμεν, ὡς παιδευόμενοι καὶ μὴ θανατούμενοι, Paul, Col. 3. 1–3.

21. συγγενέσιν] The practice of giving away one's property when one embraced the philosophic life was fairly common, at least during the first two centuries. Thus Apollonius of Tyana, in his Apologia pro uita sua, addressed to Domitian (Philostr. 8. 7, p. 155), says διεβεβλήμην δὲ πρὸς χρήματα μειράκιον ὢν ἔτι· τὰ γοῦν πατρῷα, λαμπρὰ δ' ἦν οὐσία ταῦτα, μιᾶς μόνης ἰδὼν ἡμέρας ἀδελφοῖς τε τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ ἀφῆκα καὶ φίλοις καὶ τῶν ξυγγενῶν τοῖς πένησι μελετῶν που ἀφ' ἑστίας τὸ μηδενὸς δεῖσθαι. So in the Uita Plotini, ch. 7, we read that Rogatianus a senator, when he became a pupil of Plotinus, was so enamoured of philosophy ὡς πάσης μὲν κτήσεως ἀποστῆναι, πάντα δὲ οἰκέτην ἀποπέμψασθαι, ἀποστῆναι δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἀξιώματος. The early Christians, on the other hand, like the Essenes, gave up

their property to the officers or bishops of the new religious M. 473
communion which they had joined. They left house and brethren and sisters and mother and father and children and lands, according to Mark 10. 29; but where they could, they sold the house and lands for the good of their new co-religionists, as we learn from Acts 4. 32–35. It was certainly the scanty respect thus shown by Christian converts for the principle of consanguinity, which rendered them objects of hatred and suspicion to those whom they left 'in the world.' It is strange that Eusebius should not have marked the difference of practice which on this point separated the Therapeutae from the early Christians. The Therapeutae resembled more the Pythagoreans and Gymnosophists.

There is also perhaps in Philo's language a reminiscence of Plato's description of the behaviour of the soul fired with heavenly love or eros, Phaedr. 251 D *ἡ δ' ἐντὸς μετὰ τοῦ ἱμέρου ἀποκεκλημένη, πηδῶσα οἷον τὰ σφίζοντα . . . οἰστρᾷ καὶ ὀδυνᾶται. μνήμην δ' αὖ ἔχουσα τοῦ καλοῦ γέγηθεν . . . καὶ ἀποροῦσα λυττᾷ, καὶ ἐμμανὴς οὖσα οὔτε νυκτὸς δύναται καθεύδειν οὔτε μεθ' ἡμέραν οὗ ἂν ᾖ μένειν, θεῖ δὲ ποθοῦσα ὅπου ἂν οἴηται ὄψεσθαι τὸν ἔχοντα τὸ κάλλος. ἰδοῦσα δὲ καὶ ἐποχετευσαμένη ἵμερον ἔλυσε μὲν τὰ τότε συμπεφραγμένα . . . ὅθεν δὴ ἑκοῦσα εἶναι οὐκ ἀπολείπεται, . . . ἀλλὰ μητέρων τε καὶ ἀδελφῶν καὶ ἑταίρων πάντων λέλησται, καὶ οὐσίας δι' ἀμέλειαν ἀπολλυμένης παρ' οὐδὲν τίθεται, νομίμων δὲ καὶ εὐσχημόνων, οἷς πρὸ τοῦ ἐκαλλωπίζετο, πάντων καταφρονήσασα δουλεύειν ἑτοίμη καὶ κοιμᾶσθαι ὅπου ἂν ἐᾷ τις ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ πόθου.*

προκληρονομούμενοι] Not in the lexicons and apparently found only here.

23. πλοῦτον] Plato, Laws 1. 631 C *πλοῦτος, οὐ τυφλός, ἀλλ' ὀξὺ βλέπων.* Cp. also Orig. c. Cels. lib. 7, § 21.

24. τὸν τυφλόν] Attic prose idiom would require *τοῦ τυφλοῦ*, but the accusative (of the object conceded) after *παραχωρέω* occurs in the LXX (2 Mac. 2. 28), in Arr. Epict. 1. 7, 15.

27. μηλοβότους] This story had passed into a proverb in the time of Apollonius of Tyana. Cp. Philostratus, Uita Ap. 5, ch. 27 (96) *μηλόβοτον γυναίοις τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνῆκεν* (of Claudius). The word *μηλόβοτος* = *ἔρημος*, e. g. App. Ciu. 1. 24 and Isocrat. 302 C *τήν τε πόλιν ἐξανδραποδισθῆναι καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀνεῖναι μηλόβοτον* 'a sheep-run.' Philostratus, Uitae Sophist. 1. 21, 4, p. 517 tells the same story about Anaxagoras; also Himerius apud Phot. Bibl. p. 357, 9

M. 473 Ἀναξαγόρας ἀνῆκε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πᾶσαν μηλόβοτον.] Cp. Plutarch in Uita Periclis, p. 162; Lactant. de falsa Sap. lib. 3, cap. 23; Origen c. Celsum lib. 2; Plato, Hipp. Maj. p. 283 (which may underlie the passage I have retranslated from Philo's De Prouidentia Sermo 2 as a testimonium to p. 473, 23). Arist. Eth. Eud. bk. 1, c. 4, p. 1215 B 6 foll.; Diog. L. lib. 2, § 7; Lucian, Nigr. 26 (Schol.).

30. ἐμβόσκεσθαι] A word peculiar to Philo. For the story about Democritus, cp. Horat. Epist. lib. 1. 12, 12:

> Miramur, si Democriti pecus edit agellos
> Cultaque, dum peregre est animus sine corpore uelox.

So Cicero, De Fin. 5. 29, 87 Cur ipse Pythagoras . . . tot maria transmisit? cur haec eadem Democritus? qui . . . patrimonium neglexit, agros deseruit incultos. Cp. Tusc. Disp. 5. 39, 114, 115. Also Chrysost. ad uid. iun. t. 1. ed. Paris. nou. p. 423, alludes to Democritus as τὸν μηλόβοτον ἀνέντα τὴν χώραν τὴν αὑτοῦ. Cp. Clem. Alex. Liber quis diues saluetur, Migne, p. 610 (337) οὔτε καινὸν τὸ ἀπείπασθαι πλοῦτον καὶ χαρίσασθαι πτωχοῖς ἢ πένησιν, ὃ πολλοὶ πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Σωτῆρος καθόδου πεποιήκασιν, οἱ μὲν τῆς εἰς λόγους σχολῆς καὶ νεκρᾶς σοφίας ἕνεκεν, οἱ δὲ φήμης κενῆς καὶ κενοδοξίας, Ἀναξαγόραι καὶ Δημόκριτοι καὶ Κράτητες.

32. ἐπανορθωσάμενοι] Plutarch, Pericl. c. 11 ἐπανορθούμενος τὰς ἀπορίας τοῦ δήμου.

ἀποφήναντες] Lucian, Tim. c. 5 πλουσίους ἐκ πενεστάτων ἀποφήνας. For the play upon the words cp. Philo de Abrah. 2. 33 πόρος γὰρ καὶ ἐν ἀπόροις εὑρίσκεται.

33. ἀπερίσκεπτον . . . μετὰ φρονήσεως ἠκριβωμένον] The same antithesis is read in Plutarch's πῶς ἄν τις ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν 87 D μήτε πράττειν μηδὲν ὀλιγώρως καὶ ἀπερισκέπτως, μήτε λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ διαφυλάττειν ὥσπερ ἐν ἀκριβεῖ διαίτῃ τὸν βίον ἀνεπίληπτον. Cp. also Plutarch περὶ δεισιδαιμονίας 171 E ἀπερισκέπτως καὶ ἀλογίστως. Porphyrii De Antro 36 λογιζόμενον δὲ τὴν παλαιὰν σοφίαν καὶ τὴν Ὁμήρου ὅση τις γέγονε φρόνησιν καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς ἀκρίβειαν μὴ ἀπογιγνώσκειν.

34. μανιῶδες] Josephus Bell. Iudaic. 4. 1, 6 τὸ ἀπερίσκεπτον ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ μανιῶδες οὐ πρὸς Ῥωμαίων . . . ἀλλὰ βαρβαρικόν. The word here = mad, foolish. Below in 477. 33 it = maddening.

40. χειροποίητον] The word here means 'fictitious,' because artificial. It is usually opposed, say L. & S., to αὐτοφυής. The

peculiar meaning of 'false, fictitious' has led to its being commonly M. 473
used by Philo, and in the LXX of idols. This sense it bears in Polybius, e. g. χειροποίητοι καὶ ψευδεῖς αἰτίαι = ficta crimina.

42. περιαθρῆσαι] 'to look about one,' a late use common in Philo and found in Josephus, B. J. 1. 33, 7. Also Philo ap. Euseb. Praep. Ev. 387 C and 393 A. In Plato's Axiochus 370 D, the word = contemplate: *περιαθρῶν τὴν φύσιν.*

474. 3. χρόνου] Dion, De Secessu, Or. 20. (ed. Casaub. 263 A) *φαίνεται δ' οὖν παριὼν ὁ βίος καὶ δαπανώμενος ὁ χρόνος, οὐκ ὀλίγου ἄξιος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, οὐδὲ ἥττονος, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ἢ τὸ ἀργύριον.* Iambl. v. Pyth. 13.

4. ἰατρόν] The Armenian omits, perhaps rightly. However in the De Mundi Op. Hippocrates is alluded to in the same terms.

6. Philo also cites Homer by name in De Confus. Ling. 1. 405, where he alludes to him as *ὁ μέγιστος καὶ δοκιμώτατος τῶν ποιητῶν Ὅμηρος.* The definite statement of the number of the rhapsody from which the citation is taken is unusual; and forms one of Lucius' arguments against the genuineness of the treatise. Such an argument would only have weight if it could be shown that the Iliad was not divided into *ῥαψωδίαι* as early as Philo. As a matter of fact the division was the work of Xenodotus or Aristarchus, 250 years before Philo.

15. παρευημερεῖ] = surpasses—a use common in Philo but rare in other writers. Add to the examples given Philo 1. 666, 9. Chrysostom uses the word in his De Sacerdot. *ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλαττόνων παρευημερεῖσθαι ἐν ἀξιώματι καθεστῶτα μείζονι.* Also Diod. 11. 78, p. 463. 28 *εὐημερημάτων γενομένων.*

17. δελεαζόμενοι] To the testimonia cited in the text should be added the whole of § 2 of the De Decal. 2. 181, in which Philo dwells upon the need there was for a proselyte to retire from his city, wherein friends and kin and custom combined to drag him back from monotheism into paganism. *Μυρίας γὰρ ὅσας διὰ γραφικῆς καὶ πλαστικῆς μορφώσαντες ἰδέας, ἱερὰ καὶ νεὼς αὐταῖς προσπεριεβάλοντο, καὶ βωμοὺς κατασκευάσαντες* ἀγάλμασι καὶ ξοάνοις *καὶ τοιουτοτρόποις ἀφιδρύμασι* τιμὰς ἰσοθέους *ἀπένειμαν ἅπασιν* ἀψύχοις . . . . *καὶ οἱ* κατὰ πόλεις *οὐκ εἰδότες τὸν ὄντως ὄντα ἀληθῆ θεὸν μυρία πλήθη ψευδωνύμων ἐκτεθειώκασιν. Εἶτα ἄλλων παρ' ἄλλοις τιμωμένων ἡ περὶ τοῦ ἀρίστου κρατήσασα διχόνοια καὶ τὰς πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα πάντα διαφορὰς ἐγέννησεν. Εἰς ἃ πρῶτον ἀπιδὼν* ἔξω πόλεως *ἐβουλήθη* (sc. Moses) *νομοθετεῖν. Ἐνενόει*

M. 474 δὲ κἀκεῖνο δεύτερον, ὅτι τοὺς μέλλοντας **ἱεροὺς νόμους** παραδέχεσθαι, τὴν ψυχὴν ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν ἀπορρύψασθαι καὶ ἐκκαθήρασθαι τὰς δυσεκπλύτους κηλῖδας, ἃς μιγάδων καὶ συγκλύδων ὄχλος ἀνθρώπων **κατὰ πόλεις** προσετρίψατο. Τοῦτο δὲ ἀμήχανον ἑτέρως ἢ **διοικισθέντι** συμβῆναι, καὶ οὐκ εὐθύς, ἀλλὰ μακρῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον.

ἀμεταστρεπτί] Plato, Legg. 9. 854 C τῶν κακῶν ξυνουσίας φεῦγε ἀμεταστρεπτί. Also Rep. 620 E; Plutarch περὶ τοῦ ἀκούειν 46 E φεύγοντες ἀνεπιστρεπτὶ καὶ δραπετεύοντες ἐκ φιλοσοφίας. In Iamblichi Protrept. 342 K, we have an explanation of the Pythagorean precept ἀποδημῶν τῆς οἰκίας μὴ ἐπιστρέφου· Ἐρινύες γὰρ μετέρχονται, which is an apt parallel to this passage of Philo's, φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπιβαλλόμενος χώριζε σαυτὸν πάντων σωματικῶν καὶ αἰσθητῶν, καὶ ὄντος θανάτου μελέτην ποιοῦ ἐπὶ τὰ νοητὰ καὶ ἄυλα καὶ ἀεὶ κατὰ ταὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχοντα ἀμεταστρεπτὶ χωρῶν διὰ τῶν προσηκόντων μαθημάτων. ἀποδημία μὲν γὰρ μετάστασις τόπου, θάνατος δὲ ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς χωρισμὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, οὗτος δὲ τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ ἄνευ αἰσθητηρίων καὶ σωματικῶν ἐνεργειῶν καθαρῷ τῷ νῷ χρῆσθαι εἰς κατάληψιν τῆς ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ἀληθείας, ἥπερ ἐπέγνωσται σοφία οὖσα. φιλοσοφεῖν δὴ ἐπιβαλλόμενος μὴ ἐπιστρέφου μηδὲ καθέλκου πρὸς τὰ πρότερα. The same renunciation of earthly home and ties was the key-note of the teaching of the early Christians (cp. Matt. 19. 27–30; Mc. 10. 28–30; Lc. 18. 28–30; Heb. 11. 13–16 and 13. 12–14, &c.), and was in their case reinforced by the belief that the end of the world and the second advent were close at hand. In the Uita Apollonii of Philostratus, an adherent of the gymnosophists says, 6. 16, 117 μειράκιον γενόμενος τὰ μὲν πατρῷα τοῖς βουλομένοις ἀφῆκα, γυμνὸς δὲ Γυμνοῖς ἐπεφοίτησα τούτοις.

18. **καταλιπόντες**] The following passage also merits to be quoted, Philo, De Nobil. 2. 442 τοῦ ἑνὸς καὶ πρεσβυτάτου καὶ γεννητοῦ καὶ ποιητοῦ τῶν ὅλων . . . ὃν ἐν νῷ λαβὼν καὶ ἐπιθειάσας καταλείπει μὲν πατρίδα καὶ γενεὰν καὶ πατρῷον οἶκον, εἰδώς, ὅτι μένοντος μέν, αἱ τῆς πολυθέου δύξης ἐγκαταμένουσαι ἀπάται, ἔννοιαν ἀνήνυτον κατασκευάζουσιν εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἑνὸς εὕρεσιν ὃς ἐστιν ἀΐδιος μόνος καὶ τῶν ὅλων πατήρ, νοητῶν τε καὶ αἰσθητῶν . . . Ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸν **πόθον** ὃν ἐπόθει γνῶναι τὸ Ὄν, προσανερρίπισε λύγια τὰ χρησθέντα, οἷς ποδηγετούμενος ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ἑνὸς ἀοκνοτάτῃ σπουδῇ ζήτησιν ᾔει.

21. **τὸ σύνηθες**] Clement of Alexandria refers in similar terms to συνήθεια as a force which held men back from embracing Christianity, Cohort. ad Gentes, § 73 (Potter, p. 91, 5) φύγωμεν οὖν

τὴν συνήθειαν, οἷον ἄκραν χαλεπὴν . . . . ἄγχει τὸν ἄνθρωπον, τῆς ἀληθείας M. 474
ἀποτρέπει, ἀπάγει τῆς ζωῆς, παγὶς ἐστί. So in the same treatise, § 68 (Potter, p. 85, 20).

23. **ἑτέραν πόλιν**] Cp. Dion Chrys. De Secessu, Or. 20 (262 C ed. Casauboni) *μὴ οὖν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνωφελῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῶν οὐ προσηκουσῶν αὐτοῖς ἀσχολιῶν ἀπιόντας, καὶ σχολήν τινα πορίζοντας αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνοχλούντων μάτην, ῥητέον ὡς ἀναχωροῦντας; ἀλλ' οὕτως μέν, οὐχ ὁ μεταβὰς ἐκ πόλεώς τινος εἰς ἑτέραν πόλιν, . . . ἀναχωρεῖν λέγοιτ' ἄν,* κ.τ.λ. Dion however argues that a true hermit will be able to find peace and solitude anywhere, even in the heart of a great city.

24. **πρᾶσιν αἰτούμενοι**] Cp. Plutarch *περὶ δεισιδαιμ.* 166 D *ἔστι καὶ δούλοις νόμος ἐλευθερίαν ἀπογνοῦσι, πρᾶσιν αἰτεῖσθαι, καὶ δεσπότην μεταβάλλειν ἐπιεικέστερον.* Wyttenbach refers his readers to S. Petitus, Legg. Attic. p. 158; Tib. Hemsterhusius ad Luciani, Dialog. Deor. 24. T. 1, p. 277; Justinian, Inst. 1. 8, 2. In the passage of Lucian referred to, Hermes complains of his hard work in the household of Zeus, and says: *Καὶ ὅλως ἀπηγόρευκα ἤδη. εἰ γοῦν δυνατὸν ἦν, ἡδέως ἂν ἠξίωσα πεπρᾶσθαι, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν γῇ κακῶς δουλεύοντες.* In Justinian's Inst. lib. 1, tit. 8, we read as follows: Sed et maior asperitas dominorum eiusdem principis (i. e. Antonini Pii) constitutione coercetur; nam consultus a quibusdam praesidibus prouinciarum de iis seruis qui ad aedem sacram uel ad statuas principum confugiunt, praecepit, ut si intolerabilis uideatur saeuitia dominorum, cogantur seruos suos bonis conditionibus uendere, ut pretium dominis daretur; et recte. The Institutes then quote the rescript of Antonine ad Marcianum thus: Dominorum quidem potestatem in seruos suos illibatam esse oportet, nec cuiquam hominum ius suum detrahi; sed dominorum interest, ne auxilium contra saeuitiam uel famem uel intolerabilem iniuriam denegetur iis qui iuste deprecantur. Ideoque cognosce de querelis eorum qui ex familia Iulii Sabini ad statuam confugerunt, et si uel durius habitos quam aequum est uel infami iniuria affectos cognoueris, uenire iube, ita ut in potestatem domini non reuertantur. It cannot be argued that as the D. U. C. here refers to a practice only enacted as law by Antoninus, therefore it must have been written subsequently to that emperor's reign. For by the same argument the treatise *περὶ δεισιδαιμονίας* would also be subsequent, whereas (p. 170 A) it is the most expressly authenticated of all Plutarch's works, and Plutarch can hardly have died later than

M. 474 A.D. 138, the date of Antonine's accession. Probably slaves already had in Greece a customary right to claim to be sold to another master in case of cruelty, and Antonine's rescript merely made this rule of local custom binding as a law all over the empire. The tone of the rescript itself suggests that the slaves of Sabinus had claimed this venditio as of right, and Marcianus had asked the emperor if he should enforce the custom against Iulius Sabinus. Pollux quotes Aristophanes in proof that there was such a law in Athens as early as the fifth century B.C. His words (7. 13) are as follows: *ὃ δὲ νῦν φασι τοὺς οἰκέτας πρᾶσιν αἰτεῖν ἔστιν εὑρεῖν ἐν ταῖς Ἀριστοφάνους ὥραις: ἡμῖν* (so Porson) *κράτιστον (ἐστιν) ἐς τὸ θησεῖον δραμεῖν, ἐκεῖ δ' ἕως ἂν πρᾶσιν εὕρωμεν μένειν.* Comp. Georgii d' Arnana, dissertationes de iure Seruorum.

25. **ὑπαλλαγήν**] According to L. & S. peculiar in this sense to Philo, who uses it De Mundi, op. 1. 13 *ὡρῶν τῶν ἐτησίων ὑπαλλαγάς.*

27. In the *ὑγιεινὰ παραγγέλματα*, 135 B, Plutarch reproves those who (apparently for health's sake) lightly abandon their proper spheres: *ἐπίσκιόν τινα βίον καὶ σχολαστὴν καὶ μονότροπόν τινα καὶ ἄφιλον καὶ ἄδοξον ἀπωτάτω πολιτείας καθίσασιν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ συστείλασιν.*

κηρῶν] 'Forms of destruction.' So Plato, Laws 11. 937 D and elsewhere.

30. **μοναγρίοις**] A rare word. Sozomenus in quoting this passage has *μοναγρίαις*. It is so spelt in Alciphron 2. 2 *ἔξελθε ἐκ τῆς ἐμῆς μοναγρίας*, where the garden of Epicurus is intended. See Sozomen. 1. 11, p. 26. 10 and 7. 28, p. 321. 13. The phrase *κήποις καὶ μοναγρίοις* is suggestive of a philosophic sect or society, *θίασος.*

31. **ἐρημίαν**] Cp. the account Josephus gives (Uita c. 2) of the holy man Bannûs, with whom he lived from his fifteenth to his eighteenth year: *πιθόμενός τινα Βάννουν ὄνομα κατὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν διατρίβειν, ἐσθῆτι μὲν ἀπὸ δένδρων χρώμενον, τροφὴν δὲ τὴν αὐτομάτως φυομένην προσφερόμενον, ψυχρῷ δὲ ὕδατι τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν νύκτα πολλάκις λουόμενον πρὸς ἁγνείαν, ζηλωτὴς ἐγενόμην αὐτοῦ.* The Armenian has *ἠρεμίαν* here and in 475. 11, and the reading is quite possible. *ἐρημία* is quite classical in the sense of solitude.

32. **μισανθρωπίαν**] Jos. C. Apion. 2. ch. 41. 291 *περὶ τῶν νόμων οὐκ ἐδέησε λόγου πλείονος· αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἑωράθησαν δι' αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀσέβειαν μὲν εὐσέβειαν δ' ἀληθεστάτην διδάσκοντες, οὐδ' ἐπὶ μισανθρωπίαν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ*

τὴν τῶν ὄντων κοινωνίαν παρακαλοῦντες, ἀδικίας ἐχθροί, δικαιοσύνης ἐπιμελεῖς M. 474
κ.τ.λ. Plato used the word, Phaed. 89 D *μισολογία τε καὶ μισανθρωπία.* Aretaeus, a physician who wrote before Galen, had heard of some sect similar to, perhaps identical with, the Therapeutae, for in his treatise *περὶ χρονίων παθῶν, κεφ. ε'* under the title *περὶ μελαγχολίης* we read as follows: *Ἀτὰρ καὶ μαίνονται μὲν ἐς τὰ πλεῖστα τοῦ βίου ἀφρονέοντες, καὶ δεινὰ καὶ αἰσχρὰ πρήσσοντες· μελαγχολοῦσι δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ ἑνὶ εἴδεϊ ἕκαστοι, ἀλλ' ἢ μὲν πρὸς φαρμακίην ὕποπτοι, ἢ ἐς ἐρημίην φεύγουσι μισανθρωπίῃ, ἢ ἐς δεισιδαιμονίην τρέπονται, ἢ μῖσός ἐστι τοῦ ζῆν τουτέοισι.*

33. **ἐπιμιξίας**] A word common enough in itself, e.g. Plutarch *Ἑλληνικὰ* 296 B, but here conjoined with *ἐκ* in an unusual way. In classical Greek *ἐπί* or *πρός* would be used with *ἐπιμιξία*; and we find Philo using *πρός* in De Decal. 2. 201. In De Iustit. 2. 366 he writes *τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐπιμιξίας.* Perhaps *ἐπιμιξία* may bear in this passage of the D. U. C. the sense of 'contagion,' rather than of the act of mixing with. In Plutarch *περὶ Ἰσίδος* 372 F we have *τὴν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ κακοῦ φεύγει καὶ διωθεῖται μοῖραν*, which is perhaps hardly a parallel. In the Apocalypse of John we have similarly loose uses of *ἐκ*, e.g. ch. 15. 2 *τοὺς νικῶντας ἐκ τοῦ θηρίου.*

35. **γένος**] So in the Apology of Aristides the Christians are a *γένος* like the Jews and Greeks. But already in Aristotle, Soph. Elenchi 172 b 29 *γένος* is used to connote a philosophical sect or *αἵρεσις.*

37. **Βάρβαρον**] Josephus c. Apion. 2. 39. 282 *οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πλήθεσιν ἤδη πολὺς ζῆλος γέγονεν ἐκ μακροῦ τῆς ἡμετέρας εὐσεβείας, οὐδ' ἐστὶν οὐ πόλις Ἑλλήνων οὐδητισοῦν οὐδὲ βάρβαρον οὐδὲ ἓν ἔθνος, ἔνθα μὴ τὸ τῆς ἑβδομάδος, ἣν ἀργοῦμεν ἡμεῖς, τὸ ἔθος [δὲ] διαπεφοίτηκεν καὶ αἱ νηστεῖαι . . . μιμεῖσθαι δὲ πειρῶνται καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἡμῶν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων ἀνάδοσιν καὶ τὸ φιλεργὸν ἐν ταῖς τέχναις καὶ τὸ καρτερικὸν ἐν ταῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων ἀνάγκαις.*

πλεονάζει] This verb generally = redundo. But here it simply = is numerous, as in Polyb. 4. 3, 12 *πλεοναζούσης τῆς παρουσίας τῶν πρεσβευτῶν*, which Stephanus renders: quum frequentiores advenirent legationes.

42. **Μαρέας**] I have followed the orthography of codex A, although Strabo spells it *Μαρείας*, Geogr. bk. 17, c. 7, C. 793. His description of the Alexandrian climate agrees with Philo's: *ἡ δ' εὐκαιρία πολύτροπος· ἀμφίκλυστόν τε γάρ ἐστι τὸ χωρίον δυσὶ πελάγεσι,*

M. 474 τῷ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρκτων τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ λεγομένῳ, τῷ δ' ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας τῷ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαρείας ἣ καὶ Μαρεῶτις λέγεται . . . καὶ τὸ εὐάερον ἄξιον σημειώσεώς ἐστιν, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ συμβαίνει διὰ τὸ ἀμφίκλυστον καὶ τὸ εὔκαιρον τῆς ἀναβάσεως τοῦ Νείλου· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλαι πόλεις αἱ ἐπὶ λιμνῶν ἱδρυμέναι βαρεῖς καὶ πνιγώδεις ἔχουσι τοὺς ἀέρας ἐν τοῖς καύμασι τοῦ θέρους· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖς χείλεσιν αἱ λίμναι τελματοῦνται διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἡλίων ἀναθυμίασιν· βορβορώδους οὖν ἀναφερομένης τοσαύτης ἰκμάδος, νοσώδης ὁ ἀὴρ ἔλκεται καὶ λοιμικῶν κατάρχει παθῶν. ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ δὲ τοῦ θέρους ἀρχομένου πληρούμενος ὁ Νεῖλος πληροῖ καὶ τὴν λίμνην καὶ οὐδὲν ἐᾷ τελματώδες τὸ τὴν ἀναφορὰν ποιῆσον μοχθηράν· τότε δέ, καὶ οἱ ἐτησίαι πνέουσιν ἐκ τῶν βορείων καὶ τοῦ τοσούτου πελάγους, ὥστε κάλλιστα τοῦ θέρους Ἀλεξανδρεῖς διάγουσιν. Cp. Ammiani Marcell. lib. 22, ch. 16, 8 & 14.

43. γεωλόφου] Only used as a substantive by Philo in the De Mundi Incor. 2. 510, 19. The word is in Strabo, Diodorus. Xenoph. Cyr. 3. 3, 28 uses it as a substantive. Polyb. 1. 75, 4 &c. χθαμαλωτέρου is an Homeric word, used however by Xenophon, Plutarch, and Aristophanes.

46. ἐπαύλεις] 'Farm houses or homesteads.' So in Diodorus and Plutarch. We see that the Therapeutae were far from retiring into the desert, although they sought solitude. Strabo, speaking of the lake Mareotis, writes, bk. 17, c. 14, C. 799 ἔχει δ' ὀκτὼ νήσους καὶ τὰ κύκλῳ πάντ' οἰκούμενα καλῶς· εὐοινία τέ ἐστι περὶ τοὺς τόπους ὥστε καὶ διαχεῖσθαι πρὸς παλαίωσιν τὸν Μαρεώτην οἶνον.

475. 2. ἀνεστομωμένης] Used especially, as L. and S. remark, of one sea debouching into another, e. g. Diod. 3. 38 ὁ προσαγορευόμενος Ἀράβιος κόλπος ἀνεστόμωται εἰς τὸν . . . Ὠκεανόν. So Arist. Mund. 3. 8. In 479. 28 and 485. 12, I have kept the form θάλασσα. Cp. L. Cohn, De Opif. Mundi, p. xlix 'inter formas θάλασσα et θάλαττα fluctuat scriptura codicum.'

6. κατάστασιν] A medical word, such as Philo was prone to use. Cp. Hippoc. Epid. 1. 941 ἡ κ. τῶν ὡρέων, and often.

9. φλογμόν] Poetical in Attic, especially used by Euripides. Occurs in Aristotle 846 a 14, and in the Pseudo-Aristotelian De Mundo, a treatise of which the style and language often resemble Philo.

11. δυσάρεστον] In classical epoch, (Aesch., Eurip., Xen.) = difficult to please, morose. The sense 'unpleasing or disagreeable,' which it bears here, is not noticed by L. and S. or in Stephanus.

12. γειτνιάσεις] Is used in plural by Plutarch, Pericl. 19 M. 475 *βαρβαρικαῖς ἀναμεμιγμένη γειτνιάσεσι.* In singular, Arist. Pol. 1. 9; Theophr. C. P. 6. 18, 7; Polyb. 18. 19, 4; Alciphron 1. 3.

15. σεμνεῖον] In this passage the private sanctuary or shrine for private worship in each house. In 476. 23 the *κοινὸν σεμνεῖον* is the public building in which the Sabbath convention or *σύλλογος* is held. It is a word peculiar to Philo and to this treatise. Hesychius has: *σεμνεῖον· οἶκος ἱερός.* In the Etym. M. under *σεμνεῖον* we read: *φροντιστήριον, διατριβὴ ἢ μοναστήριον, ὅπερ Ἀττικοὶ σεμνεῖον καλοῦσι.* Suidas, in relating the exploits of Longinus, brother of Zeno, uses the word, as also *σύστημα* in the sense of a conventual system. In Philo's day, as is clear from Matt. 6. 6, it was usual in a Jewish house to reserve a small room or closet for private prayer and meditation. In Matt. 6. 6 however, as in Luke 12. 3, *ταμεῖον* is the word used, not *σεμνεῖον* or *μοναστήριον*. But the similarity of practice is unmistakable as conveyed in the words of Jesus: 'Enter into thy closet and having shut thy door pray to thy Father who is in secret.' The antithesis is with public prayer offered in the synagogues and street corners.

μοναστήριον] This word, as the context shows, has here the sense of a room in which you are alone. It has the same sense in 476. 6. The phrase ὃ καλεῖται here indicates that these words were strange to the reader, and perhaps not in literary use. So in 2. 458 in describing the Essenes to a Greek audience, Philo writes *εἰς ἱεροὺς ἀφικνούμενοι τόπους, οἳ καλοῦνται συναγωγαί.* The word *μοναστήριον* is not again met with in any Greek document until the end of the third century, when it has acquired the sense of a building or establishment for a single monk or hermit, as in Athan. 2. 837 A; 844 B; 865 B; 904 A; 908 A; 920 A: Pachom. 949 B; Epiphan. 2. 805 A; Pallad. Laus. 1249 A; Cassian 1. 1111 A;—or for several monks together, passim in the fathers from Athanasius on.

μονούμενοι] Cp. Philo, In Fl. 2. 541, 42 *βραχύ τι γήδιον πριάμενος, ἐν αὐτῷ πολλὰ διέτριβεν μονούμενος.*

22. συναύξονται] Cp. Plutarch *παραμυθητικὸς πρὸς Ἀπ.*, 102 D *παρεκφέρεσθαι καὶ συναύξειν τὰ πένθη.*

ὀνειράτων] The belief in the inspiration of dreams was shared by all the ancients alike, Pagans, and Christians. Cp.

M. 475 Cypriani Epist. 9 (ed. Gersdorf, 16. 4): castigare nos itaque diuina censura nec noctibus desinit nec diebus. Praeter nocturnas enim uisiones per dies quoque impletur apud nos Spiritu Sancto puerorum innocens aetas, quae in ecstasi uidet oculis et audit et loquitur ea, quibus nos dominus mouere et instruere uidetur; cp. Ep. 34 (Gersd. 39. 1). So also Matt. 1. 20, 2. 12, 2. 22, 27. 19.

23. δυνάμεων] I. e. the angels and powers to whom God entrusted the task of creating and watching over the world. Cp. De Confus. Ling. 1. 431 Εἷς ὢν ὁ θεὸς ἀμυθήτους περὶ αὑτὸν ἔχει δυνάμεις ἀρωγοὺς καὶ σωτηρίους τοῦ γενομένου πάσας . . . Δι' αὖ τούτων τῶν δυνάμεων ὁ ἀσώματος καὶ νοητὸς ἐπάγη κόσμος. In the Quaest. in Ex. 2, § 68, Philo discriminates two chief δυνάμεις in God, the ποιητική and the βασιλική. They both flow through the λόγος or σπερματικὴ τῶν ὄντων οὐσία from God who is in himself Ἑνὸς καὶ μονάδος καὶ ἀρχῆς πρεσβύτερος. The δ. ποιητική is εὐεργέτις, the δ. βασιλική is νομοθετική and κολαστήριος and generates the ἰδέαι which form the κόσμος νοητός. See Max Freudenthal, Erkenntnislehre Philos.

23–25. ὀνειράτων . . . ὀνειροπολούμενοι] For the thought, cp. Plutarch De E apud Delphos, 393 D ὡς δὲ νῦν ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ τῶν ἐνυπνίων τὸν θεὸν ὀνειροπολοῦντας ἐγείρωμεν καὶ παρακαλῶμεν ἀνωτέρω προάγειν καὶ θεᾶσθαι τὸ ὕπαρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν. The verb ὀνειροπολεῖν is used in the active voice in Philo 1. 680, 20, 1. 646. 29, Aristoph. Nub. 16 and 27, in Plato, Rep. 7. 534 C and Tim. 52 B. No example of its middle use is given in L. and S.

24. φαντασιοῦσθαι] A favourite use with Philo. In other writers it is also used as a deponent, e. g. Plut. Instit. Lacon. 236 D ἕτερος νυκτὸς μνῆμα παριὼν καὶ φαντασιωθεὶς δαιμόνιόν τι. Also in Arist. ap. Euseb. P. E. 769 C ἔμψυχον φαντασιούμενον: Celsus apud Origen 1. 884 C of the risen Christ, τίς τοῦτο εἶδε; Γυνὴ πάροιστρος καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος τῶν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς γοητείας, ἤτοι κατά τινα διάθεσιν ὀνειρώξας, ἢ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ βούλησιν δόξῃ πεπλανημένῃ φαντασιωθείς.

ἐκλαλοῦσιν] Has usually the sense of 'divulging' a mystery. On the nature of the mysteries to which Philo alludes here and elsewhere, see the final Excursus below, § 44.

25. ἀοίδιμα] A poetical word, but used in Herodotus, and common in late prose writers, e. g. Plutarch, Lucian, Josephus, Sextus Emp.

26. δόγματα] In Epictetus, ap. Stob. Serm. 29. 206, we meet with an explanation of this word: εἰδέναι χρὴ ὅτι οὐ ῥᾴδιον δόγμα

παραγίνεσθαι ἀνθρώπῳ, εἰ μὴ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν τὰ αὐτὰ λέγῃ τις, καὶ ἀκούῃ, καὶ ἅμα χρῷτο πρὸς τὸν βίον. M. 475

δὶς δέ] This was the Jewish practice as Josephus remarks, Antiquit. Iudaic. 14. 4, 3 Δὶς τῆς ἡμέρας, πρωί τε καὶ περὶ ἐννάτην ὥραν.

28. εὐημερίαν] A favourite word with Aristotle, who first so used it.

30. δυομένου] The Pythagoreans attaching, like the Therapeutae, great importance to dreams, insisted on the need of composing the mind before slumber, cp. Iamblichi Vita Pythag. § 65 ἐπὶ τε ὕπνον ἑσπέρας τρεπομένων τῶν ὁμιλητῶν ἀπήλλαττε μὲν αὐτοὺς τῶν ἡμερινῶν ταραχῶν καὶ ἐνηχημάτων, διεκάθαιρέ τε συγκεκλιδασμένον τὸ νοητικόν, ἡγύχους τε καὶ εὐονείρους, ἔτι δὲ μαντικοὺς τοὺς ὕπνους αὐτοῖς ἀπειργάζετο. Cp. Quintil. Inst. Or. ix. 4, p. 832=473. However, the words which follow, especially ἀλήθειαν ἰχνηλατεῖν may refer not only to inspired dreams, but also to the practice of night vigils, followed in all ages by ascetics, cp. Clem. Alex. Paedag. ii. 9 (Sylb. 185 D) πολλάκις καὶ τῆς νυκτός, ἀνεγερτέον τῆς κοιτῆς καὶ τὸν θεὸν εὐλογητέον . . . ὁ δὲ φῶς ἔχων, ἐγρήγορε, καὶ ἡ σκοτία αὐτὸν οὐ καταλαμβάνει· οὐδὲ μὴ ὕπνος, ἐπεὶ μὴ σκότος. ἐγρήγορεν ἅρα πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὁ πεφωτισμένος. Ibidem (Sylb. 186 C) τὸ οὖν φῶς τοῦτο, οἱ τοῦ φωτὸς τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ υἱοί, μὴ ἀποκλείσωμεν θύραζε· ἔνδον δέ, εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀποστρέψαντες, τοῦ κεκρυμμένου τὰς ὄψεις ἀνθρώπου φωτίσαντες, τήν τε ἀλήθειαν αὐτὴν ἐποπτεύσαντες, καὶ τῶν ταύτης ῥευμάτων μεταλαμβάνοντες, τοὺς ἀληθεῖς τῶν ὀνείρων ἐναργῶς καὶ φρονίμως ἀποκαλυπτώμεθα.

33. ἰχνηλατεῖν] A favourite word of Philo's, and according to L. and S. peculiar to him. But Stephanus refers to Iamblichus ap. Phot. Bibl. p. 75, 12 ἰχνηλατήσαντες δὲ αὐτοὺς μέχρι τοῦ τάφου.

39. συγγράμματα] Justin M., Dialog. c Tryph. 224 D refers in somewhat similar terms to the Hebrew Prophets: Ἐγένοντό τινες πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου πάντων τούτων τῶν νομιζομένων φιλοσόφων παλαιότεροι . . . προφήτας δὲ αὐτοὺς καλοῦσιν . . . συγγράμματα δὲ αὐτῶν ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένει καὶ ἔστιν ἐντυχόντα τούτοις πλεῖστον ὠφεληθῆναι καὶ περὶ ἀρχῶν καὶ περὶ τέλους. See § 89 of my Excursus below.

αἱρέσεως] So in Iamblichi Protrepticus (ed. Pistelli) 14 K τὰ ἴδια προτρεπτικὰ τῆς Πυθαγορικῆς αἱρέσεως. In Acts 28. 22 Christianity is alluded to as τῆς αἱρέσεως ταύτης, and everywhere in that book the word means no more than 'persuasion' in no evil sense. St. Paul first uses it in an invidious sense (1 Cor. 11. 19; Gal. 5. 20), cp. 2 Pet. 2. 1.

M. 475 40. **ἀρχηγέται**] Cp. Justin M., Dial. c. Tryph. ed. Princ. p. 55 of the Gnostic sects: *ἄλλοι ἄλλῳ ὀνόματι, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχηγέτου τῆς γνώμης ἕκαστος ὀνομαζόμενος.*

476. 4. **χαράττουσιν**] Plut. de Parallelis 314 B *ψευδεῖς κατὰ τοῦ σώφρονος ἐπιστολὰς ἐχάραξε.* Theocr. 23. 46 *γράψον καὶ τόδε γράμμα, τὸ σοῖς τοίχοισι χαράξω.* Diod. Sic. iii. 44 *στήλας γράμμασι βαρβαρικοῖς κεχαραγμένας.* The word may mean simple everyday writing on papyrus or engraving of hymns on stone tablets, such as are found at Delphi to-day. Hymns used in worship seem to have been thus cut on stone. I think *ἀναγκαίως* is added in reference to this practice. The Therapeutae could not carve their hymns on stone, but they wrote them out *as best they could*, probably upon papyrus, perhaps marking the rhythm.

7. **τὴν αὔλειον**] Plutarch, Ῥωμαικά 265 B *οὐκ ᾤοντο δεῖν παριέναι τὴν αὔλειον, ἢ θύσοντες ἐξίασι καὶ θύσαντες εἰσίασιν,* describing a disability imposed on *ὑστερόποτμοι*, i. e. on persons who having died were so ill-advised as to come back again to life.

ἐξ ἀπόπτου] Galen, *π. ψυχῆς ἁμαρτ.* 95 *ἐξ ἀπόπτου γοῦν θεασάμενοι παραγενόμενόν τινα.* Axiochus, 369 A *οὕτω λαλεῖ ὡς ἐξ ἀπόπτου θεώμενος.* The Therapeutae never even looked out of window. *αὔλειον* is not to be understood after **θεωροῦντες**, as Hilgenfeld supposed.

10. **σχήματος**] In the De Somn. i. 675 the same attitude is described as that of the Jews in going to a synagogue, not as sitting therein. Professor Massebieau remarks that it was probably an attitude indicative of rest from all manual work and labour. I have seen Polish Jews on a sabbath day preserve the same attitude in walking. See also the Excursus below, § 83.

14. **καθεστῶτι μὲν τῷ βλέμματι**] Plutarch, *περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων τύχης,* 317 C *ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν ἀρετῆς πρῶόν τε τὸ βάδισμα καὶ τὸ βλέμμα καθεστηκός.* Clem. Alex. Paedag. 2. 7 (Sylb. 174 D) *Καθεστὸς δὲ καὶ τὸ βλέμμα ἔστω, καὶ ἡ τοῦ τραχήλου ἐπιστροφὴ καὶ ἡ κίνησις εὐσταθής· καὶ ἡ τῶν χειρῶν κατὰ τὰς ὁμιλίας προφορά.*

17. **παρεπιδεικνύμενος**] Cp. Plut. *περὶ τοῦ ἀκούειν,* 43 D *φυλακτέον δὲ καὶ τὸ πολλὰ καὶ πολλάκις προβάλλειν· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο τρόπον τινὰ παρεπιδεικνυμένου.* Id. *πῶς ἄν τις διακρίνειε,* 71 D *τὸ μὴ παρεπιδείκνυσθαι μηδὲ δημαγωγεῖν.* Also in the *ὑγιεινὰ παραγγέλματα,* 129 D *μὴ σοφιστικῶς, μηδὲ περιέργως . . . λαλοῦντα καὶ παρεπιδεικνύμενον.* Also Galen, 8. p. 50, Lucian and Pollux.

19. **ἐφιζάνει**] Cp. Philostratus, uita Apollonii, ch. 35 "*οὐ γὰρ*

καθεύδειν ἡγῇ" ἔφη "τοὺς τὸ ὕδωρ πίνοντας;" "καθεύδειν μέν" ἔφη M. 476
"λεπτὸν δὲ ὕπνον, ὅπερ ἄκροις αὐτῶν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐφιζάνειν φῶμεν, οὐ τῷ νῷ." The word is poetical and is frequent in Homer and Moschus. Cp. Il. 20. 26 ὕπνος ἐπὶ βλεφάροισιν ἐφίζανεν.

25. περίβολος] This word more usually signifies an inner court or inclosure, e.g. Clem. Alex. Paedag. 3. 2 (Sylb. 216 C), of an Egyptian temple: ἀλλ' ἢν παρεισέλθῃς τὸ βάθος τοῦ περιβόλου, καὶ σπεύδων ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν τοῦ κρείττονος, ζητήσῃς τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ ἔνοικον τοῦ νεώ. So Josephus, Cont. Apion. 1. 198 of the Jewish Temple enclosure: κατὰ μέσον μάλιστα τῆς πόλεως περίβολος λίθινος μῆκος ὡς πεντάπλεθρος, εὖρος δὲ πηχῶν ρ', ἔχων διπλᾶς πύλας, ἐν ᾧ βῶμος . . . καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν οἶκημα μέγα. Plato, Rep. 8. 548 A uses the word in nearly the same sense as does Philo in this passage: περιβόλους οἰκήσεων, ἀτεχνῶς νεοττιὰς ἰδίας. In church architecture it meant, at an early date, the low wall around the choir (Ducange, s.v.).

26. γυναῖκες] There is in this passage a tacit contrast of the Therapeutic sect with the Essenes, who not only abjured marriage, but excluded women from their communion and συσσίτια. Justin Martyr, Dialog. c. Tryph. (c. 23, edit. Princ. p. 47) implies that an inferior position was assigned to women in the Jewish religion, because they could not be circumcised. Christianity removed this feminine disability by superseding the rite: καὶ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι δὲ τὸ θῆλυ γένος τὴν σαρκικὴν περιτομὴν λαμβάνειν, δείκνυσιν ὅτι εἰς σημεῖον ἡ περιτομὴ αὕτη δέδοται, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἔργον δικαιοσύνης· τὰ γὰρ δίκαια καὶ ἐνάρετα ἅπαντα ὁμοίως καὶ τὰς θηλείας δύνασθαι φυλάσσειν ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησεν. But for the same reason it was easier for a Pagan woman than for a Pagan man to become a Jewish proselyte; and these female converts to Judaism seem to have been a chief seed-ground of Christian teaching, so soon as it was extended to the Gentiles. The prominence given to women in the Therapeutic sect is explained by the circumstance that it was not—like Essenism—a purely Jewish sect, but, as we read on p. 474. 35, numbered among its adherents Greeks and Barbarians alike. Clement of Alexandria insists on the equality of women with men in religious and moral matters, Paedag. 1. 4 (Sylb. 83), under the title, ὅτι ἐπίσης ἄνδρων καὶ γυναικῶν ὁ λόγος παιδαγωγός ἐστι. In language recalling Plato's Politeia, he writes thus: τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρετὴν ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς εἶναι νενοηκότες. Εἰ γὰρ ἀμφοῖν ὁ θεὸς εἷς, εἷς δὲ καὶ ὁ παιδαγωγὸς ἀμφοῖν, μία ἐκκλησία, μία σωφροσύνη, αἱδὼς μία, ἡ τροφὴ κοινή, γάμος συζύγιος,

M. 476 *ἀναπνοή, ὄψις, ἀκοή, γνῶσις, ἐλπίς, ὑπακοή, ἀγάπη, ὅμοια πάντα. ὧν δὲ κοινὸς μὲν ὁ βίος, κοινὴ δὲ ἡ χάρις, κοινὴ δὲ καὶ ἡ σωτηρία· κοινὴ τούτων καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη, καὶ ἡ ἀγωγή. ἐν γὰρ τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ, φησί, γαμοῦσι καὶ γαμίσκονται· ἐν ᾧ δὴ μόνῳ τὸ θῆλυ τοῦ ἄρρενος διακρίνεται· ἐν ἐκείνῳ δὲ οὐκέτι· ἔνθα τοῦ κοινωνικοῦ καὶ ἁγίου τούτου βίου τοῦ ἐκ συζυγίας τὰ ἔπαθλα, οὐκ ἄρρενι καὶ θηλείᾳ, ἀνθρώπῳ δὲ ἀπόκειται, ἐπιθυμίας διχαζούσης αὐτὸν κεχωρισμένου* (potius *-μένης*).

26. **συνακροῶνται**] Found in Plato twice and in Clement of Alexandria.

30. **θωρακίου**] 'A breast-work.' Common in Diodorus, Aelian, and Polybius. The word *συνῳκοδόμησαν* recurs in Philo 2. 431, 18. The passage cited from the De Pr. et Poen. indicates that we should combine the reading of the Armenian Version with that of the Greek codices and read *εὖ συνῳκοδόμηται*.

31. **ἀνάγειον**] The spelling *ἀνάγαιον* is given in the oldest MSS. of Mark and Luke. The word elsewhere means an upper-chamber. Here it seems to mean the space from the top of the partition to the roof.

ἀχανές] This word is used of a roofless building in Dio Cass. 37. 17 *νεὼν μέγιστον καὶ περικαλλέστατον πλὴν καθ' ὅσον ἀχανής τε καὶ ἀνώροφος ἦν*. A usage closer to this of Philo's is in the Papyr. post Aristoph. ed. Didot a Letron. p. 28. 18 *συνέβη δὲ διὰ τὸ ἀχανῆ τὴν θύραν εἶναι ἀφεθῆναι*.

33. **ἀντίληψιν**] Once in Plato, Tim. Loc. 100 B, and in Diodorus and Plutarch in this sense.

36. **προκαταβαλλόμενοι**] Common in Dio Cassius in its literal sense, and in the fathers in its metaphorical use. For the thought, M. Massebieau compares Xen. Mem. 1. 5, 4 *Ἆρά γε οὐ χρὴ πάντα ἄνδρα, ἡγησάμενον τὴν ἐγκράτειαν ἀρετῆς εἶναι κρηπίδα, ταύτην πρῶτον ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κατασκευάσασθαι;*

41. **σκότους**] So 472. 35 *τὰς ἐν σκότῳ χρείας*. The Therapeutae seem to have satisfied the wants of nature under cover of darkness. So the Essenes were careful to cover up their excrement with soil lest it should offend the eye of the Sun-god. The body was a *θρέμμα* (477. 6), to be fed or eased after night-fall only.

43. **τριῶν**] It is related of a Stoic of the time that he was so devoted to contemplation as habitually to fast three days at a time. Of the physical ability of men to fast three and even for six days

together there can be no doubt. Thus Dionysius Alex. Can. 1. M. 476
Pan. Can. tom. 2, p. 3 A, relates how the Christians early in the third century fasted during holy week: *ἐπεὶ μηδὲ τὰς ἐξ τῶν νηστειῶν ἡμέρας ἴσως μηδὲ ὁμοίως πάντες διαμένουσιν· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν καὶ πάσας ὑπερτιθέασιν ἄσιτοι διατελοῦντες, οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ τρεῖς, οἱ δὲ τεσσάρας.* So also Epiph. Expos. Fid. num. 22 (op. tom. 1, p. 1105, B, C). In the Vita Mosis, lib. 3. 2. 145, Philo writes upon the forty days' fast of Moses in a manner that admirably illustrates this passage, and also Matt. 4. 1–11 *ἔδει δὲ πρότερον, ὥσπερ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ σῶμα καθαρεῦσαι, μηδενὸς πάθους προσαψάμενον, ἀλλ' ἁγνεῦσαι ἀπὸ πάντων ὅσα τῆς θνητῆς ἐστὶ φύσεως, σιτίων καὶ ποτῶν καὶ τῆς πρὸς γυναῖκας ὁμιλίας. Ἀλλὰ ταύτης μὲν ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων κατεφρόνησε, καὶ σχεδὸν ἀφ' οὗ τὸ πρῶτον ἤρξατο προφητεύειν, καὶ θεοφορεῖσθαι . . . σιτίων τε καὶ ποτῶν ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας ἑξῆς ἠλόγησε, δῆλον ὅτι τροφὰς ἔχων ἰμείνους τὰς διὰ θεωρίας, αἷς ἄνωθεν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καταπνεόμενος τὴν μὲν διάνοιαν τὸ πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα διὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐβελτιοῦτο, καθ' ἑκάτερον πρός τε ἰσχὺν καὶ εὐεξίαν ἐπιδιδούς, ὡς τοὺς ἰδόντας ὕστερον ἀπιστεῖν.* Cp. S. John, 4. 32.

ὑπομιμνήσκονται] This use of the middle voice with a genitive is post-classical, and occurs in Lucian, Catapl. c. 4. Cp. Hom. Od. 10. 177 *μνησόμεθα βρώμης*, which Philo imitates.

45. **ἐνευφραίνονται**] In the LXX, Prov. 8. 31. Not elsewhere, except Euseb. H. E. 428, 432, Basil, and Philo, 1. 232. 11 and 335. 34.

49. **τεττίγων**] Plato, Phaedr. 259 C *ἐξ ὧν τὸ τεττίγων γένος μετ' ἐκεῖνο φύεται, γέρας τοῦτο παρὰ Μουσῶν λαβόν, μηδὲν τροφῆς δεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἄσιτόν τε καὶ ἄποτον εὐθὺς γενόμενον ᾄδειν, ἕως ἂν τελευτήσῃ.*

477. 2. **ἐξευμαριζούσης**] A poetical word common in Philo. Eurip. H. F. 18 *συμφόρας δὲ τὰς ἐμὰς ἐξευμαρίζειν.* Ibid. 81. Euseb. H. E. 10. 9 *πάντων ἐξευμαρισθέντων αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ.*

πανίερον] Rare, except in Philo, who uses it in the Quis Rerum, 1. 483. 24 *τῶν πανιέρων τεμένων*, and Leg. ad C. 2. 574. 5. It occurs also in Euseb. 2. 872 A and 1409 A and in Theophilus of Antioch.

3. **πανέορτον**] This passage is the only one to which L. and S. refer under this word. But Stephanus refers to Euseb. 6. 700 C — *ἡμέρα*: Alex. Mon. 4073 D; Damasc. 841 D.

5. **λιπαίνουσιν**] A rare word in the sense of 'to anoint.' It

M. 477 usually = to fatten. The Essenes did not anoint themselves. The Stoic discipline allowed it in moderation. Cp. Clem. Alex. (? = Musonius Rufus) Paed. 2. 8 (Sylb. 178 C) *αὔταρκες μὲν οὖν τὸ ἔλαιον αὐτό, λιπᾶναί τε τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ ἀνεῖναι τὸ νευρῶδες καί τινα τοῦ σώματος ὀσμὴν ἀναστεῖλαι βαρυτέραν.* The Jews were careful not to use Greek oil in anointing themselves lest they should transgress the law, so they must have prepared their own (Josephi Uita, ch. 13). Athen. 5. 219 C uses *λιπαίνω* = ungo; also LXX, Ps. 22. 5; Erotian. 104. Philo uses it De Spec. Leg. 2. 347. 46 *ἵνα τὸ σκληροδίαιτον τῶν ἀπόρων ἱλαραῖς μεταδόσεσι λιπαίνῃ*, where it rather = fatten.

5. **ἀμέλει**] Philo is fond of this use, e.g. 1. 201 *καθάπερ ἀμέλει καὶ νῦν*: Quod Deus Sit Immut. 1. 275 and 1. 298. Plato and Lucian have it.

7. **ἄρτον εὐτελῆ**] Clem. Alex. (? = Muson. Rufus) Paedag. 2. (Sylb. 161 C) *ὀβολιαῖον ἄρτον.* Alciphron 1. 21 presents a curious identity of diction: *σιτεῖται δὲ οὐδὲν τῶν πολυτελῶν ἀλλ' ἄρτον ἐξ ἀγορᾶς, καὶ ὄψον, εἴποτε εὐημερίας ἡμέραν ἐπιτελοίη, δρυπετεῖς ἢ φαυλίας.* In the Letronne Papyri (Notices et extraits des MSS. de la bibliothèque impériale, tome 18, Paris 1865) we have records of the monks of the Serapeum near Memphis of about the year 164 B.C. The temple accounts prove that they lived chiefly on bread and salt; and the item *καθαροὶ ἄρτοι καὶ ἅλες* is of frequent recurrence. Oil was also in great request, and vegetables and flowers were sold in the temple itself. Under the head of dress we notice most often such items as *ὀθόνια καὶ κιθῶνας*, and for the priestesses *σινδόνες* and *βαπτά* (p. 330) and *κειθῶνας λινοῦν* (sic). Bread and salt and water formed the staple diet of the Egyptian poor man, and that is why the Therapeutae and the monks of the Serapeum and Christians when fasting (Constit. Apost. 5. 18, Tertul. De Patient. cap. 13 = p. 147 c, Herm. Past. lib. 3, simil. 5) alike partook of them.

8. **παραρτύουσιν**] 'Season by adding . . .' L. and S. give this reference only. It recurs p. 483. 10.

9. **ναματιαῖον**] A freshwater spring on the Lake Mareotis is mentioned by Athen. 1, p. 33 D *τῆς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ κρήνης Μαρείας.* In the same passage he recommends the wine of the district, as also did Strabo, lib. 17 C. 14, C. 799. Cp. also Hirtius, Bell. Alex. ch. 9, on the numerous springs in the neighbourhood of Alexandria.

11. **ἀπομειλίσσονται**] This word means to propitiate, especially an evil power. Cp. Dionys. Halic. *περὶ τοῦ Θουκυδ. ἰδιωμ.* 120 (ed.

Francof. 2. 158. 18) ἀπομειλίξασθαι λόγοις τὰς ὀργὰς τῶν εἰκότως ἐπὶ M. 477
ταῖς συμφοραῖς ἀχθομένων. So in same author, Antiq. Rom. 24 (1. 30. 22) ἀπομειλιττομένοις τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ μῆνιν. So Porphyr. de Abstin. 43 and 44 (ed. Nauck, p. 173, ll. 4 and 23). Joseph. A. I. 19. 9, 2 Κλαύδιον ἀπεμειλίξατο.

13. ἐσθίουσι . . . διψῆν] Cp. the ancient saying attributed to Socrates by Diogenes Laert. (Soc. 2. 34) ἔλεγε, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ζῆν, ἵν' ἐσθίωσιν· αὐτὸν δὲ ἐσθίειν, ἵνα ζῴη. So also Musonius Rufus ap. Stob. Serm. 18. p. 167; Athen. 4, p. 158 F; Quint. Inst. Or. 9. 3, p. 824 = 468; Clem. Alex. Paedag. lib. 2, c. 1 (? = Musonius Rufus).

16. σκέπης] Cp. Musonius Rufus ap. Stob. T. 1, p. 18, 84 ἐπεὶ δὲ σκέπης ἕνεκα καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ποιούμεθα, φημὶ καὶ ταύτας δεῖν ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸ τῆς χρείας ἀναγκαῖον, ὡς ἀπερύκειν μὲν κρύος, ἀπερύκειν δὲ θάλπους τὸ σφοδρόν.

18. Cp. Galen προτρεπτικός 26 μόνη γὰρ ἦν (Φρύνη) ἀκαλλώπιστός τε καὶ αὐτοφυῶς καλή. Elsewhere only in Lucian, Pisc. 12 οὐδὲ τὸ ἄνετον δοκοῦν τῆς κόμης ἀκαλλώπιστον ἐῶσα.

αὐτοσχέδιος] Poetical, in Hom. Hymn. Merc. 55, but Aristot. fr. 558; fairly common in Dion. Hal.; Plutarch; Dio Chr.; Pausan.

20. ἀλέξημα] Clem. Alex. (? = Muson. Rufus) Paed. 2. 10 (Sylb. 200 A) φημὶ τοίνυν οὐκ ἄλλου τινος ἕνεκα δεηθῆναι ὑφασμάτων τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἢ σκέπης σώματος, πρὸς ἀπαλέξησιν κρυμῶν τε ὑπερβολῆς καὶ καυμάτων ἐπιτάσεως. Synes. Ep. 147, p. 286 A ὁ κυκεὼν τῆς θερινῆς ὥρας ἀλέξημα. Perhaps a poetical word originally, for it occurs Aesch. Prom. 479. Also in Dion. Hal.

22. ἀντὶ λασίου δορᾶς] The evidence in favour of ἀντί as against ἀπό is overwhelming, and it is also the potior lectio. The reading ἀπό, though very old, must be due to a scribe who misunderstood the drift of the passage, which is this. The Therapeutae scrupled to wear fur or skin, as being a dead and unclean refuse of animals. Therefore, like the Essenes and modern Hindoos and ancient Isiaci, they wore linen only. Plutarch (περὶ Ἰσίδος) 352 C gives the reason: ἐφ' ὅτῳ τὰς τρίχας οἱ ἱερεῖς ἀποτίθενται καὶ λινᾶς ἐσθῆτας φοροῦσιν . . . καθαροῦ γάρ, ᾗ φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, οὐ θεμιτὸν ἅπτεσθαι μὴ καθαρῷ· περίσσωμα δὲ τροφῆς καὶ σκύβαλον οὐδὲν ἁγνὸν οὐδὲ καθαρόν ἐστι· ἐκ δὲ τῶν περισσωμάτων ἔρια καὶ λάχναι, καὶ τρίχες καὶ ὄνυχες ἀναφύονται καὶ βλαστάνουσι. Γελοῖον οὖν ἦν, τὰς μὲν αὐτῶν τρίχας ἐν

M. 477 ταῖς ἁγνείαις ἀποτίθεσθαι ξυρυυμένους καὶ λεαινομένους πᾶν ὁμαλῶς τὸ σῶμα, τὰς δὲ τῶν θρεμμάτων ἀμπέχεσθαι καὶ φορεῖν . . . τὸ δὲ λῖνον φύεται μὲν ἐξ ἀθανάτου τῆς γῆς, καὶ καρπὸν ἐδώδιμον ἀναδίδωσι, λιτὴν δὲ παρέχει καὶ καθαρὰν ἐσθῆτα, καὶ τῷ σκέποντι μὴ βαρύνουσαν, εὐάρμοστον δὲ πρὸς πᾶσαν ὥραν· ἥκιστα δὲ φθειροποιόν. Cp. Apuleius, Apologia, p. 310 (ed. Casaub. p. 69) Quippe lana, segnissimi corporis excrementum pecori detracta, iam inde Orphei et Pythagorae scitis, profanus uestitus est. Sed enim mundissima lini seges, inter opimas fruges terra exorta, non modo indutui et amictui sanctissimis Aegyptiorum sacerdotibus, sed opertui quoque in rebus sacris usurpatur. On similar grounds Clem. Alex. condemns the ladies who wore false hair (Paedag. bk. 3. 248 B ὀθνείας δὲ ἐπισκενάζεσθαι τῇ κεφαλῇ τὰς κόμας, ἀθεώτατον, νεκροῖς ἐνδιδυσκούσαις (? -σας) πλοκάμοις τὸ κρανίον. τίνι γὰρ ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἐπιτίθησι χεῖρα; τίνα δὲ εὐλογήσει; οὐ τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν κεκοσμημένην, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀλλοτρίας τρίχας καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἄλλην κεφαλήν. In Philostratus uita Apollonii, 6. 11, p. 111, we read concerning Pythagoras, βωμῶν τε ὡς καθαρὸς ἅψαιτο καὶ ὡς ἀχράντῳ μὲν ἐμψύχου βρώσεως γαστρὶ χρήσαιτο, καθαρῷ δὲ σώματι πάντων ἐσθημάτων, ὅποσα θνησειδίων ξύγκειται. So in the same author, 6. 11, p. 112, still describing the Pythagorean discipline: οὐδὲ χλαῖνα θάλψει αὐτόν, οὐδὲ ἔριον, ὃ ἀπ' ἐμψύχου ἐπέχθη, ὑπόδημα δὲ αὐτοῖς βύβλου δίδωμι. So also Iambl. uita Pythag. c. 28. The modern Hindoo loses caste if he puts on leathern shoes, and the leather-workers are the lowest of all Indian castes. The new Benares water-works were a few years ago boycotted by the natives, because it was rumoured that washers of leather were used inside the taps. Pythagoras according to Apollonius (Philostr. 8. 7, p. 156) ἐσθῆτά τε, ἣν ἀπὸ θνησειδίων οἱ πολλοὶ φοροῦσιν, οὐ καθαρὰν εἶναι φήσας λίνον ἠμπίσχετο καὶ τὸ ὑπόδημα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον βύβλου ἐπλέξατο. Apollonius himself says, ibidem: λίνον δὲ . . . ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἀπ' ἐμψύχου ἐδρέφθη, καθαρὸν μὲν Ἰνδοῖς δοκεῖ. καθαρὸν δὲ Αἰγυπτίοις, ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ Πυθαγόρᾳ διὰ τοῦτο σχῆμα γέγονε διαλεγομένοις εὐχομένοις θύουσι. καθαρὸν δὲ καὶ ἐννυχεύειν ὑπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ γὰρ τὰ ὀνείρατα τοῖς, ὡς ἐγώ, διαιτωμένοις ἐτυμωτέρας τὰς αὑτῶν φήμας ἄγει. Cp. also Carmen Sibyl. E 492 (of Christ) καί ποτέ τις ἐρέει ἱερεὺς λινόστολος ἀνήρ. Philo himself insists on the necessity of linen as material of a priest's dress, De Ebriet. 1. 369 τὸν γὰρ σοφὸν . . . δεῖ τῇ . . . φρονήσει κεκοσμῆσθαι, καὶ ὅποτε μὲν τῶν ἀνθρωπείων σπουδασμάτων ὑποκεχώρηκε, τὸ ὂν θεραπεύων μόνον, τὴν ἀποίκιλον ἀληθείας ἐνδύεσθαι στολήν, ἧς οὐδὲν ἐφάψεται θνητόν, καὶ γάρ ἐστι λινῆς ὕλης ἐξ οὐδενὸς τῶν πεφυκότων ἀποθνήσκειν γεννωμένης. Cp. Ezech. 44. 17 καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῷ εἰσπορεύεσθαι αὐτοὺς τὰς πύλας τῆς

αὐλῆς τῆς ἐσωτέρας, στολὰς λινᾶς ἐνδύσονται· καὶ οὐκ ἐνδύσονται ἔρια ἐν τῷ M. 477
λειτουργεῖν αὐτοὺς κ.τ.λ. So the church's raiment in Rev. 19. 8 is βύσσινον καθαρὸν καὶ λαμπρόν· τὸ γὰρ βύσσινον τὰ δικαιώματά ἐστι τῶν ἁγίων. Philo says of this raiment, 1. 653, 38 ἡ δέ ἐστι σύμβολον εὐτονίας, ἀφθαρσίας, αἰγοειδεστάτου φέγγους. Ἀρραγέστατον γὰρ ἡ ὀθόνη, καὶ ἐξ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἀποθνησκόντων γίνεται . . . . διὰ δὲ τούτων ἐκεῖνο αἰνίττεται, ὅτι τῶν ἀδόλως καὶ καθαρῶς θεραπευόντων τὸ Ὄν, οὐδείς ἐστιν ὃς μὴ . . . ἰσχυρογνωμοσύνῃ κέχρηται, καταφρονήσας τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων, ἃ δελεάζοντα κηραίνει. The Therapeutae then were like the Essenes and Pythagoreans, scrupulous about the purity of their linen raiment. On the other hand, the monks of the fourth century, with whom Lucius would identify them, wore skins.

22. ἐξωμίς] Gellius 7. 12 defines this to be substricta et brevis tunica citra humerum desinens, Pollux. 4. 118 ἐσθῆτα κωμικήν, also χιτῶνα λευκόν, ἄσημον, κατὰ τὴν ἀριστέραν πλευρὰν ῥαφὴν οὐκ ἔχοντα. But according to the Scholiast on Aristoph. Vesp. 444 it was a χιτὼν ἑτερομάσχαλος with one sleeve, leaving one shoulder bare. Cynics wore it, Sext. Emp. P. 1. 153, and Dio Chr. Or. 4 (ed. Casaub. p. 69 D); also poor people and slaves, Lys. 662, 1021. So the poongye or Buddhist friar in Burmah leaves his left shoulder bare.

ἡ ὀθόνη] All the Greek books read ἢ ὀθ. But no particular habiliment was called ὀθόνη, linen being a material of which all habiliments alike could be made. The reading ἢ ὀθ. therefore makes no sense, and I have preferred the Armenian ἡ ὀθ. The ἐξωμίς worn by the Therapeutae was not of any unclean material but of linen. See the note above on ἀντὶ λασίου δορᾶς.

25. πηγῆς] Cp. Plutarch περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας, 100 C ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν πράγμασιν ἡδονὴν καὶ χάριν, ὥσπερ ἐκ πηγῆς τοῦ ἤθους, προστίθησιν.

29. συνόδους] The testimonia show that this was the regular word in Alexandria for the meeting of a brotherhood, club or θίασος. Strabo, 17. 8, C. 794, after mentioning the common repasts of the members of the Alexandrian museum, calls their association a σύνοδος. M. Massebieau notes this, and also that (according to M. Boissier, Religion Romaine, 2. 267), a society of Greek mimes and athletes would have a high-priest at its head and call itself a 'holy synod.'

32. ἐμφορήσωνται] Common in Diodorus, Athenaeus, Porphyrius,

M. 477 and Alciphron with the accusative: in Plutarch, Lucian, and Herodianus with the genitive; and in all these authors used in conjunction with *ἄκρατος*. 'To swill oneself full.'

33. **παρακινηματικόν**] This reading best combines what we find in the better MSS. With *παρακινητικόν* read in BDγ, cp. Plutarch, *Ῥωμαϊκά* 291 A (*κιττός*) *πνεῦμα μανίας ἔχων ἐγερτικὸν καὶ παρακινητικόν, ἐξίστησι καὶ σπαράττει, καὶ ὅλως ἄοινον ἐπάγει μέθην.* Neither *παρακινηματικός* nor *περικινηματικός* are in the lexica.

μανιῶδες] Common in sense of insanus, but rare in the sense here required of insaniam faciens. Dioscor. 4. 69 De Hyoscyamo *μανιώδεις καὶ καρωτικοί* is the only instance given in Stephanus.

34. **φυσικόν**] The Arm. = *φυσικὸν φάρμακον*, which should probably be read; for *φυσικὸν φάρμακον* according to L. and S. means a superstitious drug or a magical charm. The lexicons give very few examples of *φυσικόν* used absolutely. The diplomatic evidence is against *φυσικοῦ*, which moreover detracts from the sense. In the Geopon. 2. 18, 8 we have *τοῖς φυσικοῖς χρῆσθαι*, where, as Steph. remarks, '*φυσικά* non tam sunt prauae artes magicae quam ea quae fiunt latente natura siue causa.' Alexander Trall., a late writer, often uses the term *φυσικὸν φάρμακον* = amuleta, cantiones, s. incantamenta.

36. **ἀποτρώγουσι**] In the Q. O. P. L. 2. 462 Philo uses this word: *ἀποτρώγων τοῖς ὀδοῦσι τὴν γλῶτταν.* In Lucian, vol. 2, p. 279 *ὀλίγου δέουσι τὴν ῥῖνα τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποτρώγειν* (Steph.).

37. **ῥῖνας, ὦτα**] Compare Plutarch's description of barbarians overcome, not by drink, but by grief, *παραμυθητικὸς πρὸς Ἀπ.* 113 B *τινὲς δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ μέρη τοῦ σώματος ἀποτέμνουσι, ῥῖνας καὶ ὦτα καὶ τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα κατακίζοντες, δοκοῦντές τι χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν.*

40. Perhaps **ἐπεσθίοντας**, 'eating up,' should be read. Poetical, at least in this sense. Cp. Aristoph. Plut. 1005 *πάντ' ἐπήσθιεν.* I have followed A in reading **ἐσθίοντας**. The reference is to Od. 9. 374 *φάρυγος δ' ἐξέσσυτο οἶνος ψωμοί τ' ἀνδρόμεοι· ὁ δ' ἐρεύγετο οἰνοβαρείων.*

44. **ἄσπονδα**] Athen. 10, ch. 17, p. 420 E foll. is the best commentary on this passage of Philo: *οἱ δὲ νῦν συναγαγόντες ἐπὶ τὰ δεῖπνα, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς καλῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, βοῶσι, κεκράγασι, βλασφημοῦσι τὸν οἰνοχόον, τὸν διάκονον, τὸν μάγειρον. κλαίουσι δ' οἱ παῖδες τυπτόμενοι κονδύλοις ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν. καὶ οὐχ οἷον οἱ κεκλημένοι*

μετὰ πάσης ἀηδίας δειπνοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ κἂν τύχῃ θυσία τις οὖσα, παρακαλυψά- M. 477
μενος ὁ θεὸς οἰχήσεται . . . καὶ τοῖς δειπνοῦσι δ' ἂν εἴποι ὁ τοιοῦτος· Νῦν δ' ἔρχεσθαι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἵνα ξυνάγωμεν Ἄρηα.

45. **παρακόπτοντες**] L. and S. render by 'counterfeit,' and certainly the mere stamping a coin awry did not prevent its being *δόκιμον*, for many ancient coins found were so struck. Philo is fond of the metaphor and calls an eunuch *ἀνθρωπείου παράκομμα νομίσματος*. Cp. Lucian, adv. Ind. c. 2 *κίβδηλα καὶ νόθα καὶ παρακεκομμένα*. So Diod. 1. 78 *νόμισμα παρακοπτόντων*: Aristoph. Ach. 517.

47. **ἀθλητῶν ἄθλιοι**] A common pun in antiquity. Cp. Galen *προτρεπτικός* 31 *οὐδὲν ἄλλο γένος ἀθλιώτερόν ἐστι τῶν ἀθλητῶν. ὥστ' εἰκότως ἄν τις εἴποι εὐφυῶς οὕτως ὀνομάζεσθαι, τῶν ἀθλητῶν προσαγορευθέντων ⟨ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀθλίου⟩ ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀθλητοῦ τὴν προσηγορίαν τῶν ἀθλίων ἐσχηκότων.*

ἐπιφημιστέον] Stephanus does not give this form. It occurs again, Philo Q. O. P. L. 2. 452, 4 *τοῖς δὲ . . . δουλείαν ἐπιφημιστέον.*

49. Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gentes § 21 *Πίσα δὲ ὑμῖν τάφος ἐστίν, ὦ Πανέλληνες, ἡνιόχου φρύγος.* Ibid. Strom. lib. 2. 1 (Sylb. 359 C) *αὐχοῦσι γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖσδε οἱ Πανέλληνες.* Philodemus De Musica 4. 13, 1 (edit. Kemke, p. 78) *νομίζουσι[ν οἱ Π]ανέλληνες.* The word *Πανελληνες* also occurs in Hesiod, Op. 530; Eurip. Suppl. 526, 671 and Tro. 413 &c.; Athen. 13. 590 F of Phryne bathing *ἐν ὄψει τῶν Πανελλήνων.*

478. 1. **Ὀλυμπιονῖκαι**] A few years before Christ, Herod the Great, as we learn from Josephus, Antiq. Iud. 16. 149 (5. 3. 4) *τὸν Ὀλυμπίασιν ἄγωνα πολὺ τῆς προσηγορίας ἀδοξότερον ὑπ' ἀχρηματίας διατεθειμένον τιμιώτερον ἐποίει καὶ . . . ἐσεμνοποίησεν τὴν πανήγυριν.* This helps to explain how it is that Philo speaks so approvingly of the Olympian games.

3. **ἐμπαροινοῦντες**] Clem. Alex. (? = Muson. Rufus) Paedag. lib. 2 (Sylb. p. 154 D) *μέθη μὲν οὖν ἐστιν, ἀκράτου χρῆσις σφοδροτέρα, παροινία δέ, ἡ ἐκ τῆς χρήσεως ἀκοσμία.* Used in Lucian, Tim. 14 and Josephus, A. I. 6. 12, 7.

4. **κακοτέχνως**] 'With evil art,' i.e. with art which, instead of benefiting, injures men. Galen illustrates this sense in his *προτρεπτικός* 20 *ἐπὶ τέχνης μάθησιν ὁρμᾶσθε, μή τις ὑμᾶς ἀπατεὼν καὶ γόης ἀνὴρ παρακρουσάμενός ποτε ματαιοτεχνίαν ἢ κακοτεχνίαν διδάξηται, γιγνώ-*

M. 478 *σκοντες, ὡς ὁπόσοις τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων οὐκ ἔστι τὸ τέλος βιωφελές, ταῦτ' οὐκ εἰσὶ τέχναι.* Cp. Ignatius ad Polyc. 5 *τὰς κακοτεχνίας φεῦγε,*— advice which it hardly seems needful to address to a fellow-saint. Lightfoot in his note points out that Simon Magus was frequently accused of *κακοτεχνία* and that it answers to the Latin maleficia of Tacit. Ann. 2. 69.

6. **βραβευτής**] Pollux 3. 145 *τοῖς δὲ γυμνικοῖς ἐφεστῶσι βραβευταί, οὓς καὶ βραβέας ὁ Πλάτων καλεῖ.* So Hesych. *βραβευτής· διαλλάκτης.*

7. **καταπαλαίουσι**] 'Eluctantur.' Plato, Rep. 2. 362 D in sense of to 'wrestle with and conquer,' used by Philo also in the Q. O. P. L. and elsewhere, and common in Plutarch, Lucian, Philostratus.

10. **παραπαίοντες**] In Plato, Symp. 173 E *μαίνομαι καὶ παραπαίω.* So Athen. 15. 675 A; Plut. Mor. 963 E; Polyb. 12. 9, 1. The word seems to have been rare after Athenaeus.

ὁ κωμικός] Philo often makes such anonymous references. So does Clem. Alex., e.g. Paedag. lib. 2 (Sylb. p. 141 D) *φοιτητὴς μανίας ἐπὶ δείπνων κατὰ τὸν κωμικόν,* where he is probably copying Musonius, as also in the following passage, Paedag. lib. 2 (Sylb. p. 152 C) *ὁ γὰρ ἄκρατος, κατὰ τὸν κωμικόν, ὀλίγα ἀναγκάζει φρονεῖν.*

15. **ἠκρωτηριασμένοι**] In classical writers of cutting the beaks off the prows of ships, Hdt. 3. 59 and Xen. Hell. 6. 2, 36. In the sense of mutilating a human being, L. and S. refer to Polyb. 5. 54, 10. Athen. 12. 524 D has *ἠκρωτηρίαζον τὰς ῥῖνας.*

16. **καταπλαστῶν**] 'Eorum qui illinunt, . . . Stephanus and Sophocles give no other instance, but we find *καταπλαστὸν φάρμακον* in Aristoph. Plut. 717, in the sense of a drug smeared on. So also in Menander.

18. **μετριωτέρων**] Compare and contrast the graceful picture of *ὁ κῶμος* in Philostratus, *εἰκόνες* 381 *καὶ ὁ κῶμος ἥκει νέος παρὰ νέους ἁπαλὸς καὶ οὔπω ἔφηβος, ἐρυθρὸς ὑπὸ οἴνου καὶ καθεύδων ὀρθὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ μεθύειν. καθεύδει δὲ τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον ἐπὶ στέρνα ῥίψας καὶ τῆς δειρῆς ἐκφαίνων οὐδέν, τὴν δὲ ἀριστερὰν προβολίῳ ἐπέχων, εἰλῆφθαι δὲ ἡ χεὶρ δοκοῦσα λύεται καὶ ἀμελεῖ, τὸ εἰωθὸς ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ καθεύδειν, ὅταν σαίνοντος ἡμᾶς τοῦ ὕπνου μετέρχηται ὁ λογισμὸς ἐς λήθην ὧν συνέχει, ὅθεν καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ λαμπάδιον ἔοικε διαφεύγειν τὴν χεῖρα, καταρραθυμοῦντος αὐτὴν τοῦ ὕπνου.* But Philo sets himself to bring out the swinish side of the reveller's nature.

19. **μανδραγόραν**] Wine was even supposed to owe some of its M. 478
soporific power to the fellow-growth of mandragoras. Cp. Plutarch's Quomodo Adolescens, 15 F *ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ μανδραγόρας ταῖς ἀμπέλοις παραφυόμενος, καὶ διαδιδοὺς τὴν δύναμιν εἰς τὸν οἶνον, μαλακωτέραν ποιεῖ τὴν καταφορὰν τοῖς πίνουσιν κ.τ.λ.* Cp. also his *συμποσιακῶν*, bk. 3, ch. 2, 652 C. 'To drink of mandragoras' was a proverbial phrase. So Demosth. 133. 1 *μανδραγόραν πεπωκόσιν, ἤ τι φάρμακον ἄλλο τοιοῦτον ἐοίκαμεν ἀνθρώποις*: and Xen. Symp. 2. 24 *τῷ γὰρ ὄντι ὁ οἶνος ἅρδων τὰς ψυχάς, τὰς μὲν λύπας, ὥσπερ ὁ μανδραγόρας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις* (so Wyttenbach corrects from *τοὺς ἀνθρώπους*) *κοιμίζει*, a passage which may have been in Philo's mind. Plato, Rep. 6. 488 C *μανδραγόρᾳ ἢ μέθῃ ἤ τινι ἄλλῳ συμποδίσαντας*. Hippoc. 420. 19.

ὑποβεβλύκασι] The verb *ὑποβλύζω* is not in the lexicons, but must have nearly the same meaning, 'overflow or bubble over,' as *ὑπερβεβλύκασι*, which Mangey suggests with great probability as the true reading, giving two examples of it from De Ebriet. 1. 391 *ἢ τῶν ὄγκων ἀποπληρωθέντων ὑπερβλύσῃ τὸ ἐπεισχεόμενον*. Also De Incor. Mundi, 2. 515 *ὅθεν ὑπερβλύσαντας εἰς τὴν παρακειμένην ἀναχεῖσθαι πεδιάδα*. The same word occurs in Dio Chr. vol. 1, p. 411 (Reiske) *ὥσπερ ἐκ πηγῆς ὕδατος ὑπερβλύσαντος* and often in the fathers.

21. **ἀνερευγόμενοι**] Clem. Alex. Paedag. 3 (Sylb. p. 217 A) *τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τῆς πλάνης ἐνερευξάμενος ἰόν*. A poetical word in classical age, e.g. Aristoph. Vespae 913 *τυροῦ κάκιστον ἀρτίως ἐνήρυγεν*.

25. **ἀκροθώρηκες**] This condition is described in Clem. Alex. (? = Muson. Rufus) Paed. lib. 2 (Sylb. p. 153 A) *ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτοις ὅρος ἔστω τοῦ ποτοῦ, μέχρις οὗ τὸν λογισμὸν ἄσειστον διατηρῶσι, καὶ τὴν μνήμην ἔνεργον, καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀσάλευτον οἴνῳ καὶ ἀκράδαντον, ἀκροθώρακα τοῦτον καλοῦσιν οἱ περὶ ταῦτα δεινοί*. Plutarch, Symp. 3. 656 D *τῶν γὰρ ἀκροθωράκων ἡ διάνοια μόνον τετάρακται, τὸ δὲ σῶμα ταῖς ὁρμαῖς ἐξυπηρετεῖν δύναται, μήπω βεβαπτισμένον*. Erotian, in his Glossary of Hippocrates, written about A. D. 60 (ed. Klein, p. 76, 8) writes thus: *Θωρῆξαι. οἰνοποτῆσαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡ οἰνοπυσία θώρηξις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λέγεται καὶ μέχρι νῦν τοὺς μὴ ἐπιπλέον οἰνωμένους ἀκροθώρηκας καλοῦμεν*. Therefore as early as A. D. 60 the use was becoming rare. Perhaps its occurrence in Clem. Alex. is due to the fact that his Paedagogus is copied wholesale from Musonius Rufus, a first century Stoic writer, banished by Domitian. Philo here, as often, when he is quoting Hippocrates, retains the Ionic form.

26. **βαπτισθῆναι**] Clem. Alex. (=Muson. Rufus), Paedag. lib. 2

M. 478 (Sylb. p. 155 A) *ὑπνώδης γὰρ πᾶς, ὁ μὴ εἰς σοφίαν ἐγρηγορῶν, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ μέθης βαπτιζόμενος εἰς ὕπνον.* Plutarch, Symp. 3. 656 C (see preceding note). Plato, Symp. 176 B, Euthyd. 277 D.

27. **ἐξ ἐπιδόσεως**] Plutarch, *ἀποφθέγ. βασιλ.* 188 A *πρὸς δὲ θυσίαν τινὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων αἰτούντων ἐπιδόσεις, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιδιδόντων κληθεὶς πολλάκις, αἰσχυνοίμην ἂν εἶπεν, ὑμῖν ἐπιδιδούς, τούτῳ δὲ μὴ ἀποδιδούς· ἅμα δεικνύων τὸν δανειστήν.* Here the word rather equals a 'largess.' In Demosthenes it equals a 'benevolence' or voluntary gift to the state. In Philo, I have not met with it elsewhere, except in the sense of 'increase,' e.g. De Confus. Ling. 1. 435.

συμβολῶν] 'From common contributions.' *πίνειν ἀπὸ συμβολῶν* is quoted by Athenaeus 365 D from Hegesander. So de symbolis esse in Terent. Eun. 3. 4, 2, and the phrase was very common.

προευτρεπιζομένους] A favourite word with Philo. We also meet with it in Iamblichi Protrept. 10 K *ἐπὶ τὸ ἀκρότατον καὶ τελειότατον ἀγαθὸν προευτρεπίζειν τινά.* Also in Josephus, A. I. 20. 4, 2 and 20. 5, 3; Origen 3. 1096 A, B and 4. 265 B.

31. **ἀνέστιοι**] In Attic a poetical word. Lucian, Sacr. 11 has *ἄοικοι μηδὲ ἀνέστιοι* as here. Also Athenaeus of the Cynics *ἄνοικοι καὶ ἀνέστιοι, βιοῦντες ἔξω ἁπάντων.* Epict. Diss. 3. 22, 45. Josephus, A. I. 3. 15, 1.

34. **ὑγρός**] Cp. Heraclit. ap. Stob. T. 5. 120 (Bywater, p. 73) *ὑγρὴν τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχων.* So Plut. 2. 713 A.

35. **ἐπιπολάζουσαν**] Plutarch, *ἀποφθέγμ. βασιλ.* 198 D *τὴν ἐπιπολάζουσαν γυναικοκρατίαν.* Plato, Axioch. 369 D *ἐκ τῆς ἐπιπολαζούσης ταυῦν λεσχηνείας.* So Arist. H. A. 4. 1.

37. **Ἰταλικῆς**] Plato, Epist. 7 (326 B) *ἐλθόντα δέ με ὁ ταύτῃ λεγόμενος αὖ βίος εὐδαίμων, Ἰταλιωτικῶν τε καὶ Συρακουσίων τραπεζῶν πλήρης, οὐδαμῇ οὐδαμῶς ἤρεσεν.*

πολυτελείας] With the words which follow, cp. Clem. Alex. (=Muson. Rufus) Paedag. lib. 2. 3 (Sylb. pp. 159, 160) *ὅτι οὐ χρὴ περὶ τὴν πολυτέλειαν τῶν σκευῶν ἐσπουδακέναι. Ἐκπωμάτων τοίνυν ἀργυρίου ἢ χρυσίου πεποιημένων, λιθοκολλήτων τε ἄλλων, ἄθετος ἡ χρῆσις, ὄψεως ἁπάτη μόνον . . . . Ἐρρέτων τοίνυν θηρίκλειοί τινες κύλικες, καὶ Ἀντιγονίδες, Κανθαροί τε καὶ Λαβρώνιοι, λεπασταί, καὶ τῶν ἐκπωμάτων εἴδη τὰ μυρία . . . Ναὶ μὴν καὶ τορευτῶν περίεργος ἐφ' ὑέλῳ κενοδοξία, ... πρὸς ἐπὶ τούτοις σκεύη ἀργυρᾶ τε καὶ χρυσᾶ, τὰ μὲν εἰς διακονίαν τροφῆς· τὰ δὲ καὶ εἰς ἄλλας τινὰς αἰσχύνομαι καὶ λέγειν χρείας, κέδρου τ' εἰκεάτοιο, καὶ θύου, καὶ ἐβένου*

καὶ ἐλέφαντος· τρίποδες ἠσκημένοι, κλίναι τε ἀργυρόποδες, καὶ ἐλεφαντό- M. 478
κολλητοι· χρυσόστικτοί τε καὶ χελώνης πεποικιλμέναι κοίτης κλισιάδες· στρωμναί τε ἀλουργεῖς καὶ ἄλλων χρωμάτων δυσπορίστων, ἀπειροκάλου τρυφῆς τεκμήρια, φθόνου καὶ βλακείας ἐπίβουλα πλεονεκτήματα, παραπεμπτέα ἅπαντα. Cp. Musonius Rufus, ap. Stobaeum T. 85 [83], 489. Dr. Wendland has proved that the Paedagogus of Clement is little more than a transcript of Musonius Rufus, the Roman Stoic and teacher of Epictetus, excerpts of whose works are preserved in Stobaeus. In quoting Clement, I have been careful to note this fact which accounts for the appearance in Clement's writing of features which belong rather to the first century than to the end of the second.

38. ἐζήλωσαν] M. Massebieau justly remarks that the luxury of Rome would spread to Alexandria sooner than to any other place. Philo himself, in his treatise De Legatione, testifies to the security and general well-being which the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius bestowed on Alexandria; and Strabo 17. 13, C. 798 calls it the *μέγιστον ἐμπόριον τῆς οἰκουμένης*, from which, he says, the mightiest fleets set sail as far as India and the extremes of Ethiopia, bringing the most precious freights to Egypt, thence to be re-exported all over the world. Cp. Athenaeus 6, p. 274 E and note upon p. 479. 50.

41. τρίκλινά τε καὶ περίκλινα] L. & S. give no other example of *περίκλινον*, but translate it 'a couch that ran all round a table.' The Arm. reading *πολύκλινα*, i.e. couches to seat several is probably right, for it best suits *τρίκλινα*. Philo would then speak of 'couches on which three or more can recline.' That such large pieces of furniture should be made of precious materials was a sign of excessive luxury. *Τρίκλινος* and its allied compounds usually mean 'with three couches,' 'with four couches,' &c., *οἶκος* or *θάλαμος* being supplied or understood. L. & S. give no example of the neuter use which we have in this passage. The word *πολύκλινος* occurs in Heliod. 5. 18, but in the sense 'with many seats or couches'; so *ἑπτάκλινος οἶκος* in Plutarch, Moralia 130 F.

τιμαλφεστέρας] Plato, Tim. 59 B, has this word. Also Aristoph.

42. λιθοκόλλητα] Common in Theophrastus, Plutarch, Athenaeus, Strabo.

43. ἐνυφασμένου] Galen, *π. ψυχῆς παθῶν* 46 *τὰ χρυσοϋφῆ τῶν ἱματίων ἤ τι περίεργον ἔργον ἔχοντα*. The verb *ἐνυφαίνω* occurs in

M. 478 Menander, Herodotus, and Athenaeus, 535 F *τούτῳ* (sc. calceo) *χρυσοῦ πολλὴν ἐνύφαινον ποικιλίαν.*

44. **ἀνθοβαφεῖς**] In Sext. Emp. P. 1. 148 and Lucian, Amor. 41.

46. **ἐκπωμάτων πλῆθος**] So Plutarch, *ἀποφθέγ. βασιλ.* 175 E *ἐκπωμάτων χρυσῶν καὶ ἀργυρῶν πλῆθος.*

48. **θηρίκλια**] Pollux uses this as a neuter noun and instances it as one of the *ἐκπωμάτων* in bk. 6. 95 *τὰ δ' ἐκπώματα καὶ ποτήρια ἄν τις εἴποι . . . τὰ δὲ τούτων εἴδη κύλικα, κυλίσκην, φιάλην, ἀγκύλην . . . καρχήσιον καὶ θηρίκλειον μὲν καὶ κάνθαρον ἀπὸ τῶν ποιησάντων, ἀντιγονίδα δὲ καὶ σελευκίδα καὶ ῥοδιάδα ἀπὸ τῶν χρησαμένων.* Among the single-handed cups he mentions *ῥυτά, σκύφοι, κότυλος.* Athenaeus, 2. 470–472, gives numerous citations from the comedians in which *θηρίκλεια* are mentioned, cp. Pliny, Hist. 5. 32.

τορείαις] Plutarch *περὶ τοῦ ἀκούειν* 42 D *καθάπερ οἱ πίνοντες ὅταν παύσωνται διψῶντες, τότε τὰ τορεύματα τῶν ἐκπωμάτων ὑποθεωροῦσι.* The same writer in the *ἀποφθέγμ. βασιλ.* 174 D speaks of *σκεύη . . . εὔθρυστα καὶ λεπτά, πιθανῶς δὲ καὶ περιττῶς εἰργασμένα γλυφαῖς τισι καὶ τορείαις.* Philo, Leg. Alleg. 1. 105, 3 *εἰς ἄκρον διατορεῦσαι.* Plut. Gryllus 989 E *παίγνιον . . . τορείαις διηκριβωμένον.* Id. Apophth. 174 D.

479. 1. **περικαλλέστατα**] An Homeric word which occurs once in Herodotus and once in Aristophanes, but common in Plutarch, Alciphron (3. 59), and Athenaeus who uses the superlative, bk. 15, p. 680 C. Philo uses it also De Cherub. 1. 157 *ἵνα δὲ βέβαιος καὶ περικαλλέστατος εἴη ὁ οἶκος* of the human soul being the *ἀξιόχρεων ἐνδιαίτημα θεοῦ.* U. M. 2. 91, 20 *μορφή τις περικαλλεστάτη.*

4. **ὑδροφοροῦσι**] The alternative reading is strongly evidenced and may even have stood in the margin of the Greek Archetype Σ. Cp. Plutarch's *περὶ πολυφιλίας* 94 A *ἐν δὲ ταῖς τῶν πλουσίων καὶ ἡγεμονικῶν οἰκίαις, πολὺν ὄχλον καὶ θόρυβον ἀσπαζομένων καὶ δεξιουμένων καὶ δορυφορούντων ὁρῶντες, εὐδαιμονίζουσι τοὺς πολυφίλους.*

βούπαιδες] 'Big boys.' The word belongs to Greek comedy, e.g. Aristoph. Vesp. 1206. Eupol. Incert. 95.

5. **λελειασμένοι**] An Ionic form, cp. Hippoc. 622. 25. Philo has *λελειάνθαι* in De Mundi Incor. 2. 510, 24. Clem. Alex. (?=Muson. Rufus), Paedag. 3. 3 (Sylb. 223 B) *τὸ γὰρ ἄνδρας ὄντας, ξύρεσθαι καὶ λεαίνεσθαι, πῶς οὐκ ἀγεννές;* Athen. 12, 518 A and 522 D *Ταραντίνους . . . εἰς τοσοῦτον τρυφῆς προελθεῖν, ὥστε τὸν ὅλον χρῶτα παραλεαίνεσθαι:* Plato, Pol. 270 E: Philo, De Agric. 1. 302 *ὥσπερ κηρὸν λελειασμένον.*

ὑπογράφονται] Cp. Philostr. Uita Apol. (6. 10, p. 111) *ἐσθῆτί τε ἁλιπορφύρῳ καὶ παρειᾶς ἄνθει καὶ χαίτης ἀναπλοκαῖς καὶ γραφαῖς ὀμμάτων.* So Clem. Alex. Paedag. 2. 10 (Sylb. 198 D) *ὀφθαλμῶν ὑπογραφῆς, παρατίλσεών τε καὶ παραφυκισμῶν*: Athen. 12, p. 523 A: Lucian, De Merc. Cond. c. 33 *φῦκος ἐντετριμμένον καὶ ὑπογεγραμμένον τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς.* M. 479

7. διαπλέκονται] Homer uses in active voice. In the middle voice it is rare. Aristaenetus 1. 25 *διαπλεξαμένη τὰς κόμας.* With σφηκούμενοι='binding up tightly.' Cp. Hom. Il. 17. 52 *πλοχμοί θ' οἳ χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ ἐσφήκωντο*, and the phrase was still in use in Philo's day, for Poll. 2. 25 gives *κόμη ἐσφηκωμένη.*

βαθυχαῖται] Only in Hesiod, Th. 977; 'with thick long hair.'

8. προμετωπιδίους] 'The forelocks.' The word is used in Herodotus, Aelian N. A. 14. 26, E. M. and Xenophon. The hair of these slaves was either not cut at all or over the forehead only; it was cut at the tips to make it even in length all over, and to give it the exact figure of a curving line. In other words it formed a rounded fringe over the forehead. We learn from Dio Chr. Or. 11 (ed. Casaub. p. 20 D) that juvenile dandies in his day had their hair cut round in the same way in front and left long behind: *μόνους αὐτοὺς* (i.e. *τοὺς Εὐβοέας*) *τῶν Ἑλλήνων περιέκειρεν αἴσχιστα* (sc. *Ὅμηρος*), *κομᾶν ὄπισθεν ἀφεῖς, ὥσπερ οἱ νῦν τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἀπαλούς.* Cp. Jer. ix. 26; Lucian, Tim. 4. Varro Fragm. Alii sunt circumtonsi, et torti atque unctuli, ut mangonis uideantur esse serui. Seneca Ep. 115 circumtonsa est et fucata et manufacta. Sueton. Aug. 45 in puerilem habitum circumtonsam matronam. Artem. Oneiroc. 2. 6.

9. ἐπανίσωσιν] This word occurs in Philo De Migr. Abr. 1. 463. The lexicons give no example of it except Greg. Naz. 3. 133 A, where it equals 'assessment.'

11. χιτῶνας] The passage which follows is obscure; for it is not clear whether by *χιτωνίσκων* in l. 15 is meant the same garment as the *χιτών*, or whether it was a smaller garment worn over the *χιτών*. The use of *χιτωνίσκος* in p. 482. 45, in describing the feast of the Therapeutae, and its identification with the *χιτών* in De Mon. 2. 225 (cited on p. 112), incline me to think that in this passage two garments are not implied, but only one. I would provisionally render as follows: 'They wear tunics fine as cobwebs and of dazzling white girt high up, the front part hangs below the under-knee, the back part a little below the back of the knees; and they

M. 479 draw together each part with curly bows of ribbon along the line of join of the tunics; and then they let the folds dangle down obliquely, broadening out the hollows along the ribs (or of the wings or sides of the garment).' The chiton was made of a single piece of material folded over on the top side where it hung from the shoulders. This fold was known as the apoptygma. This overhanging fold (to be distinguished from the *κόλπος* formed by drawing up the part below the waist through the girdle and letting it hang over in a *bulge*) would form hollows (*κοῖλα*) all round the body, but especially on each side (*πλευραί*), under the arms, where it projected somewhat owing to its breadth.

ἀραχνοϋφεῖς] A rare word used in Philo, De Provid. (cited p. 85) and in De Somn. 1. 666 *τίς οὖν τὰς πολυτελεῖς ἀλουργίδας, τίς τὰ διαφανῆ καὶ λεπτὰ θέριστρα, τίς τὰς ἀραχνοϋφεῖς ἀμπεχόνας.* Stephanus and L. & S. give no instance of the word being used in any other writer than Philo.

ἐκλεύκους] This word usually = minus albus, 'verging on white.' But Arist. De Mundo, c. 4, p. 394. 35, seems to use it like Philo *ἐργάζεται ἡ κοπὴ τὸ ἀφρῶδες καὶ ἔκλευκον*, 'very white.'

ἐπαναζωσάμενοι] This word occurs in this passage only. The contrast is with p. 482, l. 44 *ἄζωστοι δὲ καὶ καθειμένοι.* At an ordinary banquet the slaves who waited drew up the lower part of the *χιτών* through the girdle over which it then hung in folds. In the luxurious banquet the slaves are *ἐπαναζωσάμενοι*, i.e. girt up very high, to give them facility in moving about with the dishes, &c. In the simple repast of the Therapeutae, the *χιτωνίσκοι* of the deacons were allowed to flow down to their feet. Seneca de Breuit. Uitae, ch. 12 Quam solliciti argentum ordinent, quam diligenter exoletorum suorum tunicas succingant.

13. **γονατίοις**] L. & S. render 'hip-joints.' In Lucian, As. 10 *παλαίειν καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ ἀπὸ γονατίου.* The Schol. Nicand. Ther. 541 writes: *κατὰ τὸν βουβῶνα ἤγουν τὸ γονάτιον*: id. 591 *ἦτρον τὸ γονάτιον ἢ τὸν ὄμφαλον τοῦ νάρθηκος λέγει.* Stephanus infers from these passages that *γονάτιον* = femur or inguen, 'groin.' In this passage of Philo the plural must mean the hip-joints or the back parts of the thighs, or possibly of the knees.

14. **οὐλοτέραις**] The literal sense is 'rather woolly.' But here it probably means 'rather wavy or twisted.' A poetical word and Homeric. So Od. ψ. 157 *καδδὲ κάρητος Οὔλας ἦκε κόμας.*

σειραίαις] In Pollux 1. 148 *σειραία ἱμάς* is the *attaching* trace M. 479
of a horse. In Eurip. H. F. 1011 *σ. βρόχοι* is rendered 'twisted nooses.' Here perhaps it means no more than 'of ribbon.' The run of the sentence requires σειραίαις to agree with ἐπιδιπλώσεσι, and it must needs agree with some noun, for it is never used except as an adjective.

ἐπιδιπλώσεσι] Only used here and Paul. Alex. Apotelesm. 35. 8 *μηνῶν ἐπιδίπλωσιν.* In Ex. 26. 9 *συνάψεις τὰς πέντε δέρρεις ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό . . . . καὶ ἐπιδιπλώσεις τὴν ἕκτην κατὰ πρόσωπον τῆς σκηνῆς,* which our version renders 'thou shalt double.' Philo's word should therefore = 'with folds or turnings over.' Yet how could a fold of a dress be said to be *σειραίαις*, i.e. ribbon-like? I conjecture that *σειρ. ἐπιδιπλ.* or 'over-doubling of a ribbon' was what we nowadays call a bow of ribbon.

15. συμβολήν] 'The join.' So of the 'meeting' of curtains in Ex. 26. 4, 5, where however our version renders by 'coupling'; but cp. Ex. 28. 28 *τὴν συμβολὴν συνυφασμένην ἐξ αὐτοῦ.* So Herodot. 4. 10. In Pollux, Plato, and Hippocr. of a bone-suture. The *χιτών* or *χιτωνίσκος* was open all down one side of the body, usually the right side, hence the epithet *φαινομηρίς*. This vertical opening down the right side of the body from the shoulder to the feet was, I imagine, the *συμβολὴ τῶν χιτωνίσκων*, which phrase may mean the join of the two halves of the chiton, the diminutive being chosen to express the idea of half. This join was usually closed by sewing or pins (*vide* chapters on Greek Dress, by M. M. Evans, p. 19). In this case bows of ribbon were used.

16. κόλπους] Plutarch, *ἀποφθέγματα βασιλέων* 173 C, refers to the *φορεῖν κολπωτοὺς χιτῶνας* as a mark of luxury and effeminacy.

ἀπαιωροῦσιν] Clem. Alex. Paedag. 2. 10 (Sylb. 203 D) *κρασπέδων αἱ ἀπαιωρήσεις*, a sign of luxury. Alciphron uses the word, Ep. 3. 55, 4 *πλοκάμους ἄκρας τῆς κεφαλῆς ἄχρι στερνῶν αὐτῶν ἀπαιωρεῖν.*

17. πλευρῶν] This word must here have the sense which it bears in Greek mathematics from Plato downwards, of 'sides.' Taken off the body and laid out flat, the chiton would have the exact shape of an oblong sack. The long sides of it were *πλευραί*, and the folds where the garment was doubled over at the top and hung down all round were the *κοῖλα τῶν πλευρῶν.* Or εὐρύναντες may mean that they frilled or puffed out laterally or vertically the

M. 479 hollows formed on each side by drawing the *χιτών* up through the girdle.

17. **ἐφεδρεύουσιν**] For this use = 'wait in relays.' Cp. Plutarch, De Defectu Orac. 414 B *δυσὶν ἐχρῶντο προφήτισιν ἐν μέρει καθιεμέναις, καὶ τρίτη δ' ἔφεδρος ἦν ἀποδεδειγμένη.* So Polyb. 18. 15, 2; Onosander, Strat. c. 22 *ὥσπερ ἐφέδρους τοῦ πολέμου πρὸς τὰ καταπονούμενα μέρη.* So idem c. 36 *β*.

πρωτογένεια] 'Primae lanuginis adolescentes.' In Philo, fr. ap. Euseb. Mangey, 2. 632 *Ἐσσαίων μὲν κομιδῇ νήπιος οὐδείς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πρωτογένειος ἢ μειράκιον.* So De Cherub. 1. 159, 38 *ποῦ τὸ μειράκιον, ὁ πρωτογένειος, ὁ νεανίας, ὁ τέλειος ἀνήρ;* A word used by no other writer but Philo.

18. **ἰούλους**] Hom. Od. λ. 318 *πρὶν σφῶιν ὑπὸ κροτάφοισιν ἰούλους Ἀνθῆσαι.* So Aesch. Septem 534; Callimach. Iov. 56; Apoll. Arg. 3, 519; Xen. Symp. 4. 23 *τούτῳ μὲν παρὰ τὰ ὦτα ἄρτι ἴουλος καθέρπει.*

ἀθύρματα] A poetical word in classical Greek. Suidas, s.v. gives a citation from Josephus *ὃς ἦν τοῦ βασιλέως ἄθυρμα.*

20. **περιέργως**] 'Daintily.' In later Greek *περίεργος* and its derivatives acquired a predominant meaning of 'magical' or 'occult.'

24. **ἡδυσμάτων**] Cp. Clem. Alex. (?=Musonius Rufus) Paedag. lib. 2 (Sylb. p. 140 C, D) *ταῦτα τοῖς ἡδύσμασιν ἐξαλλάσσοντες οἱ γαστρίμαργοι, τοῖς ὄψοις ἐπικεχήνασιν· ὅσα τε χθών, πόντου τε βένθη καὶ ἀέρος ἀμέτρητον εὖρος ἐκτρέφει, τῇ αὐτῶν ἐκποριζόμενοι λαιμαργίᾳ . . . . οὐκ ἔχει δὲ ὅρον παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἡ λιχνεία. Καὶ γὰρ εἰς τὰ πέμματα καὶ τὰ μελίπηκτα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰ τραγήματα ἐξώκειλεν, ἐπιδορπισμάτων πλῆθος εὑρίσκουσα παντοδαπὰς θηρωμένη ποιότητας.*

26. **ὄψιν**] Cp. Clem. Alex. Paedag. lib. 2 (Sylb. p. 145 D) *πολλῷ δέ ἐστιν ἀνοητότερον τὰς ὄψεις τοῖς προσοψήμασι δεδουλωκέναι.*

27. **ἑπτά**] On the number of 'tables' at a banquet, cp. Juvenal, Sat. 1. 94 quis fercula septem secreto cenauit auus, with the Rev. J. E. B. Mayor's note, which says that Augustus (Suet. 74) gave three fercula or at the utmost six. This then was the limit in Augustus' time, to exceed which was gluttonous luxury. Philo's words are therefore exactly applicable to his age. Seneca, Ep. 95, § 18, says: Multos morbos multa fercula fecerunt.

31. **διαλλάσσει**] Rare in the sense of 'excel,' and according to

L. & S. only in Dion. Hal. de Thuc. 51. In the allied sense of 'to differ' it is common in Attic. But Diod. Sic. 3. 29 *μεγέθεσι διαλλάττον.* M. 479

33. **ἀκροδρύων**] 'Nuts and apples.' In Plato the word refers rather to the tree than to the fruit, Critias 115 B *δυσθησαύριστος ἀκροδρύων καρπός.* In Athenaeus a damson is an *ἀκρόδρυον* (Deipnosoph. 49 E). The word occurs in Plutarch, Symp. 683 C of an apple. The fruit came as the last course of a banquet, 'ab ouo usque ad mala.'

34. **εἰς τοὺς κώμους . . . ἐπιδειπνίδας**] Cp. Plutarch, *τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν συμπ.* 148 A *ὁ δὲ Αἰγύπτιος σκελετὸς . . . . ἄχαρις καὶ ἄωρος ἐπίκωμος ἦκων.* Athen. 14, p. 664, describes the *ἐπιδειπνίδας* or entremets: *περιεφέρετο περδίκια ὀλίγα, καὶ χηνία ὀπτὰ καὶ τρυφὴ πλακούντων· τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον δεῖπνον οἱ μὲν Ἀττικοὶ προσηγόρευον ἐπιδόρπισμα, οἱ δὲ Δωριεῖς ἔπαικλον, τῶν δ' ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐπίδειπνα.* And id. p. 658 E *καὶ ἴσως πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιδειπνίδας ἔλεγον Μακεδόνες· Κώθωνος γὰρ ἡδύσματα ταῦτα.* Thus the Macedonian term survived in Alexandria where Philo wrote. Martial has the word, 11. 31 huic seras epideipnidas parabit.

37. **κατοψοφαγοῦσιν**] Clem. Alex. (? = Muson. Rufus) Paedag. lib. 2 (Sylb. 146 B) *ἦγουν ὀψοφαγία οὐδὲν ἕτερόν ἐστιν ἢ ἀμετρία περὶ χρῆσιν ὄψου.* The verb = 'are so gluttonous.' So Pollux, 6. 7, 37. Athen. 4. 186 D *ἔτυχε δ' ὁ κατοψοφαγῶν Τήλεφος καλούμενος.*

38. **ἐπεντραγεῖν**] L. & S. under *ἐπεντρώγω* refer to this passage only.

39. **λωβήσαντες**] L. & S. under *λωβάομαι* remark that the active *λωβάω* only occurs in Pseudo-Phocyl. 33, Or. Sibyl. 11 (9). 71; and *κατελώβησαν* in Polyb. 15. 33, 9; however, the perfect is used passively, *λελωβημένος* = 'mutilated' in Herodotus and Plato.

44. **περιάγοντες**] Plato, Rep. 7. 515 C *περιάγειν τὸν αὐχένα.*

περιλιχνεύουσι] Also in Philo, De Mundi Op. 1. 38, 32 *σιτοπόνων . . . καὶ ὀψαρτυτῶν κάματον περιλιχνεύουσι.* The word is peculiar to Philo. *περιχνεύω* is not found at all.

εὐσαρκίας] A rare word. It occurs in Hipp. Art. 821, and Arist. H. A. 1. 15, 2 in the sense of 'a good condition of body.'

47. **διακορεῖς**] 'Surfeited.' Occurs in Plato, Laws 1. 629 B, Aelian, Dio Cassius, and Plutarch.

50. **καταγινώσκεται**] M. Massebieau remarks that this passage may give some clue to the date of the composition of the D. U. C.

M. 479 It probably refers to the crusade against luxury, headed by C. Bibulus and his fellow aediles in the year A.D. 22. Tacitus, Ann. 3, ch. 52 foll., reports the emperor Tiberius' letter on the subject read in the Senate. Compare especially the words of Tacitus, c. 52: domi suspecta seueritate aduersum luxum, qui immensum proruperat ad cuncta quis pecunia prodigitur. Sed alia sumptuum, quamuis grauiora, dissimulatis plerumque pretiis occultabantur: uentris et ganeae paratus assiduis sermonibus uulgati fecerant curam, ne princeps antiquae parcimoniae durius aduerteret. Nam incipiente C. Bibulo ceteri quoque aediles disseruerant, sperni sumptuariam legem, uetitaque utensilium pretia augeri in dies, nec mediocribus remediis sisti posse. In his letter in c. 53, Tiberius speaks of the: argenti et auri pondus, aeris tabularumque miracula, promiscuas uiris et feminis uestes . . . c. 54 nec ignoro in conuiuiis et circulis incusari ista et modum posci. In c. 55, Tacitus relates that on this occasion no new law was made, but only protests made; and he adds: luxusque mensae, a fine Actiaci belli ad ea arma quis Ser. Galba rerum adeptus est, per annos centum profusis sumptibus exerciti, paullatim exoleuere . . . Of the old families, some were extinguished by their own excesses, others by proscription and exile. Simul noui homines, e municipiis et coloniis atque etiam prouinciis in senatum crebro assumpti, domesticam parcimoniam intulerunt . . . sed praecipuus astricti moris auctor Uespasianus fuit, antiquo ipse cultu uictuque.

51. προσαναρρηγνύντα] Used in Plut. Uit. Cleom. c. 30 and Uita Crassi, c. 25.

μείωσις] Galen, π. ψυχῆς παθῶν 56 ἀσκήσεσι καθ' ἅσπερ ἡττᾶται καὶ μειοῦται τὰ πάθη. Polyb. 9. 43, 5. A stoical term quoted by Cicero, Tusc. Quaest. l. 4 [7, 15] μείωσιν τῆς ψυχῆς.

52. ἀπευκταιότατα] Used in Philo, vol. 2. 68, 8 ὁδόν, and 2. 172, 36 τὸ ἀπευκταῖον καὶ παλίμφημον. Also in Plut. Mor. p. 289 B. Origen, Sozomen, Plat. Axioch. p. 369 B ἐπιστήμην ἀπευκταιοτάτην.

480. 4. σημειωδέστατα] 'Most notable.' Rare in this sense, but in Philo, U. M. 2. 177, 32 ἔχω δέ τι μηνύσαι σημειωδέστερον λόγιον. So in Strabo 8, p. 146 [334] and Dionys. Hal. Uita Isocratis, § 2 ἀπηρχαιωμένων καὶ σημειωδῶν ὀνομάτων ἀπειροκαλία. In Aristotle and Theophrastus it=significans, 'yielding a sign.'

6. Καλλίου] Cp. Athen. lib. 5, 187 F Καλλίας μὲν γὰρ συνάγει τὸ συμπόσιον, ἐπειδήπερ τὰ παιδικὰ αὐτοῦ Αὐτόλυκος Παναθήναια παγκράτιον

ἐστεφανώθη. Καὶ εὐθὺς οἱ κατακλιθέντες τῷ παιδὶ προσέχουσι τὸν νοῦν· M. 480
καὶ ταῦτα, τοῦ πατρὸς παρακαθημένου.

7. Ἀγάθωνος] Cp. Plato, Conuiu. p. 173 A ὅτε τῇ πρώτῃ τραγῳδίᾳ ἐνίκησεν Ἀγάθων, τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐν ᾗ τὰ ἐπινίκια ἔθυεν αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ χορευταί.

18. ποιηταὶ γελοίων] Cp. Plutarch's reference to the same subject, De Pythiae Orac. 401 C καθάπερ γὰρ ὁ Σωκράτης ἑστιώμενος ἐν Καλλίου τῷ μύρῳ πολεμεῖ μόνον, ὀρχήσεις δὲ παίδων καὶ κυβιστήσεις καὶ φιλήματα καὶ γελωτοποιοὺς ὁρῶν ἀνέχεται. See Xenophon, Symp. 2. 3 sqq.

19. The text should be restored from the Armenian thus: μεγαφρονοῦντές εἰσιν· ἔστι δέ τινα κ.τ.λ. Such a use of the substantive verb with a participle is common in the N. T.

20. Πλατωνικόν] Philo, like St. Paul, was insensible to, if not unconscious of, those higher and more ideal aspects of Greek chivalry, which had in a measure once redeemed it, but had not survived the decay of the old Greek city life. In Plutarch's περὶ παίδων ἀγωγῆς, 11 D, the matter is touched upon as follows: πότερα δεῖ τοὺς ἐρῶντας τῶν παίδων ἐᾶν τούτοις συνεῖναι καὶ συνδιατρίβειν, ἢ τοὐναντίον εἴργειν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀποσοβεῖν τῆς πρὸς τούτους ὁμιλίας προσῆκεν. Ὅταν μὲν γὰρ ἀποβλέψω πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας τοὺς αὐθεκάστους καὶ τὸν τρόπον ὀμφακίας καὶ στρυφνούς, οἱ τῶν τέκνων ὕβριν οὐκ ἀνεκτὴν τὴν τῶν ἐρώντων ὁμιλίαν ἡγοῦνται, εὐλαβοῦμαι ταύτης εἰσηγητὴς γενέσθαι καὶ σύμβουλος. Ὅταν δ' αὖ πάλιν ἐνθυμηθῶ τὸν Σωκράτη, τὸν Πλάτωνα, τὸν Ξενοφῶντα, τὸν Αἰσχίνην, τὸν Κέβητα, τὸν πάντα χορὸν ἐκείνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἱ τοὺς ἄρρενας ἐδοκίμασαν ἔρωτας, καὶ τὰ μειράκια προήγαγον ἐπί τε παιδείαν καὶ δημαγωγίαν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν τρόπων, πάλιν ἕτερος γίνομαι, καὶ κάμπτομαι πρὸς τὸν ἐκείνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ζῆλον. Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τούτοις Εὐριπίδης οὕτω λέγων:

Ἀλλ' ἔστι δή τις ἄλλος ἐν βροτοῖς ἔρως,
Ψυχῆς δικαίας σώφρονός τε κἀγαθῆς.

21. περὶ ἔρωτος] Cp. Plato, Symp. 172 B βουλόμενος διαπυθέσθαι τὴν Ἀγάθωνος ξυνουσίαν . . . περὶ τῶν ἐρωτικῶν λόγων, τίνες ἦσαν.

22. ἐπιμανέντων] In the classical age the middle voice of this verb occurs in poets only, as Homer, Moschus, Aeschylus. In post-classical writers it is common. Plut. Brut. c. 5 τὴν Σερβιλίαν ἐπιμανεῖσαν αὐτῷ. The use occurred before in this treatise 472. 27.

23. ὑποτελοῦσι] 'Pay a debt or tribute to.'

26. κεκομψεῦσθαι] Κομψεύω in Plato, who often uses it, means to quibble, invent a subtlety, or parade a dainty paradox. Any one of these allied senses serves here. In 1. 448 Philo uses the middle: οἱ τὰ πολιτικὰ κεκομψευμένοι.

M. 480 26–28. **οὐρανίου . . . πάνδημος**] Plut. Mor. Ἐρωτικός, 764 B *Αἰγύπτιοι δύο μὲν Ἕλλησι παραπλησίως ἔρωτας, τόν τε πάνδημον καὶ τὸν οὐράνιον ἴσασι.* The reference is to Plato, Symp. 180 D *δύο ἀνάγκη καὶ Ἔρωτε εἶναι . . . τὸν μὲν τῇ ἑτέρᾳ συνεργόν, πάνδημον ὀρθῶς καλεῖσθαι, τὸν δέ, οὐράνιον.* And ibid. 181 A *ὁ μὲν οὖν τῆς πανδήμου Ἀφροδίτης* (sc. *ἔρως*) *. . . ἐξεργάζεται ὅ τι ἂν τύχῃ· καὶ οὗτός ἐστιν ὃν οἱ φαῦλοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐρῶσιν.*

27. **παρείληπται**] I.e. has been dragged in, without belonging to the main purpose of Plato's treatise. So Epict. Diss. 1. 20, 5.

29. **διείληφεν**] 'Has taken entirely up.' This is a rare sense. Cp. Plato, Phaed. 81 C *διειλημμένην* (*ψυχὴν*) *. . . ὑπὸ τοῦ σωματοειδοῦς.* Dio Chr. 18. 258 A. The opposition is with *παρείληπται* just above.

39. **τετάσθαι**] Plato, Rep. 9. 581 B *ᾧ γε μανθάνομεν . . . πρὸς τὸ εἰδέναι τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὅπῃ ἔχει πᾶν ἀεὶ τέταται.* A common use in Plato. Epictetus uses the phrase *διάνοιαν τετάσθαι.*

41. **τὸ δὲ σῶμα**] I have restored these words from the version. For after what proceeds the words *ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπιθ.* down to *συντήκεσθαι* can hardly apply to *νοῦν*, and it is rather the body than the *νοῦς* which wastes away from disappointed longing.

42. **συντήκεσθαι**] Cp. Plutarch *τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν συμπόσιον*, 156 D *ἡ Ἀφροδίτη τοῖς σώμασιν ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἅμα συμμιγνύουσα καὶ συντήκουσα τὰς ψυχάς.* Eurip. Or. 34 *ἀγρίᾳ συντακεὶς νόσῳ.* So also in Theophrastus, Aretaeus, and Galen.

45. **παραφύεσθαι**] The infinitive depends on *ἀνάγκη* just above.

46. The *γάρ* after **ἐρημίαν** must be omitted if **τεχναζόντων** instead of *τεχνάζονται* be read. The Greek books γ A P read *τεχναζόντων*, yet retain *γάρ.*

47. **στείρωσιν**] Philo uses again 2. 310, 14 and 371. 9. Otherwise it only occurs in Basil: Melamp. Phys. p. 483; Theodoret. Euc. Io. Bapt. p. 23; Greg. Nyss. vol. 1, p. 158 D, and other fathers.

49. **γεωργίας**] Cp. Clem. Alex. Paed. 2. 10 (Sylb. 191 D) *μὴ εἰς πέτρας τε καὶ λίθους σπείρειν, φησὶν ὁ ἐκ Μωσέως φιλόσοφος.*

481. 1. **ὑφάλμους**] This seems to be imitated from Plato, Laws 8. 838 E *ὅτι τέχνην ἐγὼ πρὸς τοῦτον τὸν νόμον ἔχοιμι τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν χρῆσθαι τῇ τῆς παιδογονίας συνουσίᾳ, τοῦ μὲν ἄρρενος ἀπεχομένους, μὴ κτείνοντάς τε ἐκ προνοίας τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος, μηδ' εἰς πέτρας τε καὶ*

λίθους σπείροντας, οὗ οὐ μήποτε φύσιν τὴν αὐτοῦ ῥιζωθὲν λήψεται γόνιμον, M. 481
ἀπεχομένους δὲ ἀρούρας θηλείας πάσης, ἐν ᾗ μὴ βούλοιτ' ἄν σοι φύεσθαι τὸ σπαρέν. Philo therefore was aware of the censure which Plato passed upon the Greek vice and borrows its phraseology. In Laws 8. 838 B, Plato pronounces such practices to be *μηδαμῶς ὅσια, θεομισῆ δὲ καὶ αἰσχρῶν αἴσχιστα.* *ὕφαλμος* only in Diosc. 3. 153.

4. **μύθων πλάσματα**] Porphyrii De Antro 36 *ὡς ἐν μύθου πλάσματι εἰκόνας τῶν θειοτέρων ᾐνίσσετο.*

5. **δισωμάτους**] Philo glances at Plato, Symp. 189, 190, where however the word does not occur. It is in Orphei Hymn. in Melin. 5. 4 and Diodor. 4. 12 *δισωμάτους θῆρας.* The lexicons give no other instance.

6. **ἑνωτικαῖς**] Cp. Plutarch *γαμικὰ παραγγέλματα,* 142 F *τῶν σωμάτων οἱ φιλόσοφοι τὰ μὲν ἐκ διεστώτων λέγουσιν εἶναι, καθάπερ στόλον καὶ στρατόπεδον· τὰ δὲ ἐκ συναπτομένων, ὡς οἰκίαν καὶ ναῦν· τὰ δὲ ἡνωμένα καὶ συμφυῆ, καθάπερ ἐστὶ τῶν ζώων ἕκαστον.* The reading *ἑνωτικαῖς* is better evidenced than *ἐρωτικαῖς* in this passage. Plutarch, Mor. 428 A has *σύγκρασιν ἑνωτικήν,* also 878 A. It also occurs in Justin M., Clem. Alex. 1. 940 A. Also Plut. *πρὸς* Κολ. 1112 A *ὁ μὲν Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τὰ στοιχεῖα κολλῶν καὶ συναρμόττων . . . μίξιν αὐτοῖς καὶ συμφυΐαν ἑνωτικὴν ἁμωσγέπως ἐνδίδωσιν.*

8. **εὐπαράγωγα**] 'Seductive'—a rare use. Cf. Philostr. Uita Apol. 7. 40. p. 148 *νοσοῦντες γὰρ εὐπαράγωγον οὕτω νόσον* (i.e. love). Aretaeus, p. 119 *εὐπαράγωγος ἡ γνώμη.* Plato, Tim. 69 D *ἐλπίδα τ' εὐπαράγωγον αἰσθήσει.* But in these last two examples it='easily deceived' and not 'easily deceiving.'

10. **Μωϋσέως**] Captain Burton, however, suggests with much plausibility that the verse, Gen. 1. 27, ending 'male and female created He them,' refers to the creation of a compound bi-sexual human being of the kind so commonly represented in Hindoo sculptures.

14. **διωνομασμένα**] ='widely known.' So in Strabo and Isocrates.

17. **κατωρθωμένων**] ='successful': a common use in Plato, Plutarch, Polybius, and other writers, especially the Stoics.

21. **ὑφηγήσεις**] 'Praecepta.' So in Polybius, Plutarch, Dio Cassius, and Sextus Empiricus.

24. **δύναμιν**] Cp. Plutarch *περὶ Ἰσίδος,* 373 F *Αἰγυπτίους δὲ ἄν τις*

M. 481 εἰκάσειε τῶν τριγώνων τὸ κάλλιστον (ζηλῶσαι πλεῖστον), μάλιστα τούτῳ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς φύσιν ὁμοιοῦντας, ὡς καὶ Πλάτων ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ δοκεῖ τούτῳ προσκεχρῆσθαι, τὸ γαμήλιον διάγραμμα συντάττων. Ἔχει δὲ ἐκεῖνο τὸ τρίγωνον, τριῶν τὴν πρὸς ὀρθίαν, καὶ τεττάρων τὴν βάσιν, καὶ πέντε τὴν ὑποτείνουσαν ἴσον ταῖς περιεχούσαις δυναμένην. The passage cited from Philo's Commentary explains the reference in the D.U.C. Let the sides of a right-angled triangle be in length respectively as 3, 4, and 5; then the squares of the sides which contain the right angle equal the square on the hypotenuse; that is to say $9+16=25$. Also the sum of the three squares $9+16+25=50$. This sum of the squares Philo calls the δύναμις τοῦ ὀρθογωνίου τριγώνου.

τεθηπότες] An Homeric word, used in Philo, U. M. 3 ὡς τοὺς ὁρῶντας τεθηπέναι καὶ καταπεπλῆχθαι. Also in Lucian, Tim. c. 28. Dionys. Areop. and Procopius.

ἀειπάρθενον] A favourite word with Philo. Sappho used the term, also Dio Cass. 56. 5 of the Vestals. Soph. Ajax 835 of the Furies.

25. προεόρτιος] The form προέορτος read in codex A is equally correct, and is found in Euseb. 6. 697 C and Athan. 1. 613 A. The word first occurs in Philo, but was common in later church Greek.

26. πεντηκοντάς] Cp. Josephus, Antiq. 3. 10, 6 πεντηκοστή, ἣν Ἑβραῖοι Ἀσαρθὰ καλοῦσι· σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο πεντηκοστήν.

30. Cp. Porphyrii De Abstin. 45 ἀνδρὸς ἄρα θείου ἡ ἔσω καὶ ἡ ἐκτὸς ἁγνεία, ἀποσίτου μὲν παθῶν ψυχῆς σπουδάζοντος εἶναι, ἀποσίτου δὲ καὶ βρώσεων αἳ τὰ πάθη κινοῦσιν, σιτουμένου δὲ θεοσοφίαν καὶ ὁμοιουμένου ταῖς περὶ τοῦ θείου ὀρθαῖς διανοίαις καὶ ἱερωμένου τῇ νοερᾷ θυσίᾳ καὶ μετὰ λευκῆς ἐσθῆτος καὶ καθαρᾶς τῷ ὄντι τῆς ψυχικῆς ἀπαθείας καὶ τῆς κουφότητος τοῦ σώματος προσιόντος τῷ θεῷ. For cleanliness of hands regarded as the symbol of Innocence, cp. Ps. 26. 6, 73. 13.

32. ἐφημερευτῶν] A fairly old word in Egypt, indicating one who in daily rotation takes the service in a temple. So in the Papyr. Aegypt. apud Mai. Class. Auct. vol. 4, pp. 445. 446, we read ἀδικοῦμαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἱερῷ καλλυντῶν καὶ ἀρτοκόπων τῶν νυνὶ ἐφημερευόντων. The complainant is Ptolemy, son of Glaucias. Diodor. 11. 8 and Polyb. 22. 10, 6 use the same verb in the sense 'to devote one's entire day to a task.' In the N.T., LXX, and Josephus, ἐφημερία means 'a division of the priests for the daily

service of the temple. Of the word *ἐφημερευτής*, L. & S. give no other example, but it occurs in Pseudo-Athanas. vol. 2, p. 408 A *θυσιαστήριον μὲν ἡ φάτνη, ἐφημερευτὴς δὲ ὁ Ἰωσήφ, διάκονοι δὲ οἱ ποιμένες, ἱερεῖς οἱ ἄγγελοι.* Here the order is distinguished from the deacons and priests; nor does the context in Philo oblige us to identify it with the order of *πρόεδρος* or of deacon or of priest, all three of which orders are mentioned in this treatise. The word had a technical sense or Philo would not add as he does: *οὕτω γὰρ ὀνομάζειν ἔθος κ.τ.λ.* In 475. 15 he qualified *σεμνεῖον καὶ μοναστήριον* in the same way. The use of *ἐφημερία* suggests that the *ἐφημερευταί* were in the Therapeutic community the same as the *πρόεδροι* or presidents, and this is confirmed by a Greek inscription of Tyre, of the year 174 A. D., given in Boeckh's Corpus, vol. 3, no. 5853, l. 20 *ἀπὸ ἄκτων βουλῆς ἀχθείσης κᾱ Δίου τοῦ ἔτους τ̄, ἐφημερεύοντος Παυσανίου προέδρου.* M. 481

37. **καθαραί**] Cp. Carm. Sibyll. Γ. 573 foll.

Εὐσεβέων δ' ἀνδρῶν ἱερὸν γένος ἔσσεται αὖτις . . .
οἵ τινες οὐκ ἀπάτῃσι κεναῖς οὐδ' ἔργ' ἀνθρώπων
χρύσεα καὶ χάλκεια καὶ ἀργύρε' ἠδ' ἐλέφαντος
καὶ ξυλίνων λιθίνων τε θεῶν εἴδωλα καμόντων
τιμῶσιν, ὅσα πέρ τε βροτοὶ κενεόφρονι βουλῇ·
ἀλλὰ μὲν ἀείρουσι πρὸς οὐρανὸν ὠλένας ἁγνὰς
ὄρθριοι ἐξ εὐνῆς αἰεὶ χέρας ἁγνίζοντες
ὕδατι καὶ τιμῶσι μόνον τὸν ἀεὶ μεδέοντα
ἀθάνατον.

Paul 1 ad Tim. 2. 8 *βούλομαι οὖν προσεύχεσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ ἐπαίροντας ὁσίους χεῖρας.*

39. **προσεύχονται**] Cp. Carm. Sibyll. Δ. 24 foll.

Ὄλβιοι ἀνθρώπων κεῖνοι κατὰ γαῖαν ἔσονται,
ὅσσοι δὴ στέρξουσι μέγαν θεὸν εὐλογέοντες
πρὶν πιέειν φαγέειν τε πεποιθότες εὐσεβίῃσιν.

Cp. Philo, De Plant. Noe § 39, 1. 353 *τὸ ἄκρατον οὐχ ὁμοίως οἱ νῦν τοῖς πάλαι προσφέρονται* (uide Testim. 477. 35) . . . *πρότερον γὰρ* **εὐξάμενοι** *καὶ θυσίας ἀναγαγόντες καὶ ἱλασάμενοι τὸ θεῖον,* **σώματα καὶ ψυχὰς καθηράμενοι,** *τὰ μὲν* **λούτροις,** *τὰ δὲ νόμων καὶ παιδείας ὀρθῆς ῥεύμασι,* **φαιδροὶ** *καὶ γεγηθότες πρὸς ἀνειμένην δίαιταν ἐτρέποντο, μηδὲ οἴκαδε πολλάκις ἀφικόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς ἔθυσαν* **ἱεροῖς** *διαπατοῦντες, ἵνα καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν μεμνημένοι καὶ* **τὸν τόπον αἰδούμενοι,** *ἱεροπρεπεστάτην ὡς*

M. 481 *ἀληθῶς ἄγωσιν εὐωχίαν.* This description of the banquet of the wise men of old fits that of the Therapeutae very closely.

39. **θυμήρη**] In the form *θυμαρής* frequent in Homer. Steph. gives besides a single prose reference to Herodian. 8. [5, 23].

40. **ἀπαντῆσαι**] Cp. Joseph. A. I. 6. 4, 2 *τῷ Σαούλῳ δὲ πάντα κατὰ τὴν Σαμουήλου προφητείαν ἀπήντησεν.*

42. **εἰσκρίσεσιν**] 'Following the order of their election.' This word occurs in Plutarch, Mor. 901 A *εἰδώλων εἰσκρίσεις*=imaginum insertiones, so in Origen 4. 225 C (cp. Philo, 1. 49, 40). But I have met with no other example of it in the sense in which Philo here uses it. Cp. 482. 38. From this passage we also learn that the Jews of Alexandria reclined at table. So did the Jews of Palestine, Luke 9. 14, 14. 8, 22. 14, 24. 30 *ἐν τῷ κατακλιθῆναι αὐτὸν μετ' αὐτῶν, λαβὼν τὸν ἄρτον εὐλόγησε.* Matt. 14. 19, 26. 20; Mark 14. 8; John 13. 12, 23, &c.

43. **πολυετεῖς**] A poetical word in the classical age. Eurip. Hel. 651 and Or. 473. Used in Lucian. Pollux 1. 58 has *πολυετὴς ἄνθρωπος, οἶνος χρόνος.* **παλαιός**=aetate prouectus, occurs three times in Plato, and often in Homer and Sophocles.

45. **προαιρέσεως**] 'The vocation.' In Plut. De Musica 1137 A it = a philosophic school, *οἱ ἀκολουθήσαντες τῇ τούτων προαιρέσει.* So in Lucian. In his Apology for the Jews, Philo had used the same word to describe the 'vocation' of the Essenes. Mang. 1. 632 *ἔστι δ' αὐτοῖς ἡ προαίρεσις, οὐ γένει· γένος γὰρ ἐφ' ἑκουσίοις οὐ γράφεται.* Add to the Testimonia this, Philo, De Abrahamo 2. 36, spoken of Rachel, *γένει μὲν Αἰγυπτίαν, τὴν δὲ προαίρεσιν Ἑβραίαν.*

πρώτης ἡλικίας] We have in Josephus, Uita 2. 9, an instance of what seems to us the extreme precocity of Jewish youths of the time: *ἔτι δ' ἀντίπαις ὢν περὶ τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατον ἔτος διὰ τὸ φιλογράμματον ὑπὸ πάντων ἐπῃνούμην συνιόντων ἀεὶ τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ τῶν τῆς πόλεως πρώτων ὑπὲρ τοῦ παρ' ἐμοῦ περὶ τῶν νομίμων ἀκριβέστερόν τι γνῶναι.* The same is recorded of Jesus of Nazareth, who in the acts of early martyrs is often represented as a stripling, e.g. in the Acta Abercii he manifests himself as a youth of twelve years old, in the Acts of Polyeuctes as a youth.

482. 1. **ἐνηβήσαντας**] A poetical word found in Nicander ap. Athen. 370 A *σπειρομένη πολύφυλλος ἐνηβῆσαι πρασιῇσιν*, where it= 'flourish' as a plant; the Philonean use can only be paralleled in Longus 3. 13, a writer of uncertain date.

ἐνακμάσαντας] A rare word only found in Aelian, V. H. 3. 1. M. 482

3. συνεστιῶνται] Cp. Plutarch, *γαμικὰ παραγγέλματα*, 140 B *τοῖς τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεῦσιν αἱ γνήσιαι γυναῖκες παρακάθηνται δειπνοῦσι καὶ συνεστιῶνται.* Clem. Alex. (? Musonius Rufus) Paedag. 2. 7 (Sylb. 171 C, D) forbids even married women, much more so, unmarried, to recline with men at a banquet: *ὅσαι δὲ μὴ ὕπανδροι, ἐσχάτη ταύταις διαβολὴ εἰς ἀνδρῶν παρεῖναι συμπόσιον καὶ ταῦτα οἰνωμένων.* The verb *συνεστιῶμαι* occurs in Demosth., Lucian, and Athenaeus.

5. Ἕλλησιν] E. g. the Pythian priestess, cp. Plutarch, De Defectu Oraculorum, 435 D *φυλάττοντας ἁγνὴν διὰ βίου καὶ καθαρεύουσαν.* So some priests of Herakles were vowed to chastity during their year of office (Plutarch, De Pythiae Orac. 403 F). Perhaps Philo uses the word Ἕλληνες in a wide sense as in p. 474. 37, and has in mind the vestal virgins. Cp. Origen, c. Celsum 7. 48 (365).

7. συμβιοῦν] So Demosth. p. 313. 5 *τοιαύτῃ συμβεβίωκα τύχῃ.* So id. 315. 18. Cp. Athen. 12. p. 548 D *περὶ οὗ* (sc. Gorgias) *φησὶν ὁ Κλέαρχος . . . ὅτι, διὰ τὸ σωφρόνως ζῆν, σχεδὸν ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη τῷ φρονεῖν συνεβίωσε.*

8. ἠλόγησαν] The necessity, as a step to true perfection, of virginity was therefore among the Therapeutae, as among the early Christians, a cardinal principle. As regards the Christians, cp. Justin M., fragm. De Resurrectione 589 D *Ἀλλὰ καὶ μὴ στεῖραι μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, παρθενεύουσαι δέ, κατήργησαν καὶ τὴν συνουσίαν· ἕτεραι δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ χρόνου. καὶ τοὺς ἄρρενας δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς παρθενεύοντας ὁρῶμεν, τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ χρόνου, ὥστε δι' αὐτῶν καταλύεσθαι τὸν δι' ἐπιθυμίας ἄνομον γάμον.* Cp. Apologia 1. 62 B. That is to say even lawful marriage was repudiated as *ἄνομος* on account of the *ἐπιθυμία* involved in it. So in the Apology of Athenagoras, ch. 33, we read (Donaldson's translation): 'Nay, you would find many among us, both men and women, growing old unmarried, in the hope of living in closer communion with God. But if the remaining in virginity and in the state of an eunuch brings nearer to God, while the indulgence of carnal thought and desire leads away from him, in those cases in which we shun the thoughts, much more do we reject the deeds.' Justin and Athenagoras represent Christian feeling on this point as it was in the middle of the second century; but many indications prove that the feeling was not different in the very earliest age of the religion. Cp. Paul ad 1 Cor. 7. 25 foll., and Acts of Thekla, § 6, in which Paul's teaching is given

M. 482 thus: 'Blessed are the souls and bodies of virgins, for they shall be pleasing to God and shall not lose the reward of their chastity: for the working of the Father's words shall be found in them, and they shall inherit life in the day of the Son of God, and rest eternal shall be theirs.' The Shepherd of Hermas bears similar testimony. So also the Apocalypse of John, 14. 4.

Mangey thinks that the custom was older than Christianity among the Jews, and (note on p. 482, l. 3) remarks: 'Liquet uero hinc (i. e. from Philo) uirginitatis uotum a Iudaeorum moribus non abhorruisse. Uide an de uirginibus uoto obligatis interpretandus sit autor libri secundi Maccab. iii. 19 *αἱ δὲ κατάκλειστοι τῶν παρθένων, αἱ μὲν συνέτρεχον ἐπὶ τοὺς πυλῶνας, αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τά κ.τ.λ.* Talis forsan Anna etiam in uiduitate, memorata a D. Luc. c. ii.'

12. **ψυχή, σπείραντος**] The idea of a woman being made pregnant by the impact of light is common in ancient thought. Thus Plutarch, De Iside 368 D, speaks of Isis as being filled and impregnated by the Sun: *πληρουμένην ὑπὸ ἡλίου καὶ κυισκομένην.* Cp. ibidem 368 C *τὸν δὲ Ἄπιν, εἰκόνα μὲν Ὀσίριδος ἔμψυχον εἶναι, γενέσθαι δὲ ὅταν φῶς ἐρείσῃ γόνιμον ἀπὸ τῆς σελήνης καὶ καθάψηται βοὸς ὀργώσης.* So Herodotus 3. 28 *Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ λέγουσι σέλας ἐπὶ τὴν βοῦν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατίσχειν, καὶ μιν ἐκ τούτου τίκτειν τὸν Ἄπιν.* The legend of Danae conceiving by Zeus through a shower of gold is similar. So also is that of Okresia related in Plut. Mor. 323 B. It is not quite clear from the De Mutatione Nominum, §§ 23 and 24, i. 598, 599, and from many similar passages, that Philo did not believe in parthenogenesis as a literal fact, holding that Isaak and other leaders of ancient Israel were conceived of the Spirit only, just as Plato was conceived *ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀμφικτιόνης . . . κωλυθέντος τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος αὐτῇ συνελθεῖν, ἕως ἀποκυήσαι τὸν ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος σπαρέντα* (Origen in Celsum, lib. i, c. 37). However this may be, he is much addicted to the idea of parthenogenesis as a metaphor or symbol of moral and metaphysical truths, and his language, of which I have in my testimonia to p. 482. 9 given but a few samples, often recalls—as it probably suggested—Christian speculations, whether gnostic or orthodox, concerning the birth of Jesus, the Word of God. Thus in some old pictures of the Annunciation rays of light descend from heaven and enter the ears of the Virgin Mary, who then conceives the *λόγος* without ordinary human coition. Compare the language of our text: *ἐκγόνων . . . ἀθανάτων . . . ἃ μόνη τίκτειν ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς οἵα τέ ἐστιν ἡ θεοφιλὴς ψυχή, σπείραντος εἰς*

αὐτὴν ἀκτῖνας νοητὰς τοῦ πατρός. Also compare such language as: M. 482
τὴν τοῦ πεποιηκότος Ἐπιστήμην, . . . ᾗ συνὼν ὁ θεός, οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ἔσπειρε γένεσιν. ἡ δὲ παραδεξαμένη τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ σπέρμα . . . τὸν μόνον καὶ ἀγαπητὸν αἰσθητὸν υἱὸν ἀπεκύησε, τόνδε τὸν κόσμον. Cp. Luke 3. 22, John 1. 3, 3. 18.

We learn from Plutarch that the λόγος was conceived through the ears, and hence the veneration of the cat among the Egyptians, De Iside, 381 A τὴν μὲν γὰρ γαλῆν ἔτι πολλοὶ νομίζουσι καὶ λέγουσι κατὰ τὸ οὖς ὀχευομένην, τῷ δὲ στόματι τίκτουσαν, εἴκασμα τῆς τοῦ λόγου γενέσεως. So the Virgin Mary, according to Christian dogmatics, conceived the Word through her ears. Cp. Nersetis Claiensis Opera, Latine, Venetiis, 1832, vol. 2, p. 267: iuxta Angeli annunciationem, qua *per aures* (Virginis) *ingrediebatur uerbum* incomprehensibile, ex sanguine uirginis attrahens sibi, uiuum sibi fecit corpus, idque Dei corpus. Also Ruffin. in Symb. Apost. c. 13.

13. κατάκλισις] The Therapeutae seem to have lain in two rows, the women being on one side of the table and the men on the other. The custom was to lean on the left elbow, with a cushion under the arm. The person lying to the right of another in a banquet was said to ἀνακεῖσθαι ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ of the person to his left; and the phrase has only this formal and technical sense in John 13. 23. It only means that John as the beloved disciple reclined next to Jesus.

16. πολυτελεῖς] Plutarch, Uita Lycurgi, ch. 10. 45 οἵκοι δὲ μὴ διαιτᾶσθαι κατακλινέντας εἰς στρωμνὰς πολυτελεῖς καὶ τραπέζας.

18. στιβάδες] Greek philosophers loved to pourtray such simple apparatus of a feast, e.g. Plato, Rep. 2, p. 372 B ἐπὶ στιβάδων ἐστρωμένων σμίλακί τε καὶ μυρρίναις. So we learn from Plut. Uita Lycurgi, ch. 16. 50 C, that the Lacedaemonian youths slept ἐπὶ στιβάδων ἃς αὐτοῖς συνεφόρουν τοῦ παρὰ τῷ Εὐρώτᾳ πεφυκότος καλάμου τὰ ἄκρα ταῖς χερσὶν ἄνευ σιδήρου κατακλάσαντες. Compare the account of the κοπίς in Athen. 4. 138 F.

εἰκαιοτέρας] So Philo elsewhere αὐτοσχέδιον ἀνιστῶσι βῶμον εἰκαιοτάτης ὕλης, 'of anything that came handy,' dona obuia dextrae. In Attic poetical, but common in late prose, e.g. Plut. Mor. p. 80 B, Athenaeus and Polybius in whom it=temerarius.

20. ἀγκῶνας] Clem. Alex. Paed. 2. 7 (Sylb. p. 171) οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν κλισίαν τὰς ὄψεις πήξαντες, ἀμετασάλευτοι τοῖς ἀγκῶσιν ἐρηρεισμένοι μόνοις παρέστων τοῖς ὠσίν. Philo elsewhere uses χαμαίστρωτα in the

M. 482 sense of rugs or quilts such as Orientals wrap round themselves at night. These might be fastened to or hung from the *στιβάς* or mattress as *ἀφ' ὧν* implies; but it is rather the *στιβάς* than the *χαμαίστρωτα* that one would expect to be raised (*ὑπερέχειν*) under the elbow.

21. **σκληραγωγίαν**] Except in Philo this word is only found in the fathers according to Stephanus.

22. **ὑπανιεῖσιν**] 'Remittunt.' Cp. Plut. U. Dio c. 7 *ἡ τυραννὶς τὸ λίαν ἀπάνθρωπον ὑπανῆκεν.* Philo, p. 1057 D=1. 591 *ἀσκητὴς . . . διαπνεῖ πάλιν καὶ ὑπανίεται.* Philostr. Uita Ap. c. 37, p. 90, 19 *φιλοσοφία . . . ξύμμετρος μὲν καὶ ὑπανειμένη.*

εὐκολίαν] A favourite word with Plutarch, also used by Plato, Alcib. 1. p. 122 C, and Laws 12, p. 942 D. Plut. Caes. c. 17 *τῆς περὶ τὴν δίαιταν εὐκολίας.*

24. **ἀπεχθόμενοι**] A rather similar use is read in the Legatio ad Caium, 2. 577 *τοῖς δὲ ἤδη καθαιροῦσιν ἢ χλευάζουσιν ὡς πολεμιωτάτοις ἀπέχθονται*, 'They (the Jews) hate bitterly as their worst enemies those who go so far as to destroy or mock at (their religion).' L. & S. under *ἀπεχθάνομαι*, of which *ἀπέχθομαι* is a late and probably Alexandrine form, only give the sense of 'to incur hatred or to make oneself hated by others.' Both these passages of Philo, however, require the sense 'to treat a thing inimically, to resent it or resist it as hated.' The same use is found in Plutarch, *γυναικῶν ἀρεταί*, 257 A *τιμὴ δέ τις ὅμως ἦν τῆς Ἀρεταφίλας παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ δύναμις, οὐκ ἀπεχθανομένης οὐδὲ πολεμούσης ἄντικρυς*, which Xylander renders 'non inimicam se gerenti, neque palam repugnanti.' In Plutarch, Marcell. 22 we have a still better parallel to this use in the D. U. C.: *καὶ γὰρ ὁ αὐλὸς εἰρήνης μέρος καὶ τὸ μύρτον Ἀφροδίτης φυτόν, ἣ μάλιστα θεῶν ἀπέχθεται βίᾳ καὶ πολέμοις.* So Plutarch, De Defectu Oraculorum, 426 D *οὐ γὰρ ἀπεχθάνεται μεταβολαῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ χαίρει τὸ θεῖον.* The reading of the Gk. MSS. may therefore stand.

28. **ἀρχέκακον**] A rare word. Hom. Il. E. 63; Plut. Mor. 2. 861 A; frequent in Nonnus Dionysiaca; Clem. Alex. Protr. p. 13, 1 (Potter).

29. **καταζεύξασαι**] Cp. Pindar, Pyth. 2. 21 *ὅταν ἐν ἅρματι καταζευγνύῃ σθένος ἵππιον.* Philo uses the word in the same sense: 'yoked (and so subdued) and then attached the power over the weaker to the stronger.'

31. δοῦλος] In this passage there seems to be a covert reference M. 482
to the Greek festivals, like that of the *σεμναὶ θεαί* referred to in the Q. O. P. L. p. 467, in which no slave was permitted to bear a part in the ceremonies. Comp. especially with the words *οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ τυχόντες ἐλεύθεροι*, the passage 2. 467 *δοκοῦσιν . . . Ἀθηναῖοι . . . τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς σεμναῖς θεαῖς πομπὴν ὅταν στέλλωσι δοῦλον μηδένα προσλαμβάνειν τοπαράπαν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἐλευθέρων ἕκαστα τῶν νενομισμένων ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν ἐπιτελεῖν, καὶ οὐχ οἵων ἂν τύχῃ, ἀλλὰ βίον ἐζηλωκότων ἀνεπίληπτον.*

35. ἐπικελεύσεις] Once in Thuc. 4. 95 and Aristid. Rh. 7, 2, p. 269, 11 (Steph.). Philo 1, p. 642. 14.

38. συστήματι] A regular word for a guild found according to L. & S. in the Corpus Inscr. 2508, 2562, 2699. In Polyb. it means a *college* of priests or magistrates (21. 10, 11); so Strabo 806, &c. With what follows cp. Iambl. Vita Pythag. chs. 17 and 18.

39. ἀστείους] In classical Greek = 'urbanus'; in late prose = 'noble, good.' Isocrates uses it in latter sense, Ad Nic. p. 21 D *ἀστεῖος εἶναι πειρῶ καὶ σεμνός.* Also Xen. Cyrop. 2. 2, 12 and 8. 4, 10. Acts 7. 20, of Moses, *καὶ ἦν ἀστεῖος τῷ θεῷ.* Ex. 2. 2; Num. 22. 32. A favourite word of Philo's to denote the ideal man of the Stoics, the *φρόνιμος* of Aristotelian ethics. L. & S. hardly notice this sense.

42. οἰκειοτέρους] Matt. 12. 47 foll. 'And one said unto him, Behold, thy mother and thy brethren stand without, seeking to speak to thee. But he answered and said unto him that told him, Who is my mother? and who are my brethren? And he stretched forth his hands towards his disciples, and said, Behold, my mother and my brethren,' &c. So Mark 3. 35. To the testimonia, cited on p. 112, add De Mose, lib. 3, 2. 161, 10 *φιλίαν καὶ συγγένειαν ὑπολαβὼν εἶναι μόνην ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ὁσιότητα.* Also De Iustit. 2. 362, 38 *τὸν ὁμόφυλον καὶ συγγενῆ, μετέχοντα τῆς πρὸς τὴν ἀνωτάτω συγγένειαν οἰκειότητος· ἡ δ' ἀνωτάτω συγγένεια ἐστὶ πολιτεία μία, καὶ νόμος ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ εἷς θεός, ᾧ πάντες οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους προσκεκλήρωνται.* The monks of the Serapeum near Memphis, B. C. 164, called each other 'brothers,' according to the conjecture of M. Brunet de Prestle (see Notices et extraits des MSS. de la Bibl. Imp. Tome 18, Paris 1865, p. 261 ff.). The seclusion of such monks is termed *κατοχή* in the Papyri, and they could not leave the temple in which they voluntarily confined

M 482 themselves. It is worth notice that their life was called *θεράπευσις* (Pap. no. 34 *ἐν τῷ Σεραπιείῳ θεραπεύω*). Maidens entered the service of the god in the same way with the title of *ἱερόδουλοι*. Like other religionists, they attached much importance to their dreams, some of which are written down and preserved to us in the Papyri. Their leisure they devoted to philosophic and scientific inquiries, Chrysippus being among the authors they read. Cp. p. 486. 5 and note on p. 477. 7.

45. **χιτωνίσκους**] Plutarch, *γυναικῶν ἀρεταί*, 250 C *ἀναδησαμέναι περὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς τοὺς χιτωνίσκους*, of women fording a river. Ib. 261 F we read that Aristodemus, tyrant of Cumai, *τὰς θηλείας ἠνάγκαζε περιτρόχαλα κείρεσθαι, καὶ φορεῖν ἐφηβικὰς χλαμύδας καὶ τῶν ἀνακώλων χιτωνίσκων*, and just below that Xenocrita his mistress at his approach *ἐξέκλινε καὶ παρεκαλύψατο τῷ χιτωνίσκῳ τὸ πρόσωπον*. See note on p. 479. 9. Mangey remarks that among the Jews the custom was for the slaves waiting at a banquet to have their raiment girt up, and cites Luke 17. 8 *περιζωσάμενος διακόνει μοι*.

483. 3. Add to the testimonia the following from the Uita Iosephi, § 22, 2. 59 *Ἴσως μὲν οὖν γελάσονταί τινες τῶν εἰκαιοτέρων ἀκούσαντες*.

4. **κλαυθμῶν**] Poetical in Attic, but used in Herodotus, Plutarch, LXX, and late prose writers.

5. **διαυγέστατον**] Aristotle, 840 b 34, has *δίαυγες ὕδωρ*.

6. **θερμόν**] Cp. Justin M., Dial. c. Tryph. Edit. princ. p. 50 *μηδὲ ὅτι θερμὸν πίνομεν ἐν τοῖς σάββασι δεινὸν ἡγεῖσθε*. Also the inscription Da Caldam, in the representations in Catacombs of early Eucharist. But this feast of the Therapeutae was not being celebrated on the Sabbath. See the Excursus at the end of this book.

8. **καθαρά**] Pythagoras rejected the eating of meat. See note on p. 477. 22. Cp. also Philostr. Uita Apoll. 6. 11, p. 112 *εἰ γὰρ ἀφίκοιτό τις ἐς ἤθη τὰ ἐμά, τράπεζαν μέν, ὁπόση ἐμψύχων, ἀνηρῆσθαι πᾶσαν ἂν ἔλοιτο, οἴνου δὲ ἐκλελῆσθαι καὶ τὸν σοφίας μὴ ἐπιθολοῦν κρατῆρα, ὃς ἐν ταῖς ἀοίνοις ψυχαῖς ἕστηκεν*. The Therapeutae, however, only abstained from wine and flesh on certain days. At least, if that is the implication conveyed in the words in p. 483. 4 *ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις*. Clem. Alex. Paedag. lib. 2 (Sylb. p. 145 C) advises such abstinence: *καλὸν μὲν οὖν τὸ μὴ φαγεῖν τὰ κρέα, μηδὲ οἶνον πιεῖν, αὐτὸς (ὁ ἀπόστολος) ὁμολογεῖ, καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πυθαγόρου*.

11. νηφάλια . . . θύειν] Cp. Plutarch, *ὑγιεινὰ παραγγέλματα*, 132 E M. 483 *καὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ τῷ Διονύσῳ πολλάκις νηφάλια θύομεν, ἐθιζόμενοι καλῶς μὴ ζητεῖν ἀεὶ τὸν ἄκρατον.* The Scholiast ad Oedip. Col. 99 quotes Polemon (*ἐν τῷ πρὸς Τίμαιον*) to the effect that the Athenians *νηφάλια μὲν ἱερὰ θύουσι Μνημοσύνῃ, Μούσαις, Ἠοῖ, Ἡλίῳ, Σελήνῃ, Νύμφαις, Ἀφροδίτῃ Οὐρανίᾳ.* From Plutarch, De Ira Cohib. p. 464 C and Sympos. 4. p. 672 B; also from Porphyrius, De Abstin. 2. 20, we know that such libations of water were often followed by libations of honey and oil. Chrys. De Sacerd. vol. 1, p. 465 E writes, *νηφάλιον εἶναι δεῖ τὸν ἱερέα καὶ διορατικόν*, imitating Philo. So Theophyl. in Timoth. 1, 3, 2, p. 763. Idem in 3, 11. p. 767. Paul ad Tim. lays down that the bishop must be *νηφάλιον σώφρονα κόσμιον φιλόξενον διδακτικόν, μὴ πάροινον.*

13. φάρμακον] Cp. De Plantat. Noe, 1. 351 *φάρμακον δέ, εἰ καὶ οὐ θανάτου, μανίας γοῦν ἄκρατον.*

14. διερεθίζει] A rare word which occurs in Philo, De Mutat. Nom. 1. 602, 34, also in Polybius and Appian.

15. μετὰ δέ] The *σύμποται* have lain down and the waiters taken their appointed places. Then begins the exposition of holy writ by the president. It would appear that the Therapeutae did not partake of their repast of leavened bread and salt until this exposition, along with the singing of hymns which followed it, was finished. Their feast was therefore not conducted on quite the same lines with a sober pagan feast of the time, during which a *lector* or *anagnostes* read out Homer or Ennius or some other classic, while the guests reclined and ate.

18. ὁ πρόεδρος . . . γέγονεν] The Armenian here supplies a lacuna which runs through all the Greek MSS. alike. Perhaps instead of *ὅτε . . . γέγονεν* we might retranslate the version thus: *κοινῇ ἁπάντων γενομένης σιωπῆς*, but I have preferred to give its meaning quite literally. The Pythagoreans equally imposed silence upon themselves, and we read in Philostratus Uita Apollonii, 6. 11, p. 111, that Pythagoras *πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων ξυνέσχε βοῦν ἐπ' αὐτῇ σιωπῆς εὑρὼν δώγμα.* So in 6. 11, p. 112 *δεσμὰ γλώττης.* The Essenes seem to have vowed themselves to silence, and in the Old Armenian Version of Philo's Dictionary of Hebrew Names, the word Essen is explained as='in silence,' though in his surviving works it is connected with the Greek *ὅσιος*. Such vows of self-imposed silence are still registered by monks of some orders, as by the Trappists.

M. 483 20. **μηδὲ γρύξαι**] *οὐδὲ γρῦ* and *οὐδὲ γρύζειν* were proverbial expressions. Hence *ἀγρυξία*=*σιωπή*; L. & S. cite Menand. *Ψευδ.* 4 *μηδὲ γρῦ λέγε*. Aristophanes often uses the verb *γρύζειν*, e. g. Pl. 454, Nub. 963, Eq. 294, Pax 97, and comp. Isae. 71. 42 *οὐκ ἐτόλμα γρύξαι τὸ παράπαν*. Also Philostratus, Uita Apollonii 7. 11, p. 133 *ἡμῖν δὲ οὐδὲ γρύξαι συγγνώμη*. Epistle of the Smyrnaeans, ch. 2 (of the martyrs): *τοὺς δὲ καὶ εἰς τοσοῦτον γενναιότητος ἐλθεῖν ὥστε μηδὲ γρύξαι μήτε στενάξαι τινα αὐτῶν*.

21. **ζητεῖται**] The alternative reading *ζητεῖ τις* is impossible after the restoration of the subject of the main clause *ὁ πρόεδρος* just above. *τις* was added in order to provide a subject after the words had fallen out. *ζητεῖ* without *τις* may be the true reading, and *ζητεῖται* may have been written in order to help out the sentence, taking *ζητεῖται* as passive and *τι* as its subject. *ζητεῖται* can hardly have been used by Philo in the middle sense. Longus, Proem. 2, is given in L. & S. as the only instance of such an use.

22. **ἐπιλύεται**] The active voice is used in the same sense. Mark 4. 34 and Acts 19. 39, also in Aristot. Fr. 164. The use of the middle voice is rare, but occurs in Athen. 450 F; Theodot. Hos. 3. 4; Schol. Hom. Od. λ. 271 *ἐπιλυσάμενος τὸ τῆς Σφιγγὸς αἴνιγμα*. Philo termed his commentary on Genesis and Exodus *ζητήματα καὶ λύσεις*. In Athenaeus 450 F *ἐπιλύομαι* is used of guessing a riddle: *ἐν δὲ Σαπφοῖ ὁ Ἀντιφάνης αὐτὴν τὴν ποιήτριαν προβάλλουσαν ποιεῖ γρίφους . . . ἀπολυομένου τινος οὕτως*. Philo's meaning is thus quite clear: 'the president, so soon as silence is established, either of himself raises and discusses some point in sacred scripture or unravels some knotty point put forward by another.' With **προταθέν τι** compare the phrase in Athenaeus *προβάλλουσαν γρίφους*. At a profane feast it was similarly the custom to ask riddles.

26. **ὀξυδορκοῦσι**] Common in Plutarch, Strabo, Lucian, Lycophron.

28. **διαμέλλων**] A rare word which has the force here of 'pausing at intervals.' It occurs in Thuc. 1. 71, 142, Dio Cass. 600. 13, and Plutarch in the sense of to 'delay, tarry.'

29. **ἐπαναλήψεσιν**] A rare word which L. & S. only instance as occurring in the sense of 'repetition' in Demetrius Phalereus, a philosopher of 317 B.C. But *ἐπαναλαμβάνω* is common enough in the sense of 'resume a theme, recapitulate.' Stephanus remarks that it was a regular rhetorical device or *σχῆμα*, thus described by Rutilius Lupus (a pre-Christian writer), 1. 11, p. 39 quum id

quod semel dictum est, quo grauius sit, iteratur. So Hermogenes (A.D. 160) 1, p. 50 est iteratio et repetitio sententiae, quae fit post interiectas alias, perspicuitatis causa. Cp. Clem. Alex. Strom. 4, p. 539 (Sylb.) *ὁ πάνσοφος Μωϋσῆς, εὐπρεπῶς τῇ ἐπαναλήψει χρησάμενος.* M. 483

ἐγχαράττων] A rare word, but found in Dio Cass. and Plutarch with *εἰς* or *κατά* with gen. following. With the dative only in Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 23 *κοππατίας ἵππους . . . οἷς ἐγκεχάρακτο τὸ κ. στοιχεῖον*, and in Dion. Halic.

31. **ἀπνευστί**] Dem. 328. 12 *λόγους συνείρει τούτους σαφῶς καὶ ἀπνευστί.* Philo uses the word De Congr. Erud. Grat. 1. 528, 34 *διεξέρχονται δὲ ἀπνευστὶ συνείροντες τοὺς περὶ ἀρετῆς λόγους οἱ φιλοσοφοῦντες.* So De Mutat. Nom. 1. 587, 40 *συνείρων ἀπνευστί.*

32. **συνομαρτεῖν**] Poetical in classical age and rare, occurring only in Eurip. Or. 950. Found in Plutarch, Mor. 786 E; Iamblichus, De Myst. 3. 27, 96; Clem. Alex. Strom. 6. 641 D.

33. *ἀνορθιάζω* is generally followed by *τὰ ὦτα.* The Armenian perhaps implies the addition of *ὦτα καὶ ὀφθαλμούς*, or else it is a paraphrase of **ἀνωρθιακότες** used absolutely. No other writer than Philo uses the verb, except Andocides in the sense of to 'shout aloud.'

37. **σχέδην**] = 'sensim,' 'pedetentim.' Common in Plutarch. Hesychius interprets *ἡσυχῇ, βάδην.* Also in Xenoph. Hipparch. 3. 4; Pollux 1. 214; Aretaeus 38. 36.

39. **διαπόρησιν**] Only in Polybius 28. 3, 6, according to L. & S.

42. **δι' ὑπονοιῶν ἐν ἀλληγορίαις**] The same words occur in Plutarch's De Audiendis Poetis 19 E *Παρὰ δὲ Ὁμήρῳ σιωπώμενόν ἐστι τὸ τοιοῦτον γένος τῆς διδασκαλίας· ἔχει δὲ ἀναθεώρησιν ὠφέλιμον ἐπὶ τῶν διαβεβλημένων μάλιστα μύθων. Οὓς ταῖς πάλαι μὲν ὑπονοίαις, ἀλληγορίαις δὲ νῦν λεγομέναις, παραβιαζόμενοι καὶ διαστρέφοντες ἔνιοι κ.τ.λ.* As early as the days of Plato the Greeks were conscious that the sacred books of Homer did not always inculcate the highest morality, and pretended to find a deeper meaning behind the literal sense. Plato (Rep. 2. 378 D) preferred to suppress altogether the offending myths: *ὁ γὰρ νέος οὐχ οἷός τε κρίνειν ὅ,τί τε ὑπόνοια καὶ ὃ μή.* Already before Philo's time, as we read above p. 475. 42, the Jews also had come to be conscious of a certain discrepancy between the O. T. narratives and their highest moral aspirations, and begun to try to surmount it by that method of allegorical interpretations which they found the Greeks applying to Homer.

M. 483 I have, following the Armenian version, corrected *αἱ ἐξηγήσεις* to *ἡ ἐξήγησις*. *ἐξηγήσεις* for *ἐξήγησις* is the commonest of early corruptions and led to the substitution of *αἱ* for *ἡ*. We thus get in **ἡ ἐξήγησις** a substantive with which after the long parenthesis **ἅπασα γάρ** as far as **νοῦν**, and the removal of the words bracketed the participle **κατιδοῦσα** can agree. Yet no change is necessary; for it must be the logical soul, and not the explanation, which *beholds* through the names its kindred truths. The lacuna of the version must have also been in Eusebius' text of Philo, and the confusion of that text is the result of efforts made by scribes to replace the words omitted. Eusebius' text and the Greek text of the Armenian must have flowed from a common archetype. Therefore remove the brackets, and for the general sense of the passage cp. Philo 1. 215. 37 foll. *οὗτος ὁ λόγος* (sc. *προφορικὸς*) *ἐμοί τε καί σοι καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις φωνεῖ τε καὶ λαλεῖ καὶ ἑρμηνεύει τὰ ἐνθυμήματα . . . Ἐπειδὰν γὰρ ὁ νοῦς ἐξαναστὰς πρός τι τῶν οἰκείων ὁρμὴν λάβῃ . . . ὠδινεῖ τὰ νοήματα· καὶ βουλόμενος ἀποτεκεῖν ἀδυνατεῖ, μέχρις ἂν ἡ διὰ γλώττης . . . ἠχὴ δεξαμένη, μαίας τρόπον, εἰς φῶς προαγάγῃ τὰ νοήματα κ.τ.λ.* The entire passage is illustrative of this part of the D.U.C. **ἤρξατο** in l. 46 is the gnomic aorist, of which Philo is very fond. The force of **ἐν ᾧ** is not clear. The idea may be that the logical soul finds itself again in the unseen 'nous,' which inspired the scriptures. Elsewhere (653. 24) Philo says that there are two temples of God: the world, of which the firstborn of God, the divine Logos, is high priest; and the **λογικὴ ψυχή**, of which the true man is priest. Cp. 1 Cor. 13. 12.

45. **ἐναποκείμενον**] Porphyrii De Abstin. 22 *τὰ περὶ τὰς νοήσεις, ἃς ἐναποκειμένας μὲν ἐννοίας καλοῦσιν, κινουμένας δὲ διανοήτεις.* Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gentes, § 7 *αἰνίττονταί μοι τὴν ἐναποκειμένην σωτηρίαν.*

484. 1. **ἐμφερόμενα**] The Eusebian reading *ἐμφαινόμενα* is even better; cp. Plato, Rep. 3. 402 B *εἴ που . . . ἐν κατόπτροις ἐμφαίνοιντο.* Philo too is fond of the word. *Ἐμφερόμενα* must mean 'conveyed in' the names. Erotian. in Prooem. ad Gloss. Hippoc. has *τὰς ἐμφερομένας αὐτοῦ τοῖς συγγράμμασι λέξεις.* Philo often so uses the word.

3. **ἐνθύμια**] L. & S. only give *ἐνθύμιος* as an adjective = 'weighing on the mind.'

4. **ὑπομνήσεως**] 'Reminding.' It might be supposed that Philo is thinking of the Platonic view (Meno 81), = *τὸ γὰρ ζητεῖν ἄρα καὶ τὸ μανθάνειν ἀνάμνησις ὅλον ἐστίν.* The *ἐνθύμια* are latent in the immortal soul from all eternity, ready to be resuscitated and

brought out into consciousness by the names, which are their M. 484
palpable symbols (*φανερὰ σύμβολα*). So according to Plato (Rep. 7. 529) the visible heavens should serve the true astronomer merely as a diagram to illustrate the unseen necessary truths which are independent on the senses. It is a little against such an interpretation of this passage that Philo uses not *ἀναμνήσεως*, but *ὑπομνήσεως*. Cp. Dio Chr. Or. 4 (ed. Casaub. 64 B).

Still more against it is such a passage as the following, which gives a simpler explanation of the allusion, Philo De Concupiscentia (=De Sp. Leg.) 2. 353. 21 *καθάπερ γὰρ τὸ μηρυκώμενον ζῷον, ὅτε διατέμνον τὴν τροφὴν ἐναπερείσηται τῇ φάρυγγι, πάλιν ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον ἀναμασᾶται καὶ ἐπιλεαίνει, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰς κοιλίαν διαπέμπεται· τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὁ παιδευόμενος, δεξάμενος δι' ὤτων τὰ σοφίας ῥήματα καὶ θεωρήματα παρὰ τοῦ διδάσκοντος ἐπὶ πλέον ἔχει τὴν μάθησιν, οὐχ οἷός τε ὢν εὐθὺς συλλαβέσθαι καὶ περιδράξασθαι κραταιότερον· ἄχρις ἂν ἕκαστον ὧν ἤκουσεν ἀναπολῶν μνήμην συνεχέσι μελέταις— αἱ δέ εἰσι κόλλα νοημάτων— ἐνσφραγίσηται τῇ ψυχῇ βεβαίως τὸν τύπον.*

5. **πρόεδρος**] As a political president common in Thucydides, Plato, Demosthenes, Plutarch, Aristotle. The church borrowed its organization and the names of its officers from secular and political institutions, and so we find *πρόεδρος* used commonly by the fathers as synonymous with *ἐπίσκοπος*. So in Eusebius, Greg. Naz., Greg. Nyss., Asterius, Synesius, Evagrius, &c.

6. **ἀπηντηκέναι**] Cp. p. 481. 40. I have removed the comma. The sense is as follows: 'When the president seems to have discoursed long enough and (when) the discourse in his case (seems) to have done justice in a satisfactory way to the ideas presented by its relevance and pertinence, while as listeners they seem to have done justice to the same by their attention.' **ἀπηντηκέναι ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς** goes with both **διάλεξις** and **ἀκρόασις**. The speaker shows his appreciation of the 'points' (*ἐπιβολαί*) by the relevant manner in which he brings them out, the audience by the attention with which they listen to him.

7. **ἐπιβολαῖς**] In Diog. L. this word='act of perception or of appreciation.' So Longin. 35. 3 *διανοίας . . . ἐπιβολῇ*. Plut. Mor. 901 E and 921 C in the sense of the 'impact' of light on the eye.

9. **συνηδομένων**] Cp. Demosth. 519. 10 *θόρυβον καὶ ἔπαινον τοιοῦτον ὡς ἂν ἐπαινοῦντές τε καὶ συνησθέντες ἐποιήσατε.*

τὸ τρίτον μόνον] I have here ventured to restore the text from the Armenian. *τὸ τρὶς μόνον* would render the version equally

M. 484 well. It is likely enough that on a solemn occasion the applause was restricted by rule. Clapping and applause of a preacher by the congregation was usual in the early church, but had to be restricted occasionally.

'Ter crepare' is a common phrase in Latin writers. Cp. Prop. 3. 8, 4 et manibus faustos ter crepuere sonos. Hor. C. 2. 17, 25. Ibis 228. We also hear of the compostus plausus of a theatre, which may however refer to clâqueurs. If the Greek reading be retained it must mean: 'plausus ab omnibus propter consequentiam aboritur,' which makes poor sense and we must read with Q *ἐψόμενον*, and cp. Dion Chr. de Regno Or. 1 (ed. Casaub. p. 3 B) *πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν λόγοι, καὶ πάντες ἀκοῆς ἄξιοι, καὶ θαυμαστὴν ὠφέλειαν ἔχοντες, τοῖς μὴ περιέργως ἀκροωμένοις. ἀλλὰ δεῖ τὸν ἐγγύς τε καὶ μάλιστα ἑψόμενον ἀνευρόντας . . . ὡς δυνατὸν προθύμως διελθεῖν.*

10. Probably *ὁ μὲν προστάτης ἀναστάς* should be read. Cp. Euseb. H. E. 2. 17 *προστασίας τρόπον*, and see my Excursus, n. 1 on § 54.

13. **τριμέτρων**] Joseph. Ant. lib. 7, c. 12. 3 De Dauide *ᾠδὰς εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ ὕμνους συνετάξατο μέτρου ποικίλου· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ τριμέτρους, τοὺς δὲ καὶ πενταμέτρους ἐποίησεν.*

14. *προσῳδίων* is perhaps not less correct than **προσοδίων**. Cp. Etym. Magn. *προσῳδία γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι προσιόντες ναοῖς ἢ βωμοῖς πρὸς αὐλὸν ᾄδον.* Common in Plutarch and Athenaeus.

παρασπονδείων occurs here only. **παραβωμίων** occurs in Soph. O. T. 184 and Lucian. Syr. D. 42 of priests.

19. **ἀκροτελεύτια**] Thuc. 2. 17 *Πυθικοῦ μαντείου ἀκροτελεύτιον.* Also in Pollux 2. 161; Dio Cass. 80. 5, 3; 63. 10; and Euseb. lib. 8, c. 8 (De Arianis) *καὶ εἰς συστήματα μεριζόμενοι κατὰ τῶν ἀντιφώνων τρόπον ἔψαλλον ἀκροτελεύτια* (Steph.). The refrain: 'for his mercy endureth for ever,' in the Psalms, would be such an *ἀκροτελεύτιον*.

ἐφύμνια] 'Solemn refrains.' So Apoll. Rh. Arg. 2. 712, 713:

θαρσύνεσκον ἔπεσσιν, Ἰήϊε κεκληγυῖαι·
ἔνθεν δὴ τόδε καλὸν ἐφύμνιον ἔπλετο Φοίβῳ.

So in Athen. 15, p. 701 E *ἰὴ παιών* is instanced as an *ἐφύμνιον*, which is no mere *παροιμία*. Perhaps the words 'Alleluiah' and 'Amen' constituted such refrains. The Scholiast on Pindar Ol. 9. 1 writes *ἐφυμνίῳ δὲ κατεχρῶντο τούτῳ, τήνελλα καλλίνικε.*

20. **ἐξηχοῦσι**] Perhaps intransitive here, as in Pollux 1. 118 *ἐξήχησε βροντή.* So LXX, Sirak 40. 13 *ὡς βροντὴ μεγάλη ἐν ὑετῷ ἐξηχήσει.* After Philo's age, the word seems to have had a secondary

meaning only, viz. 'to annoy another with one's noise,' as in Clem. Alex. 1. 464 C. In Hippol. Haer. 214. 13 ἐξηχηθέντες='instructed.' M. 484

23. παναγέστατον] ='all pure.' So Plutarch, Ῥωμαϊκά, 286 τῶν παναγῶν παρθένων, of the vestals. Also Pollux 1. 135 Ἱέρειαι παναγεῖς. Dionys. Hal.; Maxim. Tyr. 121. 3. In later writers the word usually meant 'all-accursed,' e. g. Greg. Theol., Eusebius, Manetho, &c.

24. προσοψήματος] 'Flavouring.' Occurs also in Dioscor., Athen. 4. 162 C and 7. 276 E; in Diodorus and Clem. Alex. in whom it='epulae' (1. 396 B, 817 B).

25. αἰδῶ] Matt. 12. 3 'Have ye not read what David did . . . how he entered into the house of God and did eat the shew-bread, which it was not lawful for him to eat, neither for them that were with him, but only for the priests?' Cp. Ex. 25. 30, and 29. 32, 33; Lev. 24. 5–9, and 8. 31; 1 Sam. 21. 4–6. Since the shew-bread was offered only in the temple of Jerusalem and not in synagogues at all, either before or after the destruction of the temple by Titus, this reference to the shew-bread must have been penned before the latter event.

31. λειτουργίας] In the sense of religious service this word occurs in Diodor. 1. 21 τὰς τῶν θεῶν θεραπείας τε καὶ λειτουργίας. Aristot. Pol. 7. 10, 11; LXX, Num. 8. 25 and Luke 1. 23 αἱ ἡμέραι τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτοῦ.

33. προνομίαν] 'Privilege.' Common in Lucian, Strabo, Dio Cassius, Josephus, Plutarch 2. 279 B, &c. Philo's respect for the sons of Zadok (see Ez. 40. 46, and 42. 13, 14) is thoroughly in keeping with the Pharisaism of his time. All priests were Levites, but not all Levites priests. Elsewhere, 2. 236, Philo writes τοῖς τῆς ἀμείνονος τάξεως ἱερεῦσι of the priests as distinct from the νεωκόροι. Cp. Joseph. c. Apion. lib. 1, p. 918 ὅπως τὸ γένος τῶν ἱερέων ἄμικτον καὶ καθαρὸν διαμένῃ.

μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον] So Plutarch in the ὑγιεινὰ παραγγέλματα 133 D, E recommends dancing after dinner by way of relaxation: ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ σώματα κινεῖν μετὰ δεῖπνον ἀξιοῦντες, οὐ δρόμοις οὐδὲ παγκρατίοις τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἀβληχροῖς περιπάτοις, καὶ χορείαις ἐμμελέσιν. Night-long vigils, sometimes attended with dancing, were common among the early Christians, though not confined to them. In the East the cool of night invites to mild revels of all kinds. Cp. Clem. Alex. Paedag. lib. 2, c. 1 (Sylb. p. 42 D) ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὸ δεῖπνον ἔστω λιτὸν ἡμῖν καὶ εὔζωνον, ἐπιτήδειον εἰς ἐγρήγορσιν, ποικίλαις ἀνεπίμικτον ποιότησιν. Potter ad loc. compares the στάσιν ἔννυχον of Greg. Naz. Or. 4; John Chrys. Hom. 1. Hermae Pastor, lib. 3, simil. 5.

M. 484 Athen. 13. 600 E, ex Critia *παννυχίδας δ' ἱερὰς θηλείς χόροι ἀμφιέπωσιν.* The early Christians celebrated the Eucharist by night in an antelucanus coetus or conventus, and only concluded their feast at cock-crow (gallicinium).

34. **παννυχίδα**] Cp. Plutarch, *τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν συμπ.* 160 E *τῇ τελευταίᾳ παννυχίδος οὔσης, καὶ χορείας τινὸς καὶ παιδιᾶς πρὸς τὸν αἰγιαλόν.* Also Herodian 3. 8, 10 *παννυχίδας ἐπιτελεσθείσας εἰς μυστηρίων ζῆλον.* Euseb. H. E. 6. 34 *ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ὑστάτης τοῦ πάσχα παννυχίδος.*

485. 1. **αἱρεῖται**] 'Is chosen.' The present tense is rare in this sense, but occurs in Aristot. Pol. 4. 15, 3.

2. **ὕμνους**] So the Last Supper in Matt. 26. 30 ended with a hymn: *καὶ ὑμνήσαντες ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν.*

4. **ἀντιφώνοις ἁρμονίαις**] This is in contrast with *τῇ μὲν συνηχοῦντες.* Sometimes they sang all together, sometimes antiphonally, one choir taking up the strain from the other as in a modern rondo.

ἐπιχειρονομοῦντες] In no writer except Philo. = 'gesticulating' or perhaps 'clapping their hands in the dance.' Cp. Plut. *περὶ σαρκοφαγίας* 997 C *πυρρίχαις χαίρειν μηδὲ χειρονομίαις, μηδὲ ὀρχήμασι γλαφυροῖς.* Cp. Juv. Sat. 5. 121.

5. **ἐπορχούμενοι**] So in Demosth. De Cor. 313 *βοῶν εὐοῖ σαβοῖ καὶ ἐπορχούμενος ὗης ἄττης ἄττης ὗης.* So Plut. Mor. 2. 336 C. Philo is employing the language of the Greek mysteries, which also passed into Christianity. Cp. Basil, t. 1, p. 512 B *ἐνθέοις χορείαις τοῖς ἐκείνων* (i.e. Sanctorum) *ἐπορχούμεθα τάφοις.* In that age the Christians, like the Therapeutae, ended every saint's-day with a dance. Cp. the Acta Polyeuctis par B. Aubé, Paris, 1882: 'Let us dance our customary dances, . . . and recall to memory the deeds of the Saint.' Dancing at Christian festivals had to be restricted and even forbidden altogether in the fourth century: cp. Canon 53 of Laodicea, forbidding *βαλλίζειν ἢ ὀρχεῖσθαι.* The Jews danced at their festivals, and throughout the first night of the Feast of Tabernacles men and women danced in the court of the Temple.

ἐπιθειάζοντες] This word may here mean either 'crying out the name of the god,' or 'prophesying, being inspired.' It is difficult to see how it can govern **τὰ προσόδια** and **τὰ στάσιμα**, as Mangey makes it to by removing the comma after it and setting one after *ἐπορχούμενοι.* I would take *προσόδια* and *στάσιμα*, which mean processional and stationary hymns, as explanatory of *ὕμνους*, or it can be regarded as dependent on *ποιούμενοι.* Stephanus gives

the sense 'numine diuino afflor.' Pollux conjoins the word with M. 485
καταληφθῆναι and ἐνθουσιάσαι.

8. ἰδίᾳ] Cp. Justin M., Dial. c. Tryph., Ed. Princ. p. 52 *αἱ γυναῖκες κατ' ἰδίαν καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες κατ' ἰδίαν.*

11. μίμημα] The dancing of the Therapeutes is a kind of rehearsal of the passage of the Red Sea. So in Plutarch, *περὶ Ἰσίδος*, we read that the wife and sister of Osiris commemorated his sufferings and trials, *ταῖς ἁγιωτάταις ἀναμίξασα τελεταῖς, εἰκόνας καὶ ὑπονοίας καὶ μίμημα τῶν τότε παθημάτων, εὐσεβείας ὁμοῦ δίδαγμα καὶ παραμύθιον ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξὶν ὑπὸ συμφορῶν ἐχομένοις.* Christian rites and mystery plays have ever arisen out of the same deeply-seated desire of the human heart to be consoled and assured of an ultimate triumph of joy over sorrow, of life over death, of good over evil.

13. θαυματουργηθέντων] Plato, Tim. 80 C; Xen. Symp. 7. 2; Plut. Mor. 1004 E, and others use this word.

16. ὑποσυρέντος] In Plutarch, Lucian, Clem. Alex.

Plutarch uses ἀνακοπή of the recoil of a wave, U. Pyrrhi, c. 15 *τὸ κῦμα μετὰ ψόφου μεγάλου καὶ τραχείας ἀνακοπῆς.*

18. λεωφόρον] Cp. Philo, De Abrahamo 2. 3 *ταύτην οἷα λεωφόρον ὁδὸν ἡ φιλάρετος ἀνατέμνει . . . ψυχή.*

19. ἐπέζευσεν] Cp. Isocr. 58 E of Xerxes *πεζεῦσαι δὲ διὰ θαλάσσης.* Also in Xenoph. Anab. 5. 5, 14; Acts 20. 13; Philostr. 774 *πεζεύοντι τὴν θάλασσαν τῷ Ποσειδῶνι.* So in Gregory, Jesus is spoken of as *πεζεύων τὸ πέλαγος* (Steph.). Also found in Lucian; Dio Chr. 1. 110; Strabo, &c.

27. εὐχαριστηρίους] 'Hymns of thanksgiving.' Cp. Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 643. 36 *θυσίας εὐχαριστηρίους.* So Polyb. 5. 14, 8 *τοῖς θεοῖς ἔθυεν εὐχαριστήρια.* Diod. 2. 621, 79. Also in LXX, Macc. 2. 12, 45. There is therefore no reason with Mangey to prefer *χαριστηρίους.*

28. σωτῆρα] Philo often applies to God this epithet, which was applied to the deity in many heathen cults.

29. ἐξάρχοντος] *ἔξαρχος*=praecentor in Hom. Il. ω. 721; Eurip. Bacch. 141. Demosthenes, De Cor. 313, and Plutarch, Mor. 65 C. In patristic Greek it=exarch of a province or overseer of a monastery.

30. προφήτιδος] Rare. Used in Eur. Ion 42, 321; Diod. 1. 2; Plut. De Defectu Orac. p. 431 B *ᾧ χρώμενοι ποιοῦσι κατόχους τοῖς ἐνθουσιασμοῖς καὶ φαντασιαστικοὺς τοὺς προφήτας καὶ τὰς προφήτιδας.* Plato, Phaedr. 244 A.

M. 485 32. **ἀντήχοις**] Not in L. & S. or Stephanus.

ἀντιφώνοις] Cp. Plutarch, *περὶ πολυφιλίας* 96 E *ἡ μὲν γὰρ περὶ ψαλμοὺς καὶ φόρμιγγας ἁρμονία δι' ἀντιφώνων ἔχει τὸ σύμφωνον, ὀξύτησι καὶ βαρύτησιν ἀμωσγέπως ὁμοιότητος ἐγγινομένης.* Plato, Laws 7. 812 D *τάχος βραδυτῆτι καὶ ὀξύτητα βαρύτητι ξύμφωνον καὶ ἀντίφωνον παρεχομένους.*

34. **ἀνακιρνάμενος**] Poetical in classical age, but used in Plat. Axioch. 371 D; Longin. 20. 1; Athen. 1, p. 33 E.

ἐναρμόνιον] Common in Plato and Plutarch. Dionys. Hal. *περὶ συνθέσεως* 28 (vol. 2, p. 19, l. 45 of ed. Francof.) contrasts *μελῳδία ἐναρμόνιος* with chromatic and diatonic melodies. Philo, however, does not seem to use the word *ἐναρμόνιον* technically, but as simply='concinnus, consentaneus,' as does Plato, Rep. 7. 530 D *ἐναρμόνιον φοράν*, and Laws 2. 654 A *τὴν ἔνρυθμόν τε καὶ ἐναρμόνιον αἴσθησιν.*

38. **εὐσέβεια**] Cp. Joseph. c. Apion. 2. 181.

μεθυσθέντες] For this metaphorical use cp. Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gentes, § 74 (Potter, p. 92, 1) *ἀγνοίᾳ μεθύων ἀκράτῳ.* Cp. Cyprian. Epist. 63 (Gersd. ed. 63. 11) quia ebrietas dominici calicis et sanguinis non est talis, qualis est ebrietas uini secularis, cum diceret spiritus sanctus in psalmo: calix tuus inebrians, addidit: perquam optimus, quod scilicet calix dominicus sic bibentes inebriat, ut sobrios faciat.

40. **καρηβαροῦντες**] Clem. Alex. Paed. 2. 5 (Sylb. p. 168 B) *ὁ λόγος, ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ψυχῇ καρηβαρήσας τῇ μέθῃ.* Also in Lucian, Aristotle, Chrysostom, &c.

καταμύοντες] This word occurs in Aristophanes, Sophocles, and Xenophon; also in LXX, Esai. 6. 10, and in N. T. Matt. 13. 15, Acts 28. 27, in the form *καμμύω*.

486. 4. **ἐμπορευσόμενοι**] Porphyrii Uita Pythag. 12 *ὁ Πυθαγόρας τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς σοφίας ἐνεπορεύσατο.* Cp. Porphyrii De Abstin. 34. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 1 (Sylb. 302 D) *τὰ κάλλιστα εἰς φιλοσοφίαν παρὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐμπορεύεσθαι.* The same secondary sense occurs in Pseudo-Plato, Ep. ad Dion. 313 D, E. So 2 Peter 2. 3 *πλαστοῖς λόγοις ὑμᾶς ἐμπορεύσονται.* Themistius 298 has *σοφίαν καὶ φρόνησιν ἐμπορεύεσθαι.* Cp. Macar. Hom. 16 *οὐράνιον ἐμπορεύεσθαι πλοῦτον.* As the hands of the Therapeutae were *καθαραὶ λημμάτων*, their philosophy was the only 'trade' they had.

γεωργήσοντες] A common Stoical use. Plutarch, Mor. 2. 776 B

φιλίαν τιμᾶν καὶ μετιέναι καὶ προσδέχεσθαι καὶ γεωργεῖν. Common also in the fathers. M. 486

6. ψυχῇ μόνῃ βιωσάντων] The Armenian variant θεωρησάντων has much to recommend it and may be paralleled from many sources, e. g. Plutarch, παραμυθητικὸς πρὸς Ἀπ. 108 B αὐτῇ τῇ ψυχῇ θεατέον αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα and Plato, Phaedo 66 E αὐτῇ τῇ ψυχῇ θεατέον.

7. πολιτῶν] This Stoical conception to which Philo is so attached was embraced by Christian writers from Paul onwards. Cp. Paul, Phil. ch. 3. 20 ἡμῶν γὰρ τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς ὑπάρχει. The following passage of Clement of Alexandria is an echo of Philo in tone and style, Cohort. ad Gentes, § 72 (Potter, p. 90) ὦ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ μακαρίας ταύτης δυνάμεως, δι' ἧς ἀνθρώποις συμπολιτεύεται θεός. λῴϊον οὖν καὶ ἄμεινον, τῆς ἀρίστης τῶν ὄντων οὐσίας μιμητὴν ὁμοῦ καὶ θεραπευτὴν γενέσθαι. οὐ γὰρ μιμεῖσθαί τις δυνήσεται τὸν θεόν, ἢ δι' ὧν ὁσίως θεραπεύει· οὐδ' αὖ θεραπεύειν καὶ σέβειν, ἢ μιμούμενος. ὁ γέ τοι οὐράνιος καὶ θεῖος ὄντως ἔρως, ταύτῃ προσγίνεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὅταν ἐν αὐτῇ που τῇ ψυχῇ τὸ ὄντως καλὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου λόγου ἀναζωπυρούμενον, ἐκλάμπειν δυνηθῇ.

11. ἀκρότητα] Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gentes, § 15 ἀκρότητες ἀμαθίας, ἀθεότης καὶ δεισιδαιμονία. Hippocrates and Aristotle (in the Nicomachean Ethics) first use this word.

EXCURSUS

ON THE

PHILONEAN AUTHORSHIP OF THE DE UITA CONTEMPLATIUA.

I. In Philo no thought so often recurs, no rule is so firmly insisted upon, as this, that the claims of the purer religion, of Jewish monotheism, are paramount over those of house and home, of city and kindred and country. To adopt that religion, even to persevere in it, was in his age an effort, an act of renunciation, which he figures sometimes as a flight from the idolatry, which deified nature and created things, to the worship of the one God, Father and Maker of all things; sometimes in more metaphysical language, as an ascent from the changing shows of sense to the eternal truths of reason; sometimes, merely ethically, as a victory of the highest element in man, the moral reason, over the discordant chaos of the passions; sometimes mystically as the διαβατήρια or transition from Egypt into the promised land. But although he emphasizes, now one aspect, now another, of the complex process of spiritual emancipation, he does not hold them to be separable from one another, but one involves all the rest; so that a man could not abandon his idolatrous cults without also reaching a higher stage of moral development; nor, on the other hand, remain a polytheist and pagan without dwarfing his moral nature and stultifying his human intelligence. Of this purification of the soul, Philo held the call of Abraham and the passage of the Israelites out of the land of Egypt, to be the most conspicuous types and examples; though not the only ones which the pages

of his national scriptures offered for the confirming in their faith of his countrymen and the encouragement of the Gentiles who still sat in the shadow of darkness. For it must never be forgotten that the Jews of Alexandria were in the days of Philo inspired with an intensely missionary spirit; and that their ideal comprised not merely the reunion of all the Jews scattered far and wide over the world, but the conversion to Monotheism, and to the observance of the sabbath and of the other Jewish feasts and fasts, of Greeks and Romans as well. Of Philo's writings, a large number have therefore a missionary aim; and in his Lives of Abraham, of Joseph, of Moses, in his partly preserved Apology for the Jews and in many of his other works, he addresses himself to the Greek reading public, setting forth to them the providentially wrought illumination of his race and imploring them to repent, to forsake their polytheistic opinion, and participate in the privileges assured to the chosen race. 'To be quite sinless,' he writes in his tract upon Repentance, 'belongs to God alone, or perhaps to a divine man; but to pass over from sin unto a life that is without reproach, is within the compass of a thoughtful man, who has not utterly ignored his own good. Wherefore doth Moses bring such ones together and invite them to his most secret mysteries, holding out to them teachings of reconciliation and love, teachings which exhort to the practice of perfect simplicity and to the rejection of all pride; that they may embrace truth and humility, the most needful of virtues and the most productive of happiness, and emerge from the myths and inventions, which, from their first youth, parents and nurses and tutors and a thousand others of their intimates imprinted on their still tender souls, so entangling them in a maze of error as concerns the knowledge of what is the best. And what is the best of things that are, except God? the honour due to whom they apportioned to false gods, which they exalted above all measure, whilst in their vanity of mind they utterly forgot the true God. We must therefore regard as our dearest and most intimate kinsmen all those who, even though they were not from the very beginning called to worship him, yet did so afterwards, espousing the rule of the One instead of the rule of many. They have tendered to us the best earnest of their love and intimacy, in the character that loves God; and we ought to rejoice in common with them, as if they had before been blind and had suddenly received their sight,

looking upon the most dazzling light, when before they were plunged in the deepest darkness. . . . For 'tis a noble and expedient course to desert and flee, without looking back, into the camp of virtue, abandoning vice, the most treacherous of mistresses. And in sooth, as a shadow must follow a material body in the sunlight, so must all the company of the other virtues follow upon reverence for the true God. For the converts become forthwith wise, temperate, modest, gentle, good, kind, holy, just, high-minded, lovers of the truth, superior to money and pleasure; just as on the contrary one may see the backsliders from the sacred laws to be profligate, shameless, unjust, unholy, small-minded, quarrelsome and addicted to false words and false oaths, men who have sold their freedom for meats and strong wine and dainty dishes and delicate shapes, for the pleasures of the stomach and for venery, enjoyments which work the gravest harm to body and soul.'

II. An ancient city, with its narrow noisy thoroughfares, its foul bazaars wherein misery and disease jostled wealth and insolence and vice, was displeasing to a philosopher, who wished to spend his life in meditation. In the first century of our era, the golden age of city life was already a far-off memory; and we of to-day, before whose eyes the drama of political life is for ever being acted out, not without our own keen participation therein, are more able to appreciate and understand the pages of Herodotus or Thucydides than was Philo. The citizen of ancient Athens loved his city, because he did so much for it by his own efforts; because he personally fought and legislated for it. But for three hundred years before Philo was born, the patriotism which can once more inspire the citizens of to-day, had among the Greeks died out. And as we turn over the pages of the Ethics of Aristotle we realize that man had already even in his day, not so much outgrown his surroundings, as discovered that the old all-absorbing devotion to the city state could not survive its independence. For in them the life of contemplation is exalted above the life of action, and a vague philanthropy is about to succeed to the intense and passionate feelings of love or aversion which cemented together the fellow-citizens of the previous age.

III. After the loss of civil freedom there was but little in city life to atone for the discomforts which beset one residing therein; and it became the fashion for the choicer spirits that wished to devote themselves to study and contemplation, to retire from the

noisy and turbulent streets, and to bury themselves in gardens outside the gates[1]. This was the more possible under the Roman empire, because it was now no longer necessary to live within a walled town; and in his eulogy of Augustus Caesar (Legatio ad Gaium 2. 567) Philo dwells in eloquent terms on the peace and security of life and property with which the gathering of the reins of power into the hands of a single wise ruler had blessed the world. If the Epicureans and other Greek sects had their gardens and country retreats, why not also Jews who were tired of the turmoil and greed of gain, of the flaunting luxury and superstition of Alexandria? Is it not likely beforehand that the same longing for peace and solitude which led the studious *thiasi* of the Greeks to forsake the city and pitch their tents in rural colonies, should also have influenced philosophic Jews? The populace of Alexandria were noted even among the Romans for their turbulence and for the grossness of their superstitions[2]. How much must there not have been to disgust and shock a pious Jew, as often as he left his house and went out into the streets? What endless processions in honour of idols which he despised as lifeless logs, or of unclean animals which he loathed! His position was exactly analogous to that of a Mohammedan living in Benares at the present day.

IV. Setting aside for the present the treatise on the Contemplative Life, we find many clear indications in the other works of Philo, that among his compatriots there were those who, leaving home and kindred, retired from the active everyday life of the city, in order to be alone with God. Take for example such a passage as the following from the De Decalogo 2. 199. He is commenting on the significance which attaches to the placing fifth in the Decalogue of the precept that we should honour our parents; and he writes as follows: 'Parents are in their very nature, it would seem, on the border-land between mortal and immortal essence; mortal, because they are akin to men and to the rest of the animal creation and share in the frailty of all flesh;

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[1] So in John 18. 1, 2, we hear of the garden beyond the brook Kedron to which Jesus ofttimes resorted with His disciples, and in which, according to old texts of the Acta Pilati, he was buried.

[2] E.g. Cicero, Tusc. 5. 27. 78 Aegyptiorum morem quis ignorat? quorum imbutae mentes prauitatis erroribus, quamuis carnificinam prius subierint, quam ibim aut aspidem aut felem aut crocodilum uiolent.

immortal, because in begetting others, they take on a likeness to God who hath begotten all things. Now there have been some who ere now have devoted themselves to the one part, but in doing so seemed to neglect the other. For, *filled, as with pure wine, with the longing for holiness, they bade a long farewell to all other affairs and offered up their own lives wholly to the service of God.* But others in contrast with them, imagining that there is no duty outside the claims of their fellow-men, gave themselves up exclusively to human society, conceding free use of their goods to all alike, because of their longing to share with others and of their resolve to lighten so far as they could the trials of others. These latter then one may rightly term lovers of men, as one may the former lovers of God; yet must both be pronounced to be but half-perfect in their goodness.' Then after dwelling on the affection shown even by the brutes towards their benefactors and parents, he continues thus: 'Is it not then meet after this, that men, as many as neglect their parents, should hide and revile themselves? . . . *Do they then carry within the limits of their souls all reverence and holiness?* Nay, rather have they driven away over the border into exile these qualities. For parents are servants of God in so far as they beget children; but he that dishonours the servant dishonours in him the master also.'

V. A reference to Gaius in the treatise from which I quote the above passage (vol. 2. 193) shows that it was written during the reign of that Emperor. There is another similar passage in the Liber De Septenario, 2. 279, which I have given at length in my testimonia to 474. 35, and in which he speaks of the ascetics of wisdom, whether among the Greeks or the barbarians (by which latter term he means the Jews), as '*having chosen a life of seclusion from the throng* of those who are troubled about many things. They have made up their minds neither to wrong others nor to retaliate for wrongs inflicted on themselves. *So they choose their abodes far away from courts of law and from council-chambers, from market-places and assemblies*, avoiding all localities where the meaner sort of men meet in *clubs* and formal gatherings. For they aspire to lead a life in which war hath no part, but which is full of peace, *the noblest spectators they, of nature* and of all that is therein. . . . *Goodly citizens of the world* in truth are they, who recognize the world to be their city, and the companions of wisdom to be its citizens. There virtue alone entitles to be enrolled on

the register, and to virtue is entrusted the task of presiding over the common polity.' The passage cited in my testimonia to 474. 29, 30, from the treatise, Quis Rerum Diuinarum Heres 1. 482, though it is less direct in its information, nevertheless points in the same direction; for what point would there be in the words, *going forth outside the walls*, unless there was actually such a practice in vogue?

VI. In the passage from the life of Abraham, however, cited on p. 53 as a testimonium to 474. 30–34, there is a reference to the *custom of seeking in the country seclusion and repose from the evils of the city*, as explicit as can be desired. And in the preceding section 3 of the same treatise, vol. 2. 4, Philo draws a gloomy picture of the evils to escape which the good man flees from the city: 'Wickedness is everywhere, and is therefore known to many; but goodness is rare, so that it is not noticed even by a few. Aimlessly doth the bad man hurry to the market-place and theatres and law-courts, to council-chambers and assemblies, to every kind of concourse and club. For he has given up his life to meddlesomeness, wagging his tongue in immoderate and endless and indiscriminate gossip, confounding and mixing up everything, truth with falsehood, and things which may be said with those which may not, private matters with public, and sacred with profane, and serious with ridiculous; all because he has never been taught that which in season is best, namely silence.' The life of Abraham, just quoted, is one of Philo's earlier works, and is addressed to Greeks.

VII. In the Quod Omnis Probus Liber Est, which is also an early work and addressed to the general reader, there occurs an eloquent passage in which there is an unmistakable allusion to the existence of recluses, who are seeking in the desert the peace and leisure for contemplation of things divine which the turbulent life of the city cannot afford: 'Who then,' he asks in chapter 10 of that treatise, 'have there either been among men aforetime, or now are that answer to our ideal? We may well answer that of old time there were certain men, who excelled their contemporaries in virtue, who chose God as their only guide, and for the law of their life the right reason of nature, men not only free themselves, but fulfilling their neighbours also with their spirit of freedom. And in our own day even, there still exist men who have modelled their lives on the example of the wise, as it were copying an

ancient writing. For although the souls of our antagonists are widowed of freedom, led captive by folly and other vices, yet it is not so with the whole human race. And if they be not forthcoming in crowds and throngs, 'tis no wonder. For in the first place, the highest nobility is rare, and in the second, such spirits turn away from the mass of men, so *winning leisure for themselves to contemplate the things of nature.* Praying, if it were only possible, that they may raise up the fallen lives of others; for goodness would fain benefit all alike. However, finding that their efforts are of no avail, *because of the tide of perverse ills which surges high in cities*, where the passions of the soul are reinforced by every vice, *they flee away, lest they themselves should be swept off their feet*, as it were in a winter torrent, by the rush of the stream. *But we, had we any real and earnest desire to improve ourselves, would feel impelled to track out and discover their places of retreat* (καταδύσεις); *and kneeling as suppliants before them, we should beseech them to come forth among us, and to tame our lives which have grown so savage; preaching to us their tidings, not of war and slavery and of untold evils, but of peace and freedom* and of an encircling and plenteous tide of all other blessings.' It is true that in the sequel of this passage he says nothing of the Egyptian recluses, but after a few lines commending the wise men of Greece, the Magi of Persia, and the Gymnosophists of India, passes on to a long and glowing account of the virtues of the Essenes. I cannot therefore number the above among those passages which have unmistakable reference to the recluses whom he describes in the D. U. C., though it is likely enough from the language that he has them also in his mind. Perhaps he does not mention them because he wishes to confine his allusions to the Essenes, because these by their very virtues disarmed even the cruelty of their oppressors, and were better known to the audience he is addressing than were the ascetic recluses of Lake Mareotis. However, it is useless to speculate on such a point. It is enough to note that the recluses of ch. 10 of the Q. O. P. L. τὸν τῶν εἰκαιοτέρων ἐκτρεπόμενοι πολὺν ὅμιλον θεωρίᾳ τῶν τῆς φύσεως σχολάζουσιν. So of the Therapeutae he says, D. U. C. 486. 5 θεωρίαν ἀσπασαμένων φύσεως καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ. Of the Essenes, however, in Q. O. P. L. ch. 12, vol. 2. 458, he says: φιλοσοφίας τὸ μὲν λογικὸν ὡς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον εἰς κτῆσιν ἀρετῆς, λογοθήραις, τὸ δὲ φυσικόν, ὡς μεῖζον ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν, μετεωρολέσχαις ἀπολιπόντες, πλὴν ὅσον αὐτοῦ περὶ ὑπάρξεως θεοῦ καὶ

τῆς τοῦ παντὸς γενέσεως φιλοσοφεῖται, τὸ ἠθικὸν εὖ μάλα διαπονοῦσιν. It looks then as if the Essene philosophy had a more practical bent than the language of ch. 10 implies; though it does not do to press words too much.

VIII. In the De Mutatione Nominum, written probably in middle life, 1. 583, Philo engages to write at some later time a work in which he will demonstrate that the highest wisdom is after all to be found upon earth, and is not wholly absent from it, as some contended. The picture of those men who impersonated this highest wisdom, reminds us strangely of the self-mortifying monk of a later day. '*All this company of the good and wise have of their own free will divested themselves of too copious wealth;* nay, have even spurned the things dear to the flesh. For of good habit and lusty are athletes, since they have fortified against the soul the body which should be its servant; but the disciples of wisdom are pale and wasted, and in a manner reduced to skeletons, because they have sacrificed the whole of their bodily strength to the faculties of the soul. And if one may tell the truth, they have refined themselves away, till there is left only the one kind of substance, the soul-like to wit; and have so become disembodied intelligences[1]. For very naturally is the earthly dross worn

[1] In the Quod Deterius Potiori Insidiatur 1. 198, Philo contrasts the two ideals of life, the selfish (*φίλαυτον*) figured as Cain, and the devout and virtuous (*τὸ φιλάρετον, φιλόθεον δόγμα*) figured as Abel. The former is supposed to argue with the latter, and states his case thus: 'Is not the body the abode of the soul? Why then should we not take care of this abode, lest it become a ruin? Are not the eye and ears and the rest of the choir of the senses as it were guardians (*δορυφόροι*) and friends of the soul? Surely we ought to honour allies and friends as we do ourselves? Pleasures and enjoyments and all the delights of life, surely, nature devised them not for the dead or those not yet born, but for the living? Wealth and glory, honours and power and so forth, why should we not compass them, seeing that they alone win for us not only security, but happiness in life? And their way of life is proof of this. For the so-called lovers of virtue (*φιλάρετοι*) are nearly all of them without honour, lightly spurned, humble (*ταπεινοί*), in want of the necessities of life, less respected than underlings and slaves, dirty, pale, and wasted to a skeleton, their glance full of hunger from want of food, diseased, practising death (*μελετῶντες ἀποθνήσκειν*). But those who take care of themselves are held in honour, are rich, are rulers, are praised, are respected. Nay more, they are healthy, fat, strong, delicate in their diet, luxurious, knowing not toil, consorting with pleasures which through all the avenues of sense purvey delights to the all-receptive soul. Such is the prolix argument which the selfish advance and appear to triumph over those who are not at home in

away and purged so soon as the reason (*nous*) elects to be wholly and solely pleasing to God. But rare and hardly to be found as is this kind, nathless it is not impossible that it should exist; and the oracle delivered concerning Enoch is a proof thereof: "And Enoch was pleasing to God, and was not to be found" (Gen. 5. 24). For where could a man seek and find this excellence? Traversing what seas? what islands, what continents visiting? Among barbarians or among Greeks? Or are there not left even up to the present day some of the most accomplished philosophers, who say that wisdom does not exist at all, for the reason that the wise man does not? For do they not say that from the very beginning of the creation of men even up to this very age in which we live, there has never been one who was reputed to be wholly without sin; because, as they say, it is impossible that a being confined in a perishable body should be completely blessed? But on a fitting occasion we will examine these statements, to see whether they are true. For the present, however, we will follow the oracle, and say that wisdom is a thing which exists, as does also the lover thereof, the wise man. But although he exists, he has lain hidden from us who are wicked, because the good does not wish to consort with the bad. Wherefore it is said: "The character that was pleasing to God, was not to be found." Signifying indeed that it existed, but was hidden and fled away from our society; for it is said to have been translated, which means that it migrated and colonized from the mortal life into the immortal[1].' In the above passage Philo clearly inclines to the view that in his age at least there were persons who approached the ideal of Cynic goodness, although the Greek thinkers had not heard of them. And it would indeed seem as if he had in mind the Therapeutae,

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sophistry. ... For of those who practise virtue (ἐπιτηδευόντων ἀρετήν cp. 486. 9) some have stored up what is noble (τὸ καλόν) in the soul alone (ἐν ψυχῇ μόνῃ cp. 486. 6), and having trained themselves in good works (πράξεων ἐπαινετῶν ἀσκηταὶ γενόμενοι) neither think nor even dream of the jugglery of words. But others have both gifts ... and these must repel these quibbling assaults of vice.'

Philo's ideal then was to die daily, to mortify the flesh with fasting, to live a life of humility and poverty. Its affinities are with the Gospel of Jesus (Matt. 5. 1–12, and 6. 19–34), and to an equal extent with the Cynico-Stoic precepts of Epictetus. But there are qualifications to this view, which are given in § XIII below, where I adduce Philo's maturest views.

[1] For the Greek of the above see testimonia to 474. 35.

and as if he here promised at some future time to describe them to the Greeks. However this is not certain; for it is not clear that the description of the Therapeutae had not already been written when he wrote the De Mutatione Nominum. The other objection, that the words of the De Mutat. Nom. *σπάνιον δὲ καὶ τὸ γένος καὶ μόλις εὑρισκόμενον* hardly agree with the statement made in the D. U. C. that the Therapeutae are to be found in many parts of the inhabited world, has less weight. They may have been widely disseminated, yet have been few in proportion to the rest of mankind; as it were, a little salt scattered finely here and there, to keep the whole world from corruption. It rested with the writer's point of view and literary purpose to represent them as few or as many. In the same way, in the treatise Quod Omnis Probus Liber, where he has been emphasizing the comparative paucity of good men in the world, he says of the Essenes that they are, as far as he can judge, in number something over 4000; in the Apology for the Jews, on the other hand, of which the De Uita Contemplatiua seems originally to have formed part, he represents the Essenes as numbering tens of thousands (*μυρίους*). Josephus, in writing about the Essenes, quotes from Philo literally, yet as if his own, the former and more cautious estimate of their number; unless indeed both writers were drawing from a common, but to us lost, source.

IX. The Levites are often put forward by Philo as examples of men who have separated themselves from the ties of home and kindred in order to devote their lives to the service of God. Thus in the treatise on the sacrifices of Abel and Cain, alluding to the cities of refuge appointed by the Mosaic law, he says that, 'The Levites admit the fugitives, because they are themselves in a manner fugitives. For as the homicides have been driven away from their own cities, so these have abandoned their children, their parents, their brethren, all that is nearest and dearest to them, in order that they may receive an immortal instead of a mortal heritage' (ch. 38; see testimonia on 474. 16). And a little before, in ch. 36, he writes that, 'Moses ordained the Levites to be worshippers of Him who is alone worthy to be worshipped, to be the ransom of all other men. . . . The reason (or logos) which has fled to God and become His suppliant is a Levite.'

X. Yet for the Levite at least, the service of God did not entail

the same self-sacrifice, the same separation, not merely from home, but from all his kith and kin, as it did for the convert to Judaism. There are many passages in the works of Philo which, while testifying to the great number of converts which his religion had made and was continuing to make—facts the significance of which the historian of Christianity is too prone to overlook—yet acquaint us on the one hand with the hatred which these fugitives incurred on the part of their old friends and families, on the other with the coldness and supercilious indifference with which the orthodox Jews too often regarded them, with the actual distress and destitution to which they were reduced, with the danger there was of their relapsing in the midst of a heathen society into their former paganism, and the consequent necessity they were under of avoiding all their old associations. Of all this, the passage from the Tract de Proemiis et Poenis which I have cited at length as a testimonium upon 474. 16, p. 49, affords most eloquent proof. So in the tract on Nobility he declares that 'the convert (ἐπήλυτος) fixes in his soul the example of Abraham, and having invoked his God, abandons his fatherland and lineage and ancestral home, assured that, if he remains, the abiding and inveterate deceits of polytheistic opinion must oppose an insurmountable intellectual obstacle to his finding the One, who is alone eternal, Father of all other beings, intelligible or sensible.'

XI. But it was not only the Jewish converts who felt the need of seclusion and solitude in order to strengthen themselves in their faith in the things not seen. The Jew, who was from his cradle the heir of divine things, was by his very birth privileged to *see God*, —for the very name Israel meant for Philo the *seer of God*; even he felt at times the need of retreat in order to quicken and purify his glance. So Philo himself testifies (Leg. Alleg. 1. 81, cited at 474. 16): 'For I too have ofttimes left my kindred and friends and country, and have gone into the wilderness (or into solitude) in order to comprehend the things worthy to be seen, yet have profited nothing; but my soul was scattered or stung with passion, and lapsed into the very opposite current.' How much are we reminded in these words of Philo's great contemporary who was led into the desert to be tempted of the devil, of Paul retiring into the desert of Arabia, of Josephus burying himself for many months in the company of Bannûs, of the trials at the hands of the evil one endured by the monks and hermits of a later age. Patriae quis

exul se quoque fugit. That, however, the attempted remedy sometimes failed, is proof that it was often resorted to.

XII. The above passage shows that the attitude of Philo towards the practice of seclusion is not, except perhaps in the case of converts, one of indiscriminate approval; and in a whole series of notable passages in the De Profugis, resembling in tone that already quoted (§ IV) from the De Decalogo 2. 199, but much more forcible, he rebukes those who, under the pretext of religion, lightly abandon the affairs of political life and their means of livelihood, and pretend that they have turned their backs upon glory and pleasure. I have quoted one of these passages as a testimonium upon 474. 34, on p. 55 of the text, and I will not repeat it here. I would only remark that in it he does not hesitate to award the palm to the life of contemplation as the better part. He only insists that a man should not retire before the age of fifty, and only then, if he has manfully fought his way through the battles of the moral, political, and economic life. Until he has done so, he is not ripe for the life of a solitary. He fortifies his argument by an appeal to the Mosaic Law, which forbad the Levite to retire from the active duties of the temple service, before he reached the age of fifty. His argument also recalls to our minds the language of Plato concerning his guardians in the Seventh Book of the Republic, p. 540, as well as that of Aristotle in the Tenth Book of his Nicomachean Ethics.

XIII. Nor is this the only passage in the De Profugis in which by his very disapproval of the young and untried who attempt the life of the suppliants, before they are morally fitted for it by experience, he testifies to the reality of such colonies of recluses as in the D. U. C. he describes. 'Ere now,' he says in ch. 1 (1. 546), 'I have known fathers, given to luxurious living, who, abashed by the austere and philosophic life of their sons, turned away from them and in shame chose to live in the country outside the city' (δι' αἰδῶ τὸν ἀγρὸν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως οἰκεῖν ἑλομένους). In the paragraphs which follow he takes one after another each of the many aspects of the life of a well-to-do average citizen, and insists that no one of them should be shunned by the man who would so strengthen and purify his character as to earn the right in his declining years to embrace the austere regimen of the solitary.

'When thou seest,' he says in ch. 4 (1. 549), 'the bad man triumphant over virtue and setting much store by things that he

should despise, such as wealth, glory, pleasure, . . . do not thou, betaking thyself at once to the opposite path of poverty and undue humility, precipitately embrace the austere and solitary life (*εὐθὺς ἀχρηματίαν καὶ ἀτυφίαν αὐστηρόν τε καὶ μονωτικὸν βίον ἐπιτηδεύσῃς*); for thou wilt but rouse up the antagonist and enlist a weightier foe against thyself. See here, how thou canst act to escape from these struggles with him (i. e. the weightier foe). Adapt thyself to live with the same things—I mean, not with the evil types of character (*ἐπιτηδεύμασι*), but with those things that engender them, with honours, magistracies, silver, gold, possessions, colours (i. e. paintings), forms (i. e. statuary), diverse beautiful things. And when thou hast foregathered with them, then like a good artist stamp on these material things the noblest ideal and produce a perfect result worthy of praise.'

Could there be more manly counsel than this addressed to a young man, to use but not abuse wealth and rank, pleasures, art and music; to pursue a concrete yet lofty ideal, not to starve his emotions, but to purify and educate them to be elements in a noble character, not to play the coward with temptations, but to meet and overcome them? Such a passage reveals Philo, the dreamer, the allegorist, the reputed visionary, as a practical man of the world, as a master of the true science of education, as Goethe conceived it. Yet withal the very nature of his protest assures us that there were in Alexandria and the neighbourhood ascetic circles and solitary retreats to which young men often retired, when they should have remained in the world. Apart from such a supposition, all his protestations lose their point.

XIV. 'If then,' he continues in ch. 5 (I. 550), 'thou wouldst utterly put to shame the wealthy scoundrel, turn not thy back upon nor shun great wealth. For he will be made to appear an illiberal and slavish usurer and ill-starred money-grubber . . . but thou wilt provide a feast for those who are poor and friendless, wilt bestow charity and gifts on thy country, wilt dower the daughters of needy parents,' &c.

Could there be clearer testimony that some men rashly parted with their goods, instead of waiting to do so till they had used them for the formation of good character? 'In like manner if thou wouldst cover with reproach the wretch who is mad for glory and given to boasting, then reject not the praise of the many, when thou canst win honour. . . . And if thou art bidden to partake of

strong wine and sumptuous repasts, join boldly in them; for thou wilt put to shame the intemperate drinker by thine own deftness in drinking. He will fall on his stomach, . . . but thou, without needing to do so, wilt drink in moderation, but if thou art compelled to partake of more, . . . thou wilt be soberly drunk' (*νηφάλια μεθυσθήσῃ*).

Philo understood aright the strength of the Socratic form of character, the true mastery of self, acquired not by dwarfing the affections, but by disciplining them for nobler ends. In all the writers of his age, there are few passages which show so firm a grasp of the true principles of life as these.

XV. Then follows in ch. 5 the long passage which I have printed in the testimonia to 474. 31–34, beginning *μέμψαιτο δέ*. In this he exposes the sham ascetic life, the simulacrum of true monastic peace. But all through his exposition we are conscious that there *was* a monastic life of which he did approve, a meditative peace, a homing of the soul, a walking like Enoch with God, which, after the active life should be done with, he, like Charles V, desired to attain unto. As he says elsewhere, *τὰ δὲ ἆθλα ἀποικία καὶ μόνωσις* (2. 410).

XVI. In the next chapter (7, 1. 552), Philo points out that the ascetic life of struggle, of what the Stoics termed *προκοπή*, is not yet perfection; but is as mere raw youth in comparison therewith, and so calls for friendly care and aid on the part of those who have reached the true goal of manhood, which is *ἡ θεοῦ μόνου θεραπεία*, the exclusive service of God[1]. Then he proceeds to speak *αὐτολεξεί* of the Therapeutae of the D. U. C. as follows (1. 552): *Τοιγαροῦν ἐπειδὰν μήπω τελείως καθαρθέντες, δόξαντες δὲ αὐτὸ μόνον ἐκνίψασθαι τὰ καταρρυπαίνοντα ἡμῶν τὸν βίον, ἐπ' αὐλὰς τῆς θεραπείας ἀφικώμεθα, θᾶττον ἢ προσελθεῖν ἀπεπηδήσαμεν, τὴν αὐστηρὰν δίαιταν αὐτῆς, καὶ τὴν ἄϋπνον*

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[1] *Τὸν γὰρ ἀσκητικὸν τρόπον καὶ νέον παρὰ τὸν τέλειον καὶ φιλίας ἄξιον εἶναι τίθεμεν. Ὁ δὲ τοιοῦτος ἱκανὸς μέν ἐστι τὰ προτιθέμενα παισὶν ἆθλα ἆρασθαι, τὰ δὲ ἀνδράσιν οὐδέπω δυνατός· ἀνδρῶν δὲ ἄριστον* (? *ἀρίστων*, and cp. *οἱ πανταχόθεν ἄριστοι* in D. U. C. 474. 39) *ἆθλον ἡ θεοῦ μόνου θεραπεία* (De Profugis, ch. 7, vol. 1. 552). Philo distinguishes between the *ἄσκησις* or self-denial, necessary in order to form the character, from the *ἄσκησις σοφίας* which presupposes the former (D. U. C. 476. 36) as its basis. The one is self-discipline in regard to the *ἐπὶ ὀλέθρῳ δελέατα*, viz. *χρήματα, δόξαν, ἡδονάς* (1. 551); the other is *the perfect good τὸ τέλειον ἀγαθόν* (D. U. C. 474. 36), the estate of those who are Therapeutae *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, and consists in prayer and watching, and study not of the letter, but of the spirit of their *πάτριος νομοθεσία* (D. U. C. 475. 37).

ἀρεσκείαν (? θρησκείαν) καὶ τὸν συνεχῆ καὶ ἀκάματον πόνον οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες. Here he speaks of the courts of the contemplative life (cp. 476. 7 in D. U. C.); of the austere life led by the inmates; of their delight in watching and keeping vigils (cp. D. U. C. 475. 30–34 and 485. 41) of their continuous and unflagging labours (cp. D. U. C. 475. 34–37). If this Therapeutic life did not exist, then wherein lay Philo's point? It is just because he sets so much store by the monastic life, for so we may call it outright, that Philo warns those who are not yet ripe for it, who have not proved themselves in the life of the world, not to attempt it. σὺ δέ, ὦ τέκνον, ἀπόδραθι τὸν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀγῶνα, οὔπω γὰρ εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἐπιδέδωκέ σοι τὰ τῆς ῥώμης, ἀλλ' ἔτι οἷα παιδὸς οἱ ψυχικοὶ τόνοι μαλθακώτεροι. Philo does not like to see the 'perfect good' cheapened and tarnished by premature attempts on the part of the unfit to possess themselves of it.

XVII. And so continuing (1. 552), Philo exhorts his younger contemporaries to avoid for the present not only the worst, but the best (Ἀποφεύγετε οὖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ τὸ κάκιστον καὶ τὸ ἄριστον). And the worst is the stubborn ignorance and hardness of heart of Esau; while the best is the oblation of self; for the Therapeutic *kind* is an oblation made to God, a class vowed like high-priests to the holy service of God alone (ἄριστον δέ, τὸ ἀνάθημα, τὸ γὰρ θεραπευτικὸν γένος ἀνάθημα ἐστὶ θεοῦ, ἱερώμενον τὴν μεγάλην ἀρχιερωσύνην αὐτῷ μόνῳ, cp. 481. 19). To live with either of these extremes is for youth undesirable; intimacy with wickedness is most hurtful, with the perfect good most treacherous (τὸ μὲν γὰρ συνδιατρίβειν κακῷ βλαβερώτατον, τὸ δὲ ἀγαθῷ τελείῳ (see D. U. C. 474. 36) σφαλερώτατον). In conclusion, he exhorts his readers like good artists to hew out of their worldly position and circumstances the noblest character possible, and holds out to them under the figure of Jacob the hope, that when they have stood the test of political life, and have proved themselves in its turbid medium to possess a stable and highly schooled character, then shall they be released therefrom and allowed to reap the reward which the parents of Jacob enjoyed. That reward is the unswerving and unhesitating service of the only wise[1].

XVIII. We may infer from the above passages, especially from

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[1] De Profugis, ch. 9, 1. 553 Ἐὰν γὰρ ἐπιδείξῃ γενόμενος ἐν τῷ πολιτικῷ καὶ πεφυρμένῳ τούτῳ βίῳ σταθερὸν καὶ εὐπαίδευτον ἦθος, μεταπέμψομαί σε ἐκεῖθεν, ἵνα τύχῃς οὗπερ καὶ οἱ σοὶ γονεῖς ἄθλου. Τὸ δ' ἄθλόν ἐστιν ἡ ἀκλινὴς καὶ ἀνενδοίαστος (cp. D. U. C. 474. 17) τοῦ μόνου θεραπεία σοφοῦ.

expressions like those in 1. 552 *ἐπ' αὐλὰς τῆς θεραπείας . . . ἀπεπηδήσαμεν . . . αὐστηρὰν δίαιταν . . . συνεχῆ καὶ ἀκάματον πόνον οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες*, that there was a severe novitiate to be gone through, before an aspirant was admitted to be one of the *πρεσβύτεροι* in the *σύστημα* of the Therapeutae (D. U. C. 482. 37). The D. U. C. implies as much, for it says that the *νέοι τῶν ἐν τῷ συστήματι* were *μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας ἀριστίνδην ἐπικριθέντες*, selected (to wait on the *πρεσβύτεροι*) with the most careful regard to their excellence. And the elders themselves had to *be elected* into the *σύστημα*, their order of dignity being that in which they had been elected (D. U. C. 481. 42 *ταῖς εἰσκρίσεσιν ἀκολουθοῦντες*). And here I may remark that there is no real opposition between the passages in which mention is made of *οἱ νέοι* in the D. U. C. (482. 37 and 484. 21) and the passages just quoted from the De Profugis, in which Philo warns his readers not to attempt the austerity and solitude of the contemplative life, with its vigils and ceaseless labour in the law, until they have triumphed in the practical life which is the *προαγών* of this *ἀγῶνος τελειοτέρου* (Testim. to 474. 31–34). Because these servers of tables were *νέοι τῶν ἐν τῷ συστήματι*, they need not therefore have been young in point of years. The very phrase, especially, if with the Armenian the *τῶν* be omitted, implies that they were not so. They may all have been men of forty or even fifty years of age. That they were tried and tested men, and not *οἱ τυχόντες τῶν ἐλευθέρων*, I have already pointed out. They were clearly aspirants to the higher grade of *πρεσβύτεροι*.

XIX. In ch. 17 of the De Profugis (1. 559) Philo gives us further details as to the self-discipline of these Therapeutae, the spiritual congeners of the Levites and lay aspirants to the holiness of the latter. Firstly, the man must resolve himself into pure soul (cp. D. U. C. 486. 6 *ψυχῇ μόνῃ βιωσάντων*), divorced from the flesh and its desires. Secondly, the soul must have banished and expelled the irrational part of itself, and have weaned itself from the use of the five senses (cp. D. U. C. 475. 30–34). Thirdly, he must impose on himself a régime of perfect silence (cp. D. U. C. 483. 18–20 in my restored text). In the Greek this important passage is as follows. Note well its similarity of phrase to the passages already quoted in § VIII (1. 583 and 1. 198): *Οὕτω γὰρ μόνως θεραπευτικὸν γένοιτο τοῦ τῶν ὄντων ἀρίστου τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἄριστον· πρῶτον μὲν εἰ ἀναλυθείη ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχήν, διαζευχθέντος καὶ διακοπέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν ἀνηνύτων ἐπιθυμιῶν· εἶτα τῆς ψυχῆς*

ἀποβαλούσης, ὡς ἔφην, τὸ πλησίον τοῦ λογικοῦ τὸ ἄλογον, καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ χειμάρρου τρόπον πενταχῆ σχιζόμενον διὰ πασῶν **τῶν αἰσθήσεων** οἷα δεξαμενῶν **τὴν τῶν παθῶν** ἀνεγείρει φοράν. εἶθ' ἑξῆς τοῦ λογισμοῦ διοικίσαντος καὶ διαζεύξαντος τὸν ἐγγυτάτω δοκοῦντα εἶναι **τὸν προφορικὸν λόγον**, ἵν' ὁ κατὰ διάνοιαν ἀπολειφθῇ μόνος, **ἔρημος σώματος, ἔρημος αἰσθήσεως, ἔρημός τε λόγου προφορᾶς.** Ἀπολειφθεὶς γάρ, τῇ κατὰ τὴν μόνωσιν διαίτῃ χρώμενος, τὸ μόνον (ὂν) καθαρῶς καὶ **ἀμεθέλκτως ἀσπάσεται.** We see how a thoroughly monastic ideal of life for old age held its own in Philo's mind, alongside of the practical wisdom gained by experience, of a knowledge of affairs, even of a genuine appreciation of Greek art.

XX. Let us sum up what we can learn from the above passages in regard to the existence of recluses in Philo's day, bearing in mind that it is all evidence independent of the D. U. C.:

(1) They left Alexandria, went outside the gates into the country and there made their abodes, each in his own cottage, ἐν μοναγρίῳ.

(2) In their retreats they made it their rule of life to watch and pray.

(3) They imposed vows of silence on themselves.

(4) They lived with the mighty dead, making the Law of Moses their study. 'In thy law is my delight.'

(5) They had thoroughly disciplined themselves and been tested in the practical everyday life of the world before they entered on the solitary life of meditation. And if they had not undergone this preliminary training, which Philo would prolong until a man's fiftieth year, they were not fit to attempt the austerities of 'the courts' of the Therapeutae. For

(6) The life of these was a purely spiritual life (ψυχῇ μόνῃ), divorced as far as possible from all fleshly desires and considerations. The entire soul must be thoroughly rationalized before the 'perfect good' can be enjoyed.

(7) Those who aspired to the austere and solitary life left parents and country, and gave up their wealth and position (1. 549 ἀχρηματίαν καὶ ἀτυφίαν). Such renunciation Philo censured except in men over fifty. It is clear that the rich young Jews of Alexandria were addicted to such premature renunciation in the name of religion. Otherwise Philo would not so strongly emphasize the evil of it.

(8) Others, especially the Greeks, disputed whether the

blameless, truly blessed man exists, the man who has refined away the fleshly elements in himself, and become well-nigh a disembodied soul. Philo engages at a fitting time to inform them of the real existence of such ideal humanity.

XXI. The date of the treatise De Profugis, or as Philo probably entitled it *περὶ φυγῆς καὶ εὑρέσεως*, is not quite certain, but it seems chronologically to precede the Life of Moses and the De Decalogo (1. 573). The De Decalogo, however, (2. 180) was written rather late, say about the year 38. On the other hand, it presupposes (1. 546) the treatise De Congressu and (1. 562) the Quis Rerum. This in turn presupposes the allegory of the law and the De Sobrietate 1. 480. We may therefore safely date the De Profugis, which contains so many remarkable passages upon the proper age at which, and conditions under which, to commence the contemplative life, during the very last years of the reign of Tiberius, say about the year 30 A. D. It is important to fix even approximately the date of the De Profugis, because of its bearing on the treatise on the contemplative life, to the consideration of which we must shortly turn. As to the age of Philo when he wrote the De Profugis, we have also some data. Writing, it would seem, early in the reign of Claudius in the De Legatione ad Gaium, he speaks of himself as being already a grey-headed old man; and he afterwards tells us that he was the oldest of the five ambassadors sent to Gaius, and that on that account, as also because of his learning, he carried much weight with the others of his party. Supposing then that he was seventy years of age in the year 42 or 43, he would have been about fifty-seven in the year 30; and this we have assigned as the approximate date of his censures passed on those who, without the excuse of age and services publicly rendered to their fellow-men, hurriedly and without experience, sacrificed their careers and their means of livelihood in order to betake themselves under the guise of religion to the *μονότροπόν τε καὶ μονωτικὸν βίον*. The treatise De Profugis is clearly from the pen of an oldish man of mature experience, who has learned that the worst thing possible for a young man is to have nothing to do. But it is not, as we have seen, the only work in which this Schwärmerei of the Alexandrian youth, this fashion of sitting loose to natural ties in the name of religion, is reprobated. For the De Decalogo contains a similar passage, which we have quoted above, and it also was a work of Philo's mature age, as we learn from

its exordium. In this connexion we should note that the Uita Abrahami, which in its references to the manner of the seclusion resembles more closely than any other treatise the actual words of the D. U. C. (see the testimonium on 474. 30–34), is certainly one of Philo's earlier works, for it was written immediately after the De Opificio Mundi, and seems to precede almost the whole of the apologetic works addressed by Philo, not to his fellow Jews, but to the Greeks [1].

XXII. Every re-perusal of the works of Philo confirms my feeling that the D. U. C. is one of his earlier works, though it is difficult to analyze an impression thus depending on the study of an author as a whole. And to fix as it were stages in the development of Philo's literary genius is peculiarly difficult; for there are few ancient writers all of whose works are, if I may use the phrase, so much of a piece, so thoroughly coincident with one another in turn of phrase and tone of thought. No writer that I know of so persistently imitates himself as Philo; yet as a rule in so subtle a manner that it is seldom possible to decide which of two resembling passages is the imitated and which the imitating. Thus there are but two passages in the D. U. C. as to which I feel at all confident that they were written before and not after kindred passages in two of his other treatises. The first of these is read at p. 479. 40 foll., and of it the passage cited among the testimonia from the De Somniis 1. 628 appears to me to be an imitation and not the model. For though the terms *ἀπληστίαν*, *τράπεζα*, *κενοί*, *ἐν κύκλῳ περιάγοντες*, *ἀναδιδομένην κνίσαν*, *διακορεῖς*, *περιλιχνεύουσι*, *ὀσμῶν*, *ἑστιάτορα*, occur in both passages, it is only in the D. U. C. that they are used in their literal and appropriate sense. Therefore the D. U. C. must have suggested the corresponding passage in the De Somniis, and not have been suggested by it. Probably it was the occurrence of the words *περιάγοντες τοὺς αὐχένας*, themselves borrowed from a philosophic context, namely Plato Rep. 515 C, which suggested to the author when writing the De Somniis to work out in regard to wisdom the metaphor of the greedy banqueter. And it is characteristic of Philo's literary method that, in pursuing it, he glances afresh at the Republic of Plato, borrowing

[1] For the classification of the works of Philo see the work of Prof. M. L. Massebieau, 'Le Classement des Œuvres de Philon.' Paris, Leroux.

from a contiguous passage thereof (514 B) the use of *τὴν κεφαλήν* instead of *τοὺς αὐχένας* after *περιάγοντες*.

XXIII. A very similar case of two passages, both imitating Plato or perhaps the one imitating him *through* the other, is the following:

A. Plato, in the Phaedrus, 259 C, has the following:

Γενομένων δὲ Μουσῶν καὶ φανείσης ᾠδῆς· οὕτως ἄρα τινὲς τῶν τότε ἐξεπλάγησαν ὑφ' ἡδονῆς, ὥστε ᾄδοντες ἠμέλησαν σίτων τε καὶ ποτῶν. καὶ ἔλαθον τελευτήσαντες αὐτούς.

Ἐξ ὧν τὸ τεττίγων γένος μετ' ἐκεῖνο φύεται, γέρας τοῦτο παρὰ Μουσῶν λαβόν, μηδὲν τροφῆς δεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἄσιτόν τε καὶ ἄποτον εὐθὺς γενόμενον ᾄδειν, ἕως ἂν τελευτήσῃ.

B. Of the above the following passage from 476. 38 of the D. U. C. is an imitation:

Σιτίον δὲ ἢ ποτὸν οὐδεὶς ἂν αὐτῶν προσενέγκαιτο. . . . . τινὲς δὲ οὕτως ἐνευφραίνονται καὶ τρυφῶσιν ὑπὸ σοφίας ἑστιωμένοι, πλουσίως καὶ ἀφθόνως τὰ δόγματα χορηγούσης, ὡς καὶ πρὸς διπλασίονα χρόνον ἀντέχειν καὶ μόλις δι' ἓξ ἡμερῶν ἀπογεύεσθαι τροφῆς ἀναγκαίας· ἐθισθέντες, ὥσπερ φασὶ τὸ τῶν τεττίγων γένος, ἀέρι τρέφεσθαι, τῆς ᾠδῆς ὥς γε οἶμαι τὴν ἔνδειαν ἐξευμαριζούσης.

I have underlined here the phrases which were suggested by A, and have underdotted those which, not being due to A, are yet echoed in the following passage in the Q. O. P. L. where we have, in section 2, the following:

C. *Πῶς δ' οὐ παράλογα καὶ γέμοντα πολλῆς ἀναισχυντίας ἢ μανίας. . . . πλουσίους μὲν ὀνομάζειν τοὺς ἀπορωτάτους καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδεεῖς, λυπρῶς καὶ ἀθλίως ἀποζῶντας, μόλις τὸ ἐφήμερον ἐκπορίζοντας, ἐν εὐθηνίᾳ πολλῇ λιμὸν ἐξαίρετον ἔχοντας, ἀρετῆς αὔραις, καθάπερ ἀέρι φασὶ τοὺς τέττιγας, τρεφομένους.*

In this passage it would seem at first sight as if the words underlined were merely an echo of the similar ones in B. The writer of B clearly had A before him, for he keeps Plato's expression *τὸ τῶν τεττίγων γένος*, he echoes the form of Plato's sentence *οὕτως ἄρα τινές κ.τ.λ.*, he keeps the reference to *σίτων καὶ ποτῶν*, which occurs twice in Plato, also the reference to *ᾠδή*. And in a way he amplifies on Plato, by specifying the diet of the grasshoppers, *ἀέρι τρέφεσθαι*. Now the only way from C to A seems to lie through B; for C retains the words *καθάπερ ἀέρι τρεφομένους* which B had added, at the same time giving the simpler expression *τοὺς τεττίγας* for Plato's *τὸ τῶν τεττίγων γένος*, and altogether dropping

the reference to ᾠδή. He also, in the words μόλις τὸ ἐφήμερον, echoes the words of the D. U. C., μόλις δι' ἓξ ἡμερῶν. Thus C is imitated from B, and B from A.

Such an argument however is only plausible, and does not demonstrate. And it may be sufficient explanation of their peculiar affinity that both passages were written in the same hand. From our examination of them however, two conclusions result: (1) that they were not written independently of each other, and (2) that if one is to be regarded at all as the original of the other, then it is the passage B which is the original of C, and not vice versa. Similarly in the case of the passage of the De Somniis, if the question of priority and imitation be raised at all, then it is the passage in the D. U. C. that must be allowed to be the earlier in time and the archetype of the other. Yet recent critics of the D. U. C. ask us to believe that this treatise is the work of a fourth-century forger, and was penned two and a half centuries at least after the De Somniis and the Q. O. P. L. were written.

XXIV. So far I think I have shown that, even if we had not the D. U. C., we should yet be able to clearly trace from the other works of Philo that remain to us [1], the existence in the first half of the first century among the Egyptian Jews of a class of religious recluses, and even to determine, especially from the Uita Abrahami and De Profugis, something of the way in which they lived. I have also adduced some evidence, which is not however conclusive, that the D. U. C. is a comparatively early work of Philo's. Lastly, I have pointed out that those who have assailed the genuineness of the treatise are guilty of a *hysteron proteron*. I now proceed to discuss some points in the treatise itself.

XXV. Some critics, and among them Scaliger, have so construed the opening sentence of the D. U. C. as to make it appear that the Therapeutae were a contemplative or an Egyptian branch of the Essenes of Palestine. I hesitate to so interpret the passage, even though Scaliger did so. For such a sense would on the one hand require the article τῶν before Ἐσσαίων, and on the other it is not agreeable to the run of the sentence. Moreover in adducing

[1] Be it remarked that the treatises upon Isaac and Jacob are lost, as to which the De Profugis (I. 553 ἵνα τύχῃς οὗπερ καὶ οἱ σοὶ γονεῖς ἄθλου) gives us some reason to suppose that they would have given us special information concerning the contemplative life, for Isaac is in Philo's regard the type of the perfected character who has gained the reward.

so formally, as Philo does, their distinct and peculiar name of Therapeutae, he clearly means to discriminate this sect from the Essenes. Lastly, we know that the Essenes were confined to Syria Palestine, and Judaea, not only from Philo who expressly says so, 2. 457, and 2. 632, but from Josephus and Pliny as well.

With one important fact however the beginning of the treatise does acquaint us, namely, that in an earlier part of the same πραγματεία, to which the D. U. C. belongs, Philo had already described the Essenes. We can also read between the lines, so to speak, the purpose of his πραγματεία as a whole. It was undoubtedly designed to prove to the Greek reading world, that the Jewish religion could furnish types of supreme excellence in both aspects of life, in the practical as well as in the contemplative. Having in the first part of his πραγματεία exhibited the Essenes as models of the practical life, Philo in the D. U. C., following the set course and plan of that πραγματεία, proceeds to describe those who had embraced the contemplative life.

XXVI. Now there remain to us from the hand of Philo two descriptions of the Essene community; and the question arises, to which of them lies the reference in the exordium of the D. U. C.; and indeed whether either of them is the διάλεξις referred to. It is true that the words οἱ τὸν πρακτικὸν . . . διεπόνησαν βίον agree with the words of the Q. O. P. L., which I give in the testimonia; on the other hand there are several passages in the D. U. C. which seem rather to glance at the account of the Essenes quoted by Eusebius in his Preparatio Euangelica from Philo's lost Apology for the Jews. Such are the passages, 476. 26, 27 and 482. 3, 4, where he also points a further contrast with the Greeks. Jewish women, of custom went to the Sabbath service in the Synagogue along with the men. They also joined with the men in eating the Pentecostal meal, which, as I shall show, is that which Philo describes at such length in the concluding sections of the D. U. C. Women also joined with the men in their dances within the precincts of the temple on the occasion of the Feast of Tabernacles and probably on other festivals. This being so, why should Philo emphasize the joint presence of women: καὶ γὰρ καὶ γυναῖκες ἐξ ἔθους συνακροῶνται, τὸν αὐτὸν ζῆλον κ.τ.λ. and συνεστιῶνται δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες κ.τ.λ., unless he would point a contrast with the Essenes, who not only abjured marriage, but excluded even widows and virgins from their community? But of these misogynist propensities of the Essenes we only hear in the account

given of them in the Apology for the Jews. In the account of the Essenes in the Q. O. P. L. there is nothing at which the D. U. C. seems to glance and point a contrast in an equally marked manner. Some have seen yet another point of contrast between the Essene community depicted in the Apology and the Egyptian Therapeutae, in the fact that whereas from the former were rigidly excluded not only children, but striplings and even young men, because of their instability of character; the Therapeutae on the other hand admitted and advanced to the rank and title of elder (482. 1) those who from their earliest age had grown up and matured in the contemplative part of philosophy. But here we are certainly doing violence to the real sense of the passage, which does not mean that this process of growth and ripening from the earliest years, mentioned already 481. 11 and again here, had all gone on within the 'system.' It was, on the contrary, the common birthright of all Jews[1]. From the phrase which occurs later (482. 38), *οἱ νέοι τῶν ἐν τῷ συστήματι*, the younger members of the guild, who like real sons waited with cheerful zeal upon the elder ones, as if these were their fathers and mothers, we cannot infer that there was no disparity in age between the members. Still the distinction between these novices and the elders was of a spiritual and disciplinary kind. The younger members of the guild were often those who had more recently joined it. So in an Oxford College a junior fellow is occasionally older in point of years than some of the senior fellows.

XXVII. While therefore I feel sure that in the D. U. C. Philo means in more than one passage to point a contrast between the Therapeutae and the Essenes, I yet do not feel certain that either of his accounts, preserved to us, of the latter sect is the particular one, with a reference to which our treatise opens. If however we must choose between them, we must decide in favour of the account quoted by Eusebius from the Apology for the Jews. It alone acquaints us with the opinion entertained by the Essenes of women; and the Q. O. P. L., which contains the other account, can hardly

[1] So Philo de Sp. Leg. 2. 299 speaks of himself as *τὸν ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας ἐνιδρυμένον τῇ ψυχῇ παιδείας ἴμερον ἔχων*. In 473. 19 he implies that on entering the *σύστημα* men began life over again. I have already explained the use of *νέοι* in 482. 37. We cannot suppose that no young men sought and gained admittance to the order, for the De Profugis testifies that some attempted the life and then fell away, unable to endure its austerity.

be the first part of the πραγματεία, of which the D. U. C. is the second. For the Q. O. P. L. formed a single whole with the lost treatise περὶ τοῦ δοῦλον εἶναι πάντα φαῦλον, and its motive in introducing its account of the Essenes is other than that which moves Philo to describe the Therapeutae. The D. U. C. is thoroughly Jewish and apologetic, to the extent of attacking, almost unfairly, Philo's own masters, Plato and Xenophon. The other work is almost Greek in its tone, at the best merely Stoic and monotheist. It speaks of Plato as τὸν λιγυρώτατον [1], of the Pythagoreans as a ἱερώτατον θίασον, of Athens as the eye of Greece, of the Greek poets as the chief and best instructors of the human race. I do not mean to say that Philo could not have held such language as this of the Q. O. P. L., for it may be paralleled from his other works; but I cannot believe that the treatise which contains all these expressions in a short compass, is likely to have ever been part and parcel of the same treatise with the D. U. C. The latter is, as Prof. Massebieau has seen, much more likely to have been part of the Apology for the Jews, in which the account of the Essenes excerpted by Eusebius was contained; whether the latter excerpted it in its entirety or not, we cannot say.

XXVIII. In the Paris codex 435 the title of the D. U. C. is given thus: Φίλωνος ἱκέται ἢ περὶ ἀρετῶν δ΄; and nearly all the Greek codices have the same, only prefixing περὶ βίου θεωρητικοῦ. This title we must connect with that which in the Paris codex 435 and in other good codices is prefixed to the De Legatione ad Caium, viz. Φίλωνος ἀρετῶν α΄ ὅ ἐστι τῆς αὐτοῦ πρεσβείας πρὸς Γάϊον. The

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[1] He does not always refer so enthusiastically to Plato, e.g. De Profugis 1. 555 τοῦτό τις καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ θαυμασθέντων ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ἐφώνησε μεγαλειότερον ἐν Θεαιτήτῳ. In the De Opif. Mundi, in a passage cited among the testimonia to 481. 5, Philo imitates Plato's Symposium, p. 189; but there also he assails, not indeed the myth, but the passion or ἔρως, to explain the genesis of which Plato invented the myth. Far different in tone and drift from either of these Philonean allusions is Origen's use of this myth (C. Celsum, lib. 4, p. 190). Far from scorning the myth he declares it to have been probably picked up by Plato during his stay in Egypt from the Jews themselves. This he says was the general opinion. The garden of Zeus was Plato's way of putting the garden of Eden, πενία was the serpent, πόρος against whom πενία conspired was Adam. Here then we have a clue to the treatment to which a third or fourth century forger would have subjected Plato's myth. Philo's attitude, however, towards it is one of uncompromising hostility. Eusebius (Praep. Euang. lib. xii. ch. 11) adopts Origen's view with enthusiasm.

following hypothesis would account for these titles. Philo wrote, according to Eusebius, H. E. lib. 2, ch. 5, an account of his embassy to Gaius in five books [1], which he entitled (H. E. lib. 2, ch. 18, § 72) *περὶ ἀρετῶν*. This title was given to his work by Philo out of irony, *μετὰ ἤθους καὶ εἰρωνείας*. The whole or part of this work is summarized twice over by Eusebius, H. E. lib. 2, chs. 5, 6. It began, according to the second and fullest of these summaries, with an account of the persecutions of the Jews, under Seianus in Rome and in Jerusalem under Pontius Pilate. There followed an account of the accession of Gaius, of that emperor's cruelty to many, and especially to the Jewish race. Eusebius also gives us some clue to the contents of the various books; for in his history, lib. 2, ch. 6, § 54, he tells us that the second book contained the story of the ill treatment to which the Jews were subjected at Alexandria, and in his Chronicon we read that the plots of Seianus and his intrigues with Tiberius to destroy the entire Jewish race were related in the same second book. M. Massebieau argues with great probability from these data, that the treatise has come down to us in a mutilated form, for we no longer find the narrative concerning Seianus and Pontius Pilate in the relative position assigned to it by Eusebius; and if we may hazard a conjecture, a good part of the second book was excised from the manuscripts in the fourth century or later, because Philo's account of the administration of Pontius Pilate at Jerusalem was not quite consistent with the then prevalent Christian opinion [2]. The division into books also dis-

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[1] Euseb. H. E. 2. 5 *Καὶ δὴ τὰ κατὰ Γάϊον οὗτος* (i. e. Philo) *Ἰουδαίοις συμβάντα πέντε βιβλίοις παραδίδωσι.* Ibid. *Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Φίλων ἐν ᾗ συνέγραψε πρεσβείᾳ, τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἀκριβῶς τῶν τότε πραχθέντων αὐτῷ δηλοῖ . . . πρῶτον δὴ οὖν . . . ἱστορεῖ Σηιανόν . . . ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Ἰουδαίας Πιλάτον . . .* ch. 6. *Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Τιβερίου τελευτὴν Γάϊον.* Then follows a citation of De Legatione, ch. 43, after which he proceeds: *Μυρία μὲν οὖν ἄλλα . . . κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξανδρείαν συμβεβηκότα Ἰουδαίοις . . . ἐν δευτέρῳ συγγράμματι περὶ ἀρετῶν ἱστορεῖ.* Here we need not infer that the passage quoted from ch. 43 *preceded* the *δεύτερον σύγγραμμα*. It comes too near the end of the work, as we have it, to have come as early as the second book, however the work may have been divided. Eusebius merely selects it for quotation, because it is an apt summary of Gaius' misdeeds.

[2] It may be objected to such a view that the excision could not have been made in all copies of the Legatio, that some of our existing texts would have escaped it. Unfortunately all our existing texts of it are descendants of a single, not very remote original, as their partnership in certain corruptions proves. Nor have we fourth-century versions of it as we have of the D. U. C.

appeared, the single clue *ἀρετῶν τὸ α'* alone surviving at the very beginning of the work.

XXIX. Now is it possible that the D. U. C. formed the fourth or part of the fourth book of this voluminous work? May this fourth book not have contained an Apology for the Jews, intended to be read out to Gaius by Philo who was the spokesman of the party? We have already seen that there is reason to suppose that the D. U. C. followed the account of the Essenes which is quoted by Eusebius from an Apology for the Jews. We know also from Pliny and Josephus how the fame of the Essenes had made its way even into Gentile ears. What is more natural than that Philo should have included an account of them and of the Therapeutae in a general apology for his race, which he meant to present or read aloud to the emperor? Such an apology would be altogether on the lines of the apologies which at a later time Aristides and Justin Martyr and other early Christian apologists submitted to the Antonines[1]. And here Josephus comes to our aid, for in the eighteenth book of his Antiquities of the Jews he acquaints us with the fact that Philo actually had such an apology ready to deliver. His words are as follows: 'Philo, the principal of the Jewish ambassage, a man eminent on all accounts, brother to Alexander the Alabarch, and one not unskilful in philosophy, was ready to betake himself to *make a defence*[2] against the accusations (of Apion); but Caius shut him up and bade him begone. So Philo being thus affronted went out, and said to those Jews who were about him, that they should be of good courage; since Gaius' words indeed showed anger at them, but in reality had set God against himself.' The question arises, did Josephus derive the above information from Philo's own account or not? It is certain that he had other accounts of the embassy and of the circumstances connected therewith, for he gives the number of the ambassadors as three instead of five, and also conflicts with Philo in some other details. Yet it does not follow that he had not

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[1] Lucius in his work which I criticize below has noticed a resemblance between the D. U. C. and the Christian apologies of the second century.

[2] *Φίλων ὁ προεστὼς τῶν Ἰουδαίων τῆς πρεσβείας, ἀνὴρ τὰ πάντα ἔνδοξος . . . . καὶ φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἄπειρος, οἷός τε ἦν ἐπ' ἀπολογίᾳ χωρεῖν τῶν κατηγορημένων. Διακλείει δ' αὐτὸν Γάϊος, κελεύσας ἐκποδὼν ἀπελθεῖν· περιοργής τε ὤν, φανερὸς ἦν ἐργασόμενός τι δεινὸν αὐτούς. ὁ δὲ Φίλων ἔξεισι περιυβρισμένος.*

Philo's narrative also in his hands; and the very words in which he refers to Philo's learning seem to be an echo of Philo's own statement[1]. It is probable that after the words *πρὸς τὸ νομίζεσθαι θεός* and before *Εἴρηται μὲν οὖν κ.τ.λ.*, just at the end of the De Legatione, there came the account of another interview with Gaius, such as Josephus describes, in the course of which Philo produced his apology and was spurned. At the same point in his narrative Philo would have introduced the apology itself at length, as the fourth book of his narrative. This fourth book was followed by a fifth, the palinode, which Philo promises us in the last lines of his treatise as it has come down to us.

XXX. Thus time and Christian editors have truncated the De Legatione in a threefold way. Firstly, a good part of the second book has been removed, perhaps because it ran counter to Christian traditions concerning Pontius Pilate. Secondly, the entire fourth book was removed, as forming a whole by itself; and the first part of it has been lost, all except the scrap on the Essenes which Eusebius has preserved to us in the Praeparatio Euangelica; while the account of the Therapeutae was put by itself and preserved as a separate book, all the more readily because Eusebius had seen in it an account not of Jews at all, but of the Christians of St. Mark. Thirdly, the palinode which formed the fifth book has been lost; why or when we do not know. To the removal of the description of the Therapeutae from its context we have a parallel in the similar removal in many MSS. of the De Mercede Meretricis from the midst of the treatise on the sacrifices of Abel and Cain, to which Thomas Mangey and Paul Wendland referred it, and as part of which it is actually found in the newly discovered Egyptian Papyrus[2].

XXXI. It is a striking confirmation of this theory that in the Codex Paris. 435, the Legatio ad Caium, entitled *Φίλωνος ἀρετῶν α' ὅ ἐστι τῆς αὐτοῦ πρεσβείας πρὸς Γάϊον*, is followed without break by the D. U. C. under the title *Φίλωνος ἱκέται ἢ περὶ ἀρετῶν δ'*. So close is the sequence, that its very presence in the codex has escaped the

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[1] L. A. C. 572 *Ἐγὼ δὲ φρονεῖν τι δοκῶν περιττότερον καὶ δι' ἡλικίαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παιδείαν.*

[2] In many codices of Philo, as we shall see, the De Mercede follows the D. U. C. and precedes the L. A. C. This whole region of our great collective codices of Philo seems to have been given up to pieces either mutilated or divorced from their true contexts.

notice of all successive cataloguers; and it must have been regarded by the scribe of this codex and of those from which it has descended, as part and parcel of the Legatio ad Caium. This codex is the oldest we have of the D. U. C. The writing hangs from the line instead of being above it, the breathings are square, and the prepositions are written without accents as one word with the nouns or adjectives to which they belong, e. g. *καθέτερον*, *καθαυτό*; and of the few corruptions it exhibits some are due to the misreading of an uncial text. The iota subscript is absent. On these and other grounds I have judged it to be of the tenth century, not of the eleventh as the catalogues report it.

In this codex the order of contents is as follows: (1) Uita Abrahami, foll. 1–31. (2) Uita Iosephi. (3) Uita Mosis, ending fol. 105. (4) *περὶ φιλανθρωπίας* and *περὶ μετανοίας*, foll. 105 a–120 b. (5) A fragment of the *περὶ εὐγενείας* consisting of Mangey 2, p. 439 only, on fol. 120 b–121 a. (6) foll. 121 a–124 b. Fragments of the Uita Mosis, viz. chs. 19–20 and 29–30, 31, with two slighter fragments still under the title of *περὶ εὐγενείας*. Here then we must have the debris of some older codex, loose leaves copied out as if they belonged together. Daehne even conjectured that the *περὶ εὐγενείας* was originally part of Philo's Apology.

XXXII. The other MSS. however do not give the D. U. C. as a sequel to the Legatio, but as the sequel of the Q. O. P. L. though retaining the title *ἀρετῶν* (or faultily *ἀρετῆς*) *τὸ τέταρτον*.

In the Paris Coislin. 43 and Codex Pal. Vat. 183, Codex Reg. Bavar. 459 and Cod. Vat. Pal. 248 and Cod. Paris 434 (with slight exceptions), the following is the context in which the D. U. C. appears. The numerals denote the order of the pieces in Codex Reg. Bavar. 459:—

13. Uita Mosis, 1.
14. „ „ 2.
15. „ „ 3.
16. De Opificio Mundi.
17. De Decalogo or De Decem Oraculis.
18. De Constitutione Principum (=De Iustitia).
19. Q. O. P. L.
20. D. U. C.
21. De Mercede Meretricis.
22. De Spec. Leg. (vi et vii).
23. De Iosepho.

The Cod. Reg. Bavar. 459 and Cod. Pal. Vat. 183 continue thus:—

24. In Flaccum.
25. Legatio ad Caium.
26. De Iudice.
27. De Sacrificiis Abelis et Caini.
28. De Cherubin.
29. De Agricultura.
30. Quod Deus Sit Immutabilis, etc.

The Paris Coislin. 43 ends with the De Iosepho, and does not contain the Legatio. Codex Vat. Pal. 248 however interposes between 23 and 24 in the above list no less than nine treatises, which enumerated in its own order are: (11) De Sacrif. Abelis et Caini, (12) De Cherubin, (13) De Agricultura, (14) De Plantatione, (15) Quod Deus Sit Immutabilis, (16) De Ebrietate, (17) De Sobrietate (=Resipuit Noe), (18) De Confusione Linguarum, (19) Uita Abrahami. Only then has it (20) In Flaccum, and (21) *περὶ ἀρετῶν α'* or *περὶ πρεσβείας πρὸς Γάϊον*, after which it continues with (22) De Uirtutibus seu De Fortitudine et Poenitentia, and (23) De Pietate *περὶ εὐσεβείας* (=*περὶ ἀνδρείας*, De Fortitudine), (24) De Humanitate and De Nobilitate, etc.

The Cod. Laur. Plut. x, Cod. xx, which is the most important of the full and complete codices of Philo, has the D. U. C. in the following context:—

11. De Somniis.
12. De Opificio Mundi.
13–17. De Spec. Leg.
18–20. Uita Mosis.
21. *περὶ ἀρετῶν ἤτοι περὶ ἀνδρείας καὶ εὐσεβείας* (this is lost) *καὶ φιλανθρωπίας καὶ μετανοίας.*
22. De Iosepho.
23. Q. O. P. L.
24. *τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ βίου θεωρητικοῦ ἢ ἱκετῶν ἀρετῶν τὸ δ'.*
25. In Flaccum.
26. *τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ ἀρετῶν ὅ ἐστι τῆς αὐτοῦ πρεσβείας πρὸς Γάϊον.*
27. *τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως* (=De Mundi Incorruptibilitate).
28. De Plantatione.

XXXIII. All the codices therefore, except Paris 435, but in particular the Cod. Laur. Plut. x, Cod. xx, show a reminiscence

of the order assigned in Eusebius H. E. lib. 2, ch. 18 (71) to the detached works of Philo :—

Πρὸς τούτοις ἅπασι καὶ μονόβιβλα αὐτοῦ φέρεται, ὡς τὸ περὶ προνοίας, καὶ ὁ περὶ Ἰουδαίων[1] αὐτῷ συνταχθεὶς λόγος καὶ ὁ πολιτικός (i.e. Uita Iosephi). ἔτι τε ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἢ περὶ τοῦ λόγον ἔχειν τὰ ἄλογα ζῶα. Ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ περὶ τοῦ δοῦλον εἶναι πάντα φαῦλον. Ὧι ἑξῆς ἐστίν, ὁ περὶ τοῦ πάντα σπουδαῖον ἐλεύθερον εἶναι. Μεθ' οὓς συντέτακται αὐτῷ, ὁ περὶ βίου θεωρητικοῦ ἢ ἱκετῶν, ἐξ οὗ τὰ περὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν ἀποστολικῶν ἀνδρῶν διεληλύθαμεν· Καὶ τῶν ἐν νόμῳ δὲ καὶ προφήταις Ἑβραικῶν ὀνομάτων αἱ ἑρμηνείαι, τοῦ αὐτοῦ σπουδὴ εἶναι λέγονται. Οὗτος μὲν οὖν κατὰ Γάϊον ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀφικόμενος, τὰ περὶ τῆς Γαΐου θεοστυγίας αὐτῷ γραφέντα, ἃ μετὰ ἤθους καὶ εἰρωνείας περὶ ἀρετῶν ἐπέγραψεν κ.τ.λ.

It is not likely that the order in the codices has been changed in order to suit the somewhat confused list of Eusebius. So we must conclude that the order of Philo's works was very much the same in Eusebius' copies as in our best codices. Eusebius almost certainly used a copy of Philo which lay in the library of Pamphilus at Caesareia, and of which we have the memory in the notice printed by Dr. Cohn in his edition of the De Opificio Mundi from Codex Vindobonensis theol. gr. 29. This notice begins *τάδε ἔνεστιν Φίλωνος*, and then gives the titles of the De Opificio, Quaestiones in Genesin, *α'–ε'*, Quaestiones in Exodon *β'* and *ε'*, De Posteritate Caini (which Johannes monachus cited as books *η'* and *θ'* of the allegories of the sacred laws), then *περὶ τῶν δεκαλογίων*: *περὶ τῶν ἀναφερομένων ἐν εἴδει νόμων εἰς β' γένη τῶν δεκαλογίων*, and lastly the *περὶ δικαιοσύνης ἢ πᾶσι τοῖς δεκαλόγοις ἐφαρμόζει*. After this list we have the notice *Εὐζώϊος ἐπίσκοπος ἐν σωματίοις ἀνενεώσατο*. Now S. Hieronymus Epist. 34 (Migne, Patrol. Lat. tom. xxii. p. 448) tells us that: Pamphilus Martyr Origenis libros impensius prosecutus, Caesariensi ecclesiae dedicavit: quam ex parte corruptam Acacius (bp. of Caesareia A.D. 338–365) dehinc et *Euzoius* eiusdem ecclesiae sacerdotes *in membranis instaurare* conati sunt.

The Vienna MS. 29 is therefore descended from this copy which Euzoius made on parchment from the papyrus copy of Origen. It unhappily contains no more than half of the De Opificio Mundi, but the agreement in order of the table of contents with the list of Philo's works given by Eusebius H. E. 2. 18 goes far to prove that the latter had in his hands and used this copy of Philo,

[1] Probably the same as the Apology for the Jews.

which had probably belonged to Pamphilus, and before Pamphilus to Origen. The Cod. Laurent. Plut. x, Cod. xx. agrees fairly well in its order of books, not only with the list of contents of Euzoius' book, but also with the list of Eusebius as well. It is a fair inference that if we had more of Euzoius' list we should find in it the D. U. C. We have thus good constructive evidence that the copy of the D. U. C. which Eusebius, the literary heir of Pamphilus, used, had once formed part of the library of Origen.

XXXIII. B. It is worth while noticing the order in which the Armenian works of Philo come in the manuscripts of this version. The oldest codex at Venice of the thirteenth century has them in the following order:

1. The Quaestiones in Genesin, four books. 2. Quaestiones in Exodum, two books. 3. De Sacerdotibus. This treatise in the Armenian includes the larger part of the De Monarchia, lib. 2, from *φυλαὶ μὲν οὖν* Mang. 2. 225 to end; then without change of title the whole of the De Praemiis Sacerdotum, as far as Mangey's page 237. 4. De Arae Rebus (=*τὰ περὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον*). This includes most of the treatise De Sacrificantibus, beginning from p. 254, *πῦρ, φησίν, ἐπί* as far as the end on p. 264. 5. De Decem Verbis. This comprises (A) the beginning of the treatise De Specialibus Legibus ad duo decalogi capita vi, viique, from Mangey 2. 299 *ἦν ποτε χρόνος* as far as *ἐφαρμόζειν τοὺς ἐν εἴδει νόμους* at the end of page 300. Then follows (B) an extract from the book on Numbers, divorced from its context, and not the same as that found in Greek at the end of the Selden manuscript. Then without fresh title (C) the whole of the treatise De Decalogo, Mangey, page 180, as far as the end on page 208. 6. De Decem Uerbis. This resumes the De Specialibus Legibus lib. 3, at the words *οὐ μοιχεύσεις*, viz. at the point near the end of Mangey, page 300, where in no. 5 the Armenian broke off. The version then continues nearly as far as the end of Mangey, p. 310, to the words *δικαστήριον ἐπ' αὐτῷ*. 7. The treatise De Samson, said to be spurious and only found in the Armenian. 8. The De Iona, which belongs to the same class. 9. Concerning the Vision of the Three Children. 10. On the life of Philo, translated by Aucher. 11. The two treatises De Prouidentia. 12. De Animalibus Rationem Habentibus. 13. The Life of Abraham. 14. The first two books of the Allegories of the Sacred Laws. 15. The De Uita Contemplatiua. At the end of this treatise is a notice, probably coeval with the

translation, in which after touching on the contents of the life of Abraham, the writer goes on to say that the Allegories of the Laws were placed after the Life among the Books of Philo. He also expresses his belief that the two books of the allegories were written at different times and with different motives. In this notice, by the second book of the allegories must be meant our third book, which is not in the version; for the first two books which are, form therein but a single book. The notice then continues thus: 'there was also composed by him another treatise in praise of the new disciples of the Gospel; I refer to those who from among the Jews believed in the preaching of the Apostles, and whose heart and soul the noble secretary Luke declares to be one. These in the season of the destruction of Jerusalem under the guidance of an angel of God, went away into the land of Egypt, into the Upper Thebaid; and there dwelt in angelic order, men and women, youths and virgins, of all ages, with frugal and humble life, satisfying their necessary wants alone, in daily and unceasing prayer, in common harmony and solitary converse with God. And he declares their consolation to have been the reading of the Divine testaments, of the spiritual hymns of the ancients, also their histories, and of the new teachers the gospel (or evangelical) concordances[1]. But he also says that they themselves composed hymns to the glory of God, new and lovely, to suit their devotions, for day and night. Their houses, he says, are built apart, but their houses of prayer are common and open to all. And the same is true of the buildings wherein they prepare the scanty diet which satisfies them. And he describes all the severity of their religion, and the rules devised by them, as being very cognizant of the Divine will. Such is the treatise in which he sets forth their praises; but of the teaching of the gospel he says not one word. Yet he detracts in no way from their praise, but tells of everything as a true teller of tales and veracious historian. And so far, so good.'

It would be interesting to know whether in the above we have a duplicate of the account of Eusebius, or an independent account by another father. Certainly, except in so far as it supposes Philo

[1] So the Edschmiadzin Codex; but No. 2049 = 'of the new teachings, the gospel of concordances,' which is worse sense. The Diatessaron seems to be referred to.

to have lived until after the destruction of Jerusalem, it is more probable and in a manner a more critical hypothesis than that of Eusebius; and I am not sure that it is not independent of his history. The mention of the Thebaid proves that it was not written before the fourth century, when that region had become the chosen home of Christian monks.

The above is the normal order of the works of Philo in other codices besides that of Venice. In the Edschmiadzin MS. 924, the D. U. C. precedes the Allegories of the Laws. The best manuscript belonging to that library in two volumes, nos. 2049 and 2051, varies the order slightly, as follows, using the numbers of the Venice MS. to indicate the pieces: 1 (only books 1–3), 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. These in codex no. 2051. Then in codex 2049, these: 1 (book 4, only), 14, 11, 12, 13, 15. In the codices 924, 2046 (of the year 1329), also in 299 (a late codex made from a very ancient exemplar), also in the lists of Philo's works given in the Uncial Codex 1653, the treatises, numbered in the Venice list 3–9 inclusive, are given under the title: 'Quae in Exodum sunt. Liber tertius.' Whence we may infer that they were regarded as a continuation of the Quaestiones in Exodum. It would seem that the Armenians translated, though in a fragmentary way, the works which come in the latter part of the list of Eusebius, and from a codex in which the order of pieces corresponded roughly to the order of Eusebius' copy.

XXXIV. Objections may, however, be raised to this reconstruction of the De Legatione, and to the hypothesis that it comprised the D. U. C., as part of an Apology for the Jews, which it may have originally contained. Firstly, as I have already pointed out, there are reasons why we should regard the D. U. C. as an early work of Philo's, composed about the year 22, or 23. Secondly, there is the graver objection that in Eusebius' Codex of Philo it already came, approximately where it comes in our MSS., immediately after the treatise Quod Omnis Probus Liber Est. Eusebius specially says that Philo had composed it after certain others which precede it in the list of detached works, namely after the De Prouidentia, the treatise (? Apology) περὶ Ἰουδαίων, the Uita Iosephi, Alexander and the two companion Stoical treatises. It is a good answer to the first of these objections to say that the D. U. C. along with the whole of the Apology of which it may have been a part, may well have been written years before; and to suppose

that Philo, when he was suddenly called upon to go and plead the cause of his countrymen before the Emperor, simply went to his repertory, and took it out. The hypothesis that Philo had an Apology or Defence against Apion ready to deliver before the Emperor, in itself assumes that the treatise containing an account first of the Essenes and then of the Therapeutae and constituting the Apology in question, was written at least as early as the second year of Gaius' reign, when the mission was sent, and therefore some three or four years before he penned the other four books of the History of the Embassy. In this history, and with a purely editorial interest, Philo may have afterwards included this πραγματεία, naming the whole, τὰ κατὰ Γάϊον συμβάντα πέντε βιβλίοις παραδοθέντα, as Eusebius calls it, H. E. lib. 2. 9. These considerations also explain the separation of the D. U. C. and of the ὁ περὶ Ἰουδαίων λόγος in Eusebius' copy of Philo from the rest of the De Legatione. They had both of them been in circulation as separate works of Philo's, long before he ever included them in the History of the Embassy as its fourth book. They may in some libraries, e. g. in that of Pamphilus, have kept their place as separate works and not have been given the extra title περὶ ἀρετῶν δ', which Philo had himself prefixed in his final edition of his writings. There still remains the difficulty that in the list of Philo's works given by Eusebius, the D. U. C. is also separate from the Apology for the Jews and not immediately sequent upon it. We can hardly account for this separation by saying that Eusebius saw in the D. U. C. an account of the Christians of St. Mark, and so took it apart from an Apology for the Jews, with which in his eyes it can have had nothing to do. That would explain his mentioning it separately, but not its being separate in the list. The most we can say in answer to this objection is, that the list may here be confused, and that the ὁ περὶ Ἰουδαίων αὐτῷ συνταχθεὶς λόγος, supposing that to be the Apology in question, does actually precede the D. U. C. in his list of μονόβιβλα, though separated from it by four works, of which two are lost in Greek, as is also the work on Hebrew names which followed it. It is curious that the Armenian Version has preserved three of these lost μονόβιβλα, viz. The De Prouidentia, Ad Alexandrum and ἑρμηνείαι, as well as the Quaestiones in Genesin et Exodum, which in Eusebius' list closely precede them. In placing the D. U. C. after the Legatio, of which it claimed in its title to be the fourth book, the Paris Codex 435 has kept the tradition of

the order, in which perhaps Philo in his last years placed it. For the title *περὶ ἀρετῶν δ'* must proceed from his hand, as no later librarian would have had any occasion to prefix it; nor, had it been added in a single copy by a chance scribe, would it have secured so firm a place in the manuscript tradition [1].

XXXV. It is time to return to the consideration of the treatise itself. An important point arises in connexion with the words at 474. 35 *πολλαχοῦ μὲν οὖν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐστι τὸ γένος, κ.τ.λ.* Are we to suppose that *συστήματα* of the same type as that which Philo proceeds to describe, were found all over the inhabited world? or was the one settled on the Lake Mareotis, to which the best persons resorted from all quarters, the only one? I think the truth may lie between the two suppositions. There may have been such societies in several of the great Jewish communities scattered round the Mediterranean, e. g. in Cyprus, Corinth, Tarsus, Colossae, Antioch, Rome, Smyrna and elsewhere. But in the Alexandrian centre of which they were all offshoots, the members may have been more strict in their discipline, more severe in their asceticism. This I think is a legitimate inference from the words *οἱ δὲ πανταχόθεν ἄριστοι*, where *πανταχόθεν* is in contrast with *πολλαχοῦ* just before. The words *καθάπερ εἰς πατρίδα θεραπευτῶν* indicate that Alexandria was the centre from which the influences productive of such congregations had radiated, and the focus to which members of them were wont to return as often as they could. That there were many such societies elsewhere, is quite credible, if we bear in mind the wide dissemination all round the Mediterranean of Greek Judaism, and the widespread propaganda of the religion which, in Philo's day, had been in progress for at least two centuries. We have Philo's assurance that not only the barbarian—by which in such a context he means his

[1] It is also a possible view that two books, the third and fourth in the total of five, were filled with the Apology for the Jews. The third would have in such a case contained the account of the Essenes, as our surviving fourth does that of the *ἱκέται*. The objection to this view is that it would make the second book so long as to have contained the whole of the Legatio ad Caium as we now have it, except the Exordium, as also the lost account of Seianus and Pontius Pilate. On the other hand it would explain the circumstance that Eusebius H. E. 2. 6 seems to refer a passage in ch. 43 of the Legatio, that is close to the end of the treatise, only to the *δεύτερον σύγγραμμα*. But, as I have already pointed out, this is doubtful.

own—race[1], but the Greeks also, shared in this perfect good; and such centres of seclusion may have originally been founded for the sake of the Gentile converts, whom it was important to alienate from their old surroundings, lest they should relapse into infidelity[2]. The passage 474. 18–24, seems especially to refer to converts; for there was little or no risk to a born Jew in associating with his family and countrymen. And in this connexion it should be remarked that the terms Therapeute and Suppliant, which in this treatise he applies *κατ' ἐξοχήν* to his ascetics of wisdom, are in the rest of his works used indiscriminately of all the children of Israel, born and adoptive alike[3]. I do not attach much weight to the objection that we meet with no allusions in ancient literature to these ascetic Jewish societies so widely disseminated. Such an objection can hardly weigh, except with those who grotesquely imagine that all the literary records of every kind belonging to the first century B. C. and to the first A. D. have come down to us intact, and that we therefore possess an exhaustive knowledge of all the forms of creed and cult which there were during two centuries more pregnant of religious revivals and new beginnings than any which have followed.

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[1] In 472. 1 he says of the Therapeutae *ἡ παρ' ὅσον ἐκ φύσεως καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων ἐπαιδεύθησαν θεραπεύειν τὸ ὄν*, where *ἐκ φύσεως* is true of a born Jew, and *τῶν ἱερ. νόμων* of converts. But he habitually uses the phrase of Israel generally. In 481. 10, the words *ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας μεμαθηκότες* would be true of born Jews alone, but here he is not referring to the Therapeutae only, but to Jews generally (in contrast with pagans), for whom *οἱ Μωύσεως γνώριμοι* is an usual phrase. For the language in 481. 10 compare De Exsec. 2. 435 where concerning backsliding Jews he writes: *ὧν ἀθεύτης τὸ τέλος, λήθη τῆς συγγενοῦς καὶ πατρίου διδασκαλίας, ἣν ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας ἐπαιδεύθησαν, τὴν τοῦ Ἑνὸς φύσιν τὸν ἀνωτάτω νομίζειν θεόν.*

[2] And, I may add, the allegorizing of the Pentateuch, which was the chief occupation of the members of these guilds, was especially necessary in relation to educated Gentile converts, who would need to find Plato over again in the writings of Moses. The gross anthropomorphism of the O. T. also entailed some allegorizing, if it was not to shock an educated Greek. Without it the Jewish missionary could hardly hope to win from Greeks an acceptance of the Pentateuch.

[3] The title *ἱκέται* is equally *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, since Philo often gives it to all Jewish believers. The name *θεραπευταί* was no doubt the official name under which such guilds or collegia would be known to the government, which gave them legal recognition. As such we meet with it in inscriptions (C. I. 2293, 2295) as the official title of certain pagan guilds. So the Latin title Cultores deum often occurs in inscriptions in the same sense. See further in § XXXIX.

XXXVI. The use of the terms *ἐν κήποις καὶ μοναγρίοις* is, as I have pointed out in my note upon 474. 30, an indication that Philo assimilated the Therapeutic settlement to the philosophic retreats of the Epicureans, Pythagoreans, and other *αἱρέσεις* of the time. The statement of Philo that the Therapeutae divested themselves of their property before joining the ascetic community, must not be taken too literally. Their houses, however humble, yet had an *αὔλειον* and more than a single chamber. They must have cost something. So must their common sanctuary, and even their diet of bread and salt and hyssop, though it was the everyday diet of the humbler inhabitants of Egypt. And if the statement at 483. 4, 5, that wine was not taken by them at their banquets on the Day of Pentecost and on its eve, be taken to mean that on other occasions they did allow themselves the use of wine, this would involve some further expense; even though the neighbourhood in which they lived was noted for the excellence and plenty of its wine. It is possible, however, that their co-religionists who remained in the world contributed to the support of so holy a confraternity. We can infer from Philo's references in the De Profugis that it was the rich in particular who joined the brotherhood. Probably they gave up the bulk of their fortunes, retaining just enough for their necessary wants.

XXXVII. The site of their settlement can, from the description given by Philo, be with difficulty identified at the present day. The Jewish quarter of Alexandria was at the north-east end of the city, where to-day one goes out towards Er Ramleh; and the settlement is likely to have been on this side of Alexandria, and not on the south-west, where one now goes out towards the quarries and fortress of El Mex. At the north-east or Jewish end of the city, was the Canobic gate; issuing from which, as Strabo tells us, you found on your right hand, the artificial canal leading to Canobus and connecting with the lake. By this canal you sailed up to Schedia, where the tolls on merchandise coming from the Nile to Alexandria were levied, and from Schedia you sailed on to the Great River and to Canobus. A few hundred yards from the city gate you passed Eleusis, a settlement close to Alexandria, not far distant from the suburb Nicopolis and situated on the Canobic canal. Eleusis was a three-cornered hill, of which each side was about one kilometre long, and on it, Strabo informs us, there were dwellings and high look-outs or belvideres for those who were

minded to revel, whether men or women. At Schedia the canal seems to have bifurcated; and one branch led up country to the higher Nile, following the line of the modern Mahmoodieh canal, while the other branch kept parallel to the sea-shore, till it reached the Canobic mouth of the Nile. The hill of Eleusis overlooks the Lake Marea; but it was given up to the worship of Demeter, and it is not likely that Philo's Suppliants would choose for the scene of their retreat a spot noisy with pagan rites. I therefore prefer to suppose that the Therapeutic settlement was placed a few furlongs further from the city, on the low limestone hills behind Nicopolis, a supposition which also agrees with the mention of ἐπαύλεις and κῶμαι in 474. 45; for Strabo tells us that it was a fairly populous place on the sea-shore some thirty stades away from Alexandria. It is in this neighbourhood that in recent years many Jewish tombs have been found[1], along with several inscriptions in which the name of Philo occurs more than once. What is more natural than that the colony of ascetics should have located themselves near the Jewish burial-place? There is a difficulty, however, in the words of the text of Philo at 475. 1–3, which can only mean that the Lake Marea debouched into the sea in the neighbourhood. At first sight nothing seems more simple than that this should be the case; for the ancient, like the modern city, was built on a narrow strip or ribbon (ταινία) of limestone rock, which ran about thirty miles from Taposiris at the edge of the Libyan desert to the other side of Alexandria, having on one side the Mediterranean, and on the other the Lake Marea. At either end of the city of Alexandria this ribbon of land was but a few furlongs broad, and a channel could easily be cut through it. As a matter of fact the maps do show a cut from lake to sea, close to the quarries of El Mex, about three English miles south-east of the site of the Serapeum, which itself occupied the south-east corner of the ancient city. This cut is said to be 80 yards broad, but not deep enough to admit water. There was also in ancient times a narrow, but navigable, channel opening from the Canobic canal into the lake, at the point where that canal, after skirting the city on its south side, trends northwards across the Taenia or ribbon of land

[1] There was also a Necropolis on the other or south-west side of Alexandria, as we know from Strabo, C. 795 εἶθ' ἡ νεκρόπολις τὸ προάστειον, ἐν ᾧ κῆποί τε πολλοὶ καὶ ταφαὶ καὶ καταγωγαὶ πρὸς τὰς ταριχείας τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπιτήδειαι. This was close to the Serapeum, but outside the wall of the city.

to flow through the kibotus or artificial basin into the Eunostos or western harbour[1]. Neither of these channels would suit the view which I have advanced that the Therapeutae were settled on the north-east or Jewish side of the city. A cross cut on that side from lake to sea there could hardly have been; for the Canobic canal ran like the modern Mahmoodieh canal, and as Strabo tells us, longitudinally along the Taenia, in such a way that a cross cut would have intersected it. Must we then not transfer the Therapeutic settlement to the other or south-west side of Alexandria, to the neighbourhood of the ancient quarries, where a spring of fresh water perhaps alluded to by Philo bursts from the rocks?

XXXVIII. The lake Mareotis is at the present day filled with sea water which, after its basin had been dry for centuries, our troops let in from the Lake Aboukir in 1801. It is also a few feet below the level of the Mediterranean, and could not now debouch thereinto. But in Philo's day the Nile flowed into it by a network of canals, so that its water was always fresh. *τοῦ θέρους ἀρχομένου*, says Strabo, C. 793, *πληρούμενος ὁ Νεῖλος πληροῖ καὶ τὴν λίμνην καὶ οὐδὲν ἐᾷ τελματῶδες.* In summer therefore more than one cut across the Taenia may have let out the surplus water of the lake into the Mediterranean, and along these short canals a breeze would have blown tempering the heat of summer, just as now the banks of the Mahmoodieh canal are always cool.

Mr. Cope Whitehouse, who is better acquainted than any one else with the ancient river and canal system of Egypt, assures me that in Philo's day the Lake Mareotis must have debouched by cross cuts into the sea at times of high Nile, and that the movement of water in the lake so generated would have kept it from stagnating. He thinks that the canals and branches of the Nile which fed the lake began to be neglected in the third century. The statement implied in the words at 475. 47 *τῆς λίμνης ἀνεστομωμένης εἰς τὴν θάλατταν* would at once cease to be true; and it may be just because by the year 400 the lake had ceased to debouch into the sea, and had begun to dry up owing to the diversion from it of the Canobic arm of the Nile, that the Armenian translator turns the passage as if *ἀνεστομωμέναι* agreeing with *αὖραι* had stood

[1] Strabo, C. 795 Ἑξῆς δ' Εὐνόστου λιμὴν μετὰ τὸ ἑπταστάδιον καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου ὁ ὀρυκτὸς ὃν καὶ Κιβωτὸν καλοῦσιν, ἔχων καὶ αὐτὸς νεώρια. ἐνδοτέρω δὲ τούτου διῶρυξ πλωτὴ μέχρι τῆς λίμνης τεταμένη τῆς Μαρεώτιδος· ἔξω μὲν οὖν τῆς διώρυγος μικρὸν ἔτι λείπεται τῆς πόλεως. Cp. Pliny, N. H. bk. v. ch. 10.

in his Greek. Moses of Chorene, who visited Alexandria just after the destruction of the Serapeum, adopts Philo's description of the climate and position of Alexandria as his own, and embodies this passage of the version in his text.

XXXIX. Prof. Massebieau truly says that the Therapeutae or cultores of Lake Mareotis would have seemed to a Greek reader to be one of those associations called *θίασοι*, *σύνοδοι*, or collegia, which were common in Alexandria and all over the Roman Empire. We read in the first chapter of the In Flaccum (2. 518), how that governor began his term of office in Alexandria, by dissolving the societies and clubs, which under pretext of sacrificing held banquets, in reality drinking and rioting. It is also the drinking parties and banquets of these clubs that he describes as a foil to the simple and solemn symposium of his own Suppliants. The ascetic societies which Philo describes, must have gained legal recognition and sanction from the governments of Augustus and Tiberius; and all the more easily, as they were so inoffensive, that there can have been nothing in them to lead to their prohibition. They would own their common sanctuary as the Jewish congregations owned their synagogues; if indeed their semneion was more than a synagogue, called by the peculiar name in order to indicate its sanctity. So to-day in religious circles a church or chapel is spoken of as the house of God. In using the word *σύστημα* of the Therapeutic society, Philo distinctly assimilates it to the religious corporations which were then very common, especially as burial societies. Many pagan deities towards the end of the first century had their guilds or *συστήματα*; and the members of these guilds, like the Therapeutae, were called *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, cultores deorum, had common burial-places, common meals, and a priest to preside over them. The members were also, like the Freemasons of to-day, bound by mutual oaths to help each other, and were pledged not to go to law with one another, but to arrange their disputes outside the law court. They called each other brethren, and had *συσσίτια* at certain fixed intervals, generally once a month.

XL. The account which M. Gaston Boissier (in his book *La Religion Romaine*, tome 2, p. 269 foll.) gives of these collegia or sodalitates, explains some points in the D. U. C. Sacrifices, he says, always held a great place in the life of these societies. This agrees with the passage of the In Flaccum, which we have already quoted. . . . On p. 264, M. Boissier writes: 'The choice

of a place in which to hold their reunions was with these societies a matter of grave importance. . . . According to the particular country, the place in which they met bore different names. As a place of repose and leisure it was usually called the schola; and a Latin inscription of Lanuvium (Orelli 2417) has preserved to us a short description of such a schola, belonging to the college of Aesculapius and Health, a college which in spite of its name was composed of very poor people. It consisted of a little chapel surrounded by a sort of court. This was shaded by trellis-work, under which the brethren could enjoy the fresh air. There was also a terrace covered in and facing the sun, which served as a dining place. . . .' 'The interest,' he continues on p. 266, 'which the members took in their chapels and gods, leads us naturally to speak of the religious character of these associations; for their special object over and above the ensuring to each member a decent burial, was as a rule the worship of a particular god, sometimes Jupiter, sometimes Hercules, sometimes Aesculapius.' Early in the first century the common burial place was usually a columbarium, which was purchased by the joint subscriptions of the members, whose fellowship was dissolved, when all the niches in it were filled up; but as early as the reign of Nerva, if not earlier, a burial ground took the place of the columbarium, and as this remained available for a longer time, the colleges acquired a greater permanence. The inscription of Lanuvium specifies the amount of the subscription to be paid by each member, and the amount of the fines to be exacted from members who should misbehave themselves at the monthly dinners. For an insult inflicted on the magister coenae the fine was doubled. Sometimes these clubs had no more serious end in view than dining together, and in the inscription of Orelli 4073, we read of a club called the Convictores, qui una epulo vesci solent. It is of such a club that Philo pictures to us one of the meetings in 477. 31 foll. In another inscription (2417), we read that the members of a club were elected at a general meeting, conuentu pleno, by general suffrage, suffragio uniuersorum (Muratori, 518. 6). This explains the expression used in the D. U. C. 481. 43 *ταῖς εἰσκρίσεσιν ἀκολουθοῦντες*, the suppliants took their places in the order of their election into the society. With the consent of their masters slaves could join these societies; and M. Boissier dwells upon the good effect which membership must have had in giving to these unfortunate beings

some self-respect. 'Once the consent of the master gained to his enrolment in one of these clubs, the slave at least for a brief space every month became and felt himself to be a free man. Within the charmed circle of his collegium he possessed interests of his own, friendships, support other than that which his master might choose to give him. Therein he found himself consulted, listened to, solicited, flattered. For the few hours that he passed within his collegium he could forget that he was a slave.' This agrees with the passage in the D. U. C. 482. 24 foll., and helps us to understand it.

XLI. In Strabo (c. 806) there occurs a description of the priests' settlement in the town of Heliopolis, which in some ways reminds us of the Therapeutic establishment. The geographer there saw great houses in which the priests used to dwell, who were of old, he tells us, philosophers and astronomers. But in Strabo's day its glory was a thing of the past. *ἐκλέλοιπε δὲ καὶ τοῦτο νυνὶ* **τὸ σύστημα καὶ ἡ ἄσκησις.** *ἐκεῖ μὲν οὖν οὐδεὶς ἡμῖν ἐδείκνυτο τῆς τοιαύτης* **ἀσκήσεως προεστώς.** In this convent, he adds, had once lived Chairemon the travelling companion in Egypt of Aelius Gallus, *ἐκεῖ δ' οὖν ἐδείκνυντο οἵ τε τῶν ἱερέων* **οἶκοι** *καὶ* **Πλάτωνος καὶ Εὐδόξου διατριβαί.**

In his book De Abstinentia (4. 6), Porphyry has preserved to us the very account of these priests, which Chairemon the Stoic wrote; and it presents so many curious points of resemblance with the D. U. C. that I venture to quote it at some length: *ἐξηγεῖται* (sc. ὁ Χαιρήμων) *ὡς τόπον μὲν ἐξελέξαντο* **ἐμφιλοσοφῆσαι τὰ ἱερά.** *πρός τε γὰρ τὴν ὅλην ὄρεξιν* **τῆς θεωρίας** *συγγενὲς ἦν παρὰ τοῖς ἐκείνων ἀφιδρύμασι διαιτᾶσθαι, παρεῖχέν τε αὐτοῖς* **ἀσφάλειαν** *μὲν ἐκ τοῦ θείου σεβασμοῦ, καθάπερ τινα ἱερὰ ζῷα πάντων τιμώντων* **τοὺς φιλοσόφους,** *ἠρεμαίοις δὲ εἶναι, ἅτε τῆς* **ἐπιμιξίας** *κατὰ τὰς πανηγύρεις καὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς συντελουμένης μόνον, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σχεδὸν* **ἄβατον** *ὄντων* **τοῖς ἄλλοις** *τῶν ἱερέων. . . .* **ἀπειπάμενοι δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν ἄλλην ἐργασίαν καὶ πόρους ἀνθρωπίνους, ἀπέδοσαν ὅλον τὸν βίον τῇ τῶν θείων θεωρίᾳ καὶ θεάσει,** *διὰ μὲν ταύτης τό τε τίμιον καὶ* **ἀσφαλὲς καὶ εὐσεβὲς ποριζόμενοι,** *διὰ δὲ τῆς θεωρίας τὴν ἐπιστήμην, δι' ἀμφοῖν δὲ* **ἄσκησιν ἠθῶν κεκρυμμένην** *τινὰ καὶ* **ἀρχαιοπρεπῆ.** *τὸ γὰρ* **ἀεὶ συνεῖναι τῇ θείᾳ γνώσει** *καὶ ἐπιπνοίᾳ* **πάσης μὲν ἔξω τίθησιν πλεονεξίας, καταστέλλει δὲ τὰ πάθη,** *διεγείρει δὲ πρὸς σύνεσιν τὸν βίον.* **λιτότητα δὲ ἐπετήδευσαν** *καὶ καταστολήν,* **ἐγκράτειάν τε καὶ καρτερίαν** *τό τε ἐν παντὶ δίκαιον καὶ* **ἀπλεονέκτητον. σεμνοὺς** *δὲ αὐτοὺς παρεῖχεν καὶ τὸ* **δυσεπίμικτον,** *οἵ γε παρὰ μὲν αὐτὸν τῶν λεγομένων*

ἀγνειῶν τὸν καιρὸν οὐδὲ τοῖς συγγενεστάτοις καὶ ὁμοφύλοις ἐπεμίγνυντο σχεδὸν οὐδὲ ἄλλων τῷ θεωρούμενοι, ὅτι μὴ πρὸς τὰς ἀναγκαίας συναγνεύουσι χρείας, ἢ (? ἅτε) ἁγνευτήρια τοῖς μὴ καθαρεύουσιν ἄδυτα καὶ πρὸς ἱερουργίας ἅγια κατανεμόμενοι. . . . τὸ δὲ σεμνὸν κἀκ τοῦ καταστήματος ἑωρᾶτο. πορεία τε γὰρ ἦν εὔτακτος καὶ βλέμμα καθεστηκὸς ἐπετηδεύετο, ὡς ὅτε βουληθεῖεν μὴ σκαρδαμύττειν. γέλως δὲ σπάνιος· εἰ δέ που γένοιτο, μέχρι μειδιάσεως· ἀεὶ δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ σχήματος αἱ χεῖρες. καὶ σύμβολόν γε ἦν ἑκάστῳ τῆς τάξεως ἐμφαντικόν, ἣν ἔλαχεν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς. πλείους γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ τάξεις. δίαιτα δὲ λιτὴ καὶ ἀφελής· οἴνου γὰρ οἱ μὲν οὐδ' ὅλως, οἱ δὲ ὀλίγιστα ἐγεύοντο . . . ἀφροδισίων τε ἔφασαν αὐτὸν ὀρέξεις ἐπιφέρειν. ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εὐλαβῶς εἶχον, ἄρτοις μὲν οὐδὲ ὅλως ἐν ταῖς ἁγνείαις χρώμενοι· εἰ δέ ποτε μὴ ἁγνεύοιεν, σὺν ὑσσώπῳ κόπτοντες ἤσθιον· τὸ πολὺ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῆς δυνάμεως καθαίρειν ἔφασαν τὸν ὕσσωπον. ἐλαίου δ' ἀπείχοντο οἱ μὲν ὡς τὸ πολύ, οἱ πλεῖστοι δὲ καὶ παντελῶς . . . πολλοὶ δὲ καθάπαξ τῶν ἐμψύχων (sc. ἀπείχοντο)· καὶ ἔν γε ταῖς ἁγνείαις ἅπαντες . . . . ὁ δὲ χρόνος οὗτος, ὅποτε συντελεῖν τι περὶ τὴν ἱερὰν μέλλοιεν θρησκείαν, προλαμβάνων ἡμερῶν ἀριθμόν, οἱ μὲν δυεῖν καὶ τετταράκοντα, οἱ δὲ τούτων πλείους, οἱ δὲ ἐλάσσους, οὐδέποτε μέντοι τῶν ἑπτὰ λειπομένας, παντὸς μὲν ἐμψύχου ἀπείχοντο . . . πρὸ δὲ πάντων ὁμιλίας γυναικείας . . . τρὶς δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἀπελούοντο ψυχρῷ . . . . κοίτη δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν σπαδίκων τοῦ φοίνικος, ἃς καλοῦσι βάις, ἐπέπλεκτο· ξύλινον δὲ ἡμικυλίνδριον εὖ λελεασμένον ὑπόθημα τῆς κεφαλῆς[1]· ἤσκουν δὲ δίψαν καὶ πεῖναν καὶ ὀλιγοσιτίαν παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον . . . τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ ἐν ταῖς χειμερίοις ἐπετήδευον νυξί, φιλολογίᾳ προσαγρυπνοῦντες, ἅτε μήτε ποριζμοῦ ποιούμενοι φροντίδα δεσπότου τε κακοῦ τῆς πολυτελείας ἐλευθεριάζοντες. . . . πολὺς δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἦν λόγος ἐμμεῖναι τοῖς πατρίοις.

XLII. The peculiar respect[2] paid by the Therapeutae to the Sabbath, proves them to have been Jews. It is mentioned three times in the treatise; at 476. 8, at 477. 2, and at 481. 4, 5. The testimonia which I have given at these passages show how closely they agree with Philo's general tone and language about the observance of the Sabbath. For it must not be supposed that, because Philo allegorized the sacred books in order the better to extract spiritual food from them, he was therefore indifferent to the literal fulfilment of their precepts. On the contrary he tells us (2. 137) with pride, how the law of his race, unlike any other laws which the world had

[1] Such a pillow one sees everywhere in India and Burmah to-day. The description of Chairemon is curiously suitable to the secluded priests' colony which is met with on the outskirts of every Burmese village.

[2] See 477. 2 foll., and 481. 23.

ever known, was beginning to constrain 'Barbarians, Hellenes, Mainlanders, Islanders, races of the East and West, Europe, Asia, the entire inhabited world, from end to end. For who, he asks, has not prized and honoured that Holy Sabbath, by granting respite from toil and a period of ease both to himself and to his neighbours, not to the free only but to slaves, nay even to the beasts of burthen.' In many such passages Philo's genial humanity declares itself, and makes us feel that it is after all a sound instinct which has led the Scotch and English Puritans to revive the one tenet of Judaism, for the supposed violation of which the founder of their religion was put to death. It would almost appear from the language which Philo often holds on the point, that during the first half of the first century, before Christianity interfered to abrogate it, the civilized world was tending with very little friction and with indisputable gain to humanity to the general adoption of the Jewish Sabbath. For there is no reason to suppose that Philo is exaggerating when he alludes to the wholesale adoption by the Gentiles of the institution; and we know from incidental allusions in the Latin poets that it was respected in polite circles in Rome during the reign of Augustus (Horace, Sat. 1. 9, 69; Ovid, A. A. 1. 415; Rem. Am. 219).

But Philo was also aware of the indifference which was springing up in the heart of Judaism in regard to a precept sacred in his opinion in proportion as it was humane and useful. He was aware also that such looseness of practice went with, and perhaps arose out of, the allegorizing of the scriptures, and the antagonism raised thereby between the letter and the spirit. In the testimonia to 483. 43, page 119, I have quoted a passage from the De Migr. Abrahami which shows how much Philo resented this indifference among his own co-religionists to the strict observance of the sabbath, to the rite of circumcision, to the observance of the stated feasts and fasts of Judaism. Some he says even went so far as to light a fire on the sabbath; and as fire is the basis of all *πορισμός* and *πλεονεξία*, he viewed this in particular as the gravest offence (see for examples the passages Vita Mosis, ch. 28, 2. 168; De Septenario, ch. 7, 2. 283; De Par. Col. ch. 8, A. M. 28); in the De Exsecrationibus he imprecates a series of the most terrible curses on those who profaned the sabbath. The Jew who does so is an eupatrid who has effaced the true coin of his noble birth, and he shall be dragged and borne down into very Tartarus and deep

darkness, that all men beholding such an example may be warned and chastened, and learn that God welcomes the virtues which spring out of low-birth (i. e. the virtues of Gentile converts), that he recks not of the stock, but accepts the grafted shoot, if it has abandoned its wild nature and become a bearer of good fruit. The proselytes, it is clear, were often more zealous for the honour of the sabbath than the born Jews. In ch. 4 of the same treatise he eloquently depicts the woes, the insults at the hands of the Gentiles, the slavery that overtakes the backsliders from the Law. He seems to have in his mind the indignities lavished in the reign of Gaius on the Jews of Alexandria and Palestine, and to regard them as the punishment of God for the sins of those who had violated the sabbath. We can thus discern the side which Philo would have taken in the great controversies which were about to rend Judaism asunder, and of which the first victims, Jesus of Nazareth and Stephen, had perhaps already fallen.

XLIII. As with the observance of the sabbath, so in respect of all other practices of the Jewish religion, the Suppliants seem to have been most strict and orthodox, faithful disciples of Moses, as indeed they are called in 481. 10 and 22; nothing can be pointed out in their discipline, which was not in accord with the ideas of Philo, one of the most devout of Jews. It is true that their long fasts, and the voluntary virginity of some at least of the female adherents of the sect[1], have an early Christian air; but such practices cannot have been unknown in the Jewish, any more than they are in other religions. In truth asceticism belongs to no one religion, but to all alike; and under the mild skies[2] of Egypt it had always been at home. The words virgin, virginity, ever-virginal, occur on every other page of Philo, nor, as the idea was ever present to his mind, can the thing itself have been far off[3]. It is indeed Philo who

[1] The run of the sentence at 284. 4, no less than the best MSS., requires the passage to be punctuated as in my text, so that *παρθένοι* goes not with *γυναῖκες*, but with *πλεῖσται* only. It was therefore only the majority, not all, who had preserved their virginity.

[2] Cp. Chrysost. de Sacerd. 6. 6. 535 *ὁ μὲν μοναχὸς καὶ τῆς σωματικῆς εὐπαθείας προσδεῖται, καὶ τόπων πρὸς τὴν διαγωγὴν ἐπιτηδείων, ἵνα μήτε ἄγαν ἀπῳκισμένοι τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὥσιν ὁμιλίας,—ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀρίστης μὴ ἀμοιρῶσι κράσεως τῶν ὡρῶν. οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἀφύρητον τῷ κατατρυχομένῳ νηστείαις, ὡς ἡ τῶν ἀέρων ἀνωμαλία.*

[3] Wordsworth could not have written such a line as: 'The holy time is quiet as a nun,' if there had never existed nuns, or if he had never heard of them.

first formulated the idea of the Word or ideal ordering principle of the Cosmos being born of an ever-virgin soul, which conceives, because God the Father sows into her his intelligible rays and Divine seed, so begetting His only well-loved Son the Cosmos. Such coincidences of Philo with later Christian doctrine have been often pointed to in the D. U. C. as evidences of its Christian authorship, as if they were not to be found in his other works as well as in it.

XLIV. In 475. 16 we are told that the Suppliants abiding alone in their private sanctuaries are *initiated* in the *mysteries* of the holy life. In the same context, 475. 25, we read that many of them actually divulge in their sleep the dogmas of the sacred philosophy. The language also in which the conversion—if we may so style it —of these recluses is described in 473. 15 foll., is borrowed from the heathen mysteries. The characterization of the end or supreme good as a vision of the true Being no less reminds one of the ancient mysteries. From many hints up and down the works of Philo it is certain that among the Alexandrian Jews there existed a system of mysteries, perhaps in imitation of their Greek mysteries of Demeter which were celebrated year by year on the hill of Eleusis close to Alexandria.

1. There is in Philo a series of references to the crime of divulging these mysteries, e. g. Quod Det. Potiori Insid. ch. 27, 1. 211 *μηδ' ὅτι γλώττης καὶ στόματος καὶ φωνητηρίων ὀργάνων μεμοίρασαι, πάντ' ἐκλάλει καὶ τὰ ἄρρητα· τὸ γὰρ ἐχεμυθεῖν ἔστιν ὅπου χρήσιμον καί μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ μαθόντες λέγειν μεμαθηκέναι καὶ ἡσυχάζειν . . . "ὅσα γὰρ οὐχὶ δεσμῷ καταδεῖται," φησὶ Μωϋσῆς ἐν ἑτέροις* (Num. 19. 15), *ἀκάθαρτα εἶναι.* So in the same treatise, ch. 48, 1. 224, he says it is better to bite your tongue off than to reveal a mystery, just as it is better to eunuchize oneself than be the prey of lawless lusts. So Leg. Alleg. 1, ch. 32, 1. 64 *ὁ γὰρ φαῦλος δεῖται τούτων* (sc. *αἰσθήσεως, λόγου,*

Neither could the following passage of De Execrat. 2. 435 have been written by any one who was not acquainted with examples of women remaining virgins on religious grounds: *πάλιν δὲ νεάσασα εὐφορήσει* (sc. *ἡ γῆ*) *καὶ τέξεται γενεὰν ἀνεπίληπτον, ἐπανόρθωμα τῆς πρότερον. "Ἡ γὰρ ἔρημος"* ᾗ *φησὶν ὁ προφήτης* (Isa. 54. 1 , *"εὐτεκνός τε καὶ πολύπαις," ὅπερ λύγιον καὶ ἐπὶ ψυχῆς ἀλληγορεῖται . . . στειρωθεῖσα δὲ καὶ ἀγονήσασα τούτων* (sc. *ἡδονῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν κ.τ.λ.*) *καὶ ἀποβαλοῦσα ἀθρόως, γίνεται μὲν ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἀγνὴ παρθένος, παραδεξαμένη δὲ τὸν θεῖον σπόρον διαπλάττει καὶ ζωογονεῖ περιμάχητα φύσει καὶ θαυμαστὰ κάλλη, φρόνησιν, ἀνδρίαν, σωφροσύνην, δικαιοσύνην, ὁσιότητα, εὐσέβειαν.*

σώματος) *ἁπάντων πρὸς ἐκπλήρωσιν τῆς ἰδίας κακίας· ἐπεὶ πῶς ἐκλαλήσει μυστήρια, φωνητήριον οὐκ ἔχων ὄργανον.* Also Leg. Alleg. 2. ch. 15, 1. 77 *οὐ γὰρ πᾶσι ἐπιτρεπτέον τὰ θεοῦ καθορᾶν ἀπόρρητα, ἀλλὰ μόνοις τοῖς δυναμένοις αὐτὰ περιστέλλειν καὶ φυλάττειν.* These he has told us just above, in language recalling 473. 18, 19, are *οἱ ἐγγίσαντες θεῷ καὶ τὸν μὲν θνητὸν βίον καταλιπόντες, τοῦ δὲ ἀθανάτου μεταλαχόντες.*

2. We know also to some extent what the secrets revealed in these mysteries were. They were lesser and greater[1]. To the former class belonged the doctrine that God is a Trinity in Unity, *τριὰς ἐν μονάδι*, a union of three *δυνάμεις*, and that in himself he is incomprehensible or *ἀπερίγραφος*. In the De Sacrif. Abelis et Caini ch. 15, 1. 173 we read that the *θεῖον μυστήριον* of God's unity through triplicity is only seen of the soul which is *τῶν τελείων μύστις γενομένη τελετῶν*. The dogma is adumbrated in the following language: *ὁ θεὸς δορυφορούμενος ὑπὸ δυεῖν τῶν ἀνωτάτω δυνάμεων, ἀρχῆς τε αὖ καὶ ἀγαθότητος, εἷς ὢν ὁ μέσος* **τριττὰς φαντασίας** *ἐνειργάζετο τῇ ὁρατικῇ ψυχῇ, ὧν ἑκάστη μεμέτρηται μὲν οὐδαμῶς, ἀπερίγραφος γὰρ ὁ θεός, ἀπερίγραφοι καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ.* So in the Qu. in Genesis, 4. 2 we read that Abraham eleuasse oculos uniuersos, qui in animo sunt . . . Oculus itaque factus, incipit uidere dominicam et sanctam, diuinam uisionem, eo modo ut unica uisio appareret ei sicut Trinitas, et Trinitas uelut Unitas.

Another secret doctrine so revealed was the mystic union of the soul as female with God as male, Deo nubere. Philo believed that it was possible for women under exceptional circumstances to conceive and bring forth *διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ* and without human husband. *Οἷς ἀρετήν*,—he writes, De Cherubim, ch. 12, 1. 146, commenting on Genesis 4. 1,—*μεμαρτύρηκεν ὀνομοθέτης, τούτους γνωρίζοντας τὰς γυναῖκας οὐκ εἰσάγει, τὸν Ἀβραάμ, τὸν Ἰσαάκ, τὸν Ἰακώβ, τὸν Μωϋσῆν, καὶ εἴ τις αὐτοῖς ὁμόζηλος.* This mystical union which he believed to have been in rare instances realized, notably in the case of Sarah, Leah, Rebecca and Sepphora, he made the matter of allegory and metaphysical metaphor. The women who had lived with the great prophets of his race are in word wives, but in fact virtues "*αἱ γὰρ τούτοις συνοικοῦσαι λόγῳ μέν εἰσι γυναῖκες, ἔργῳ δὲ ἀρεταί*" (l. c.). But here he trenches on a mystery: *ἵνα δὲ τὴν ἀρετῶν κύησιν καὶ ὠδῖνα εἴπωμεν, ἀκοὰς ἐπιφραξάτωσαν δεισιδαίμονες τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἢ μεταστήτωσαν· τελετὰς γὰρ ἀναδιδάσκομεν θείας τοὺς τελετῶν ἀξίους τῶν ἱερωτάτων μύστας, οὗτοι*

[1] *οἱ πρὸ τῶν μεγάλων τούτων τὰ μικρὰ μυστήρια μυηθέντες.* Philo 1. 174. 14.

δ' εἰσὶν οἱ τὴν ἀληθῆ καὶ οὖσαν ὄντως ἀκαλλώπιστον εὐσέβειαν μετὰ ἀτυφίας ἀσκοῦντες. These latter were the Suppliants and Allegorists generally. He details each of these four signal examples of Deo nubere in the next chapter (De Cherubim), ch. 43, i. 147 τὴν γὰρ Σάρραν εἰσάγη τότε κύουσαν ὅτε ὁ θεὸς αὐτὴν μονωθεῖσαν ἐπισκοπεῖ, τίκτουσαν δ' οὐκέτι τῷ τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν πεποιημένῳ, ἀλλὰ τῷ σοφίας τυχεῖν γλιχομένῳ, οὗτος δὲ Ἀβραὰμ ὀνομάζεται . . . ἐπὶ τῆς Λείας ἐκδιδάσκει λέγων ὅτι "τὴν μὲν μήτραν ἀνέῳξεν αὐτῆς ὁ θεός" (Gen. 29. 31)—ἀνοιγνύναι δὲ μήτραν ἀνδρὸς ἴδιον· ἡ δὲ συλλαβοῦσα ἔτεκεν ὥστε τὴν ἀρετὴν δέχεσθαι μὲν παρὰ τοῦ αἰτίου τὰ θεῖα σπέρματα . . . πάλιν Ἰσαὰκ τοῦ πανσόφου θεὸν ἱκετεύσαντος, ἐκ τοῦ ἱκετευθέντος ἔγκυος ἡ ἐπιμονὴ Ῥεβέκκα γίνεται· χωρὶς δὲ ἱκετείας καὶ δεήσεως τὴν πτηνὴν καὶ μετάρσιον ἀρετὴν Σεπφώραν (Exod. 2. 21 s.) Μωυσῆς λαβὼν εὑρίσκει κύουσαν ἐξ οὐδενὸς θνητοῦ (compare Matt. Evang. ch. 1, v. 18 and note on 482. 12).

Having detailed his instances he proceeds in ch. 13 thus: ταῦτα, ὦ μύσται, κεκαθαρμένοι τὰ ὦτα, ὡς ἱερὰ ὄντως μυστήρια ψυχαῖς ταῖς ἑαυτῶν παραδέχεσθε καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν ἀμυήτων ἐκλαλήσατε, κ.τ.λ., cp. De Mutat. Nom. ch. 24, i. 599. A third secret doctrine should perhaps be classed with the first. It consists in the truth that God in virtue of his legislative virtue or aspect will reward the good and punish the evil. This doctrine in the De Sac. Abelis et Caini, ch. 39, i. 198, he introduces as follows: ᾄδεται δέ τις καὶ τοιοῦτος ἐν ἀπορρήτοις λόγος, ὃν ἀκοαῖς πρεσβυτέρων παρακατατίθεσθαι χρὴ νεωτέρων ὦτα ἐπιφράξαντας.

It is no mere coincidence that in 475. 23 the Suppliants are declared even in their dreams to have visions of nothing else but the beauties of the Divine virtues and *powers* (δυνάμεων). We must infer that, like Paul and Zacharias and many another in that age of visions, they also beheld such apparitions when awake, and that such manifestations were connected in a peculiar manner with their mysteries; otherwise why is it said in the same context that they ἐκλαλοῦσιν ἐν ὕπνοις, a phrase only applicable to the arcana of mysteries?

Nor can it be a mere coincidence that the female Suppliants embraced the ideal summed up by Christian writers in the phrase Deo nubere. This ideal also is one of the arcana of Philo's mysticism. Like the early Christian widow a woman could, in Philo's regard, in a way even recover her virginity through mystical union with God, 'the husband of her virginity,' ἄνδρα τῆς παρθενίας σου (Jer. 3. 4); commenting on which words he writes, De Cherub. ch. 14, i. 148 Ἀνθρώπων μὲν γὰρ ἡ ἐπὶ γεννήσει τέκνων σύνοδος τὰς

παρθένους, γυναῖκας ἀποφαίνει· ὅταν δὲ ὁμιλεῖν ἄρξηται ψυχῇ θεός, πρότερον οὖσαν γυναῖκα, παρθένον αὖθις ἀποδείκνυσιν.

XLV. It remains to examine the picture drawn of the Symposion of the Therapeutae. They honour, says Philo, not only the simple sabbath, but the Sabbath of sabbaths. This was the eve of the Day of Pentecost. They first meet together after an interval of seven weeks, but this is only the eve of their greatest festival, the Day of Pentecost, on which he leaves it to be understood that they met together again a second time. It was requisite to say that they met on the eve of the festival, for only the stricter of the Jews and the most devoted to their religion did so[1]. The Suppliants were the more disposed to do so, because, as Philo says, they were *τὴν δύναμιν τεθηπότες*. It was hardly necessary to inform his readers, even if they were pagans, that the ascetics also met the next day, namely on the Pentecost. For every Jew would, as a matter of course, repair to the synagogue on that day in obedience to the law (Exod. 3. 16); and even an unbelieving Greek, at least in Alexandria, had learned to miss the Jews in the markets on that day. So the followers of Jesus of Nazareth, we read in Acts 2. 1, were all together in one place, when the Day of Pentecost was *fully come*.

Philo therefore in this passage contemplates two meetings on two successive days, on the eve and on the Pentecostal Day itself. And this is the meaning of the words at 483. 4 'wine on *those days* is not brought to table.' No other interpretation than this suits the use of *μέν* and *δέ* in 481. 23 and 25. *On the one hand* they congregate for the first time on the forty-ninth day, *but on the other*, this is only the eve of the great festival, upon which he leaves it to be understood that they will meet together a second time. Philo holds identical language concerning the Day of Pentecost in his treatise De Septenario which I quote in my testimonia, as well as in other of his works, and uniformly refers to Pentecost as *the greatest of the feasts*. The reckoning of the seven weeks was as follows. From the morrow of the first day of the Paschal Week, which was itself a sabbatical day, there were reckoned seven weeks. This second day of the Paschal Week was marked by the waving before the Lord of the sheaf of the first fruit of the harvest (Lev. 23. 10). On that same day of the week, which need not have been the sabbath,

[1] Outside Palestine, however, as I shall point out below, the Feast of Pentecost was eaten on two days running.

and generally was not, there would come seven weeks later the Day of Pentecost, viz. on the fiftieth day from the first day, and on the forty-ninth from the second day of the Paschal Week. The reckoning was always by days and not by weeks (Lev. 23. 15, 16, and Deut. 16. 9).

XLVI. We read in the D. U. C. that the more delicate of the ascetics drank their water hot, 483. 6. And this would as a rule be legitimate on both days; for except in a year in which the eve or the feast fell on a sabbath, it would not have been forbidden by the law, which forbad fire to be lighted on the sabbath. The custom of the ascetics in avoiding wine on those two days is also easily explained. The Feast of Pentecost, which commemorated the giving of the law from Mount Sinai, and coincided with the full harvest and vintage, was a day of great rejoicing. 'Thou shalt rejoice,' says Deut. 16. 11, 'before the Lord thy God, thou and thy son and thy daughter, and thy manservant and thy maidservant.' Hence the feast was often marred by excesses; and we read in the Acts how the action of the Spirit upon the disciples was mistaken by some for the influence of new wine—an incident which proves that at this festival the temptation of the freshly pressed grapes was sometimes too strong. To guard against any such excess the Suppliants eschewed wine altogether on those days. They were able to be joyous *φαιδροί* (481. 30) without its use[1].

XLVII. Like the Pharisees, the Suppliants probably washed themselves before sitting down to meat. They anyhow, like the Jews and like the rest of the ancient world, wore white raiment for the feast. The women of course participated in the banquet; for, as we have seen, they were law-observing Jews, and the presence of women at the Pentecostal feast is specially enjoined in Deut. 16. 11. Philo emphasizes the point however, because in the previous part of his *πραγματεία* he had been describing the Essenes who repudiated the presence of women. For the same reason he notices the presence of women in the sanctuary or *schola* to hear the reading of the bible and the sermon. In itself such a circumstance needed no explanation or apology; for it was customary for women to attend the synagogue, sitting apart from the men. In

[1] So in 477. 30 Philo speaks of the *ἱλαρωτέρας ἐν συμποσίοις διαγωγάς* of the Suppliants, a phrase applicable to the Feast of Pentecost, but not to the Passover.

Lightfoot's Horae Hebraicae (in Epist. 1 ad Cor. cap. 11, v. 5), we read that the Jewish women wore veils in public, as indeed Philo says in the Legatio ad Caium. But in the synagogues they removed them. 'Colligi potest,' he continues (viz. from the Talmud Kiddushin, fol. 81. 1), 'quod foeminae seorsim ac seclusae a uiris sederint, ubi ea quae peracta sunt in synagoga audire et conspicere possent, ipsae tamen extra conspectum. Quem morem retinuisse primaeuas istas Christianorum ecclesias, pluribus, nec male, astruit Baronius.' That the women would also join with the men in the Pentecostal banquet we also know from the passage of the Talmud just referred to, which states that on the occasion of the three festivals of Pascha, Pentecost and Scenopegia 'congregati sunt hi et hae ad audiendum conciones.' As to the dance of men and women together, with which the Therapeutae concluded their festival, the learned Lightfoot has an instructive note in his Commentary on Matthew 5. 4 'Soliti sunt Iudaei in gaudiis exuberantioribus publicis, atque in sollennitatibus quibusdam sacris, hilaritatem suam saltatione et tripudiis exprimere. Omissis quae in pagina sacra occurrunt exemplis, refertur a patribus traditionum praecipuam partem festiuitatis in festo Scenopegiae fuisse istius modi saltationes; uiris primariis et grandaeuis et maxime religiosis in atrio mulierum tripudiantibus, idque quo uehementius, eo laudabilius' (Sotah, cap. 5).

XLVIII. The hymns which the Therapeutae sang after their meal, in many measures and strains (485. 2), included the great Hallel (i.e. Psalms 113–118). This Hallel was sung, so we learn from the Talmud (Erachin, fol. 10. 1, see Lightfoot on Acts 2. 1), on the first day of Pentecost, 'die festo, primo Pentecostes.' The same context of Lightfoot further illustrates the circumstance of the Suppliants celebrating two days at Pentecost: 'quamuis intra terram Israeliticam foret dies tantum unus feriatus in festo Pentecostes, apud Iudaeos tamen in exteris regionibus erant duo.' The dance of the Therapeutae was intended to celebrate the deliverance of Israel out of the land of Egypt. So in Deut. 16. 12, in connexion with Pentecost, we read 'And thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in the land of Egypt; and thou shalt observe and do these statutes.'

XLIX. At Pentecost was offered a new meal offering unto the Lord. 'Ye shall bring out of your habitations two wave loaves of two tenth parts *of an ephah*; they shall be of fine flour, they shall

be baken with leaven, for firstfruits unto the Lord' (Lev. 23. 17). These two loaves were of course a sacrifice, and could therefore be offered in the temple of Jerusalem alone and by the priests only. This strict conformity with the law, on the part of the Suppliants, is implied at 483. 11, 12, where we read that just as it was the duty of the *priest* at this festival to *offer an offering* that was νηφάλια 'sober' (see Commentary on 483. 11), so it was ordained by right reason that they should live off the same sober diet (καὶ τούτοις βιοῦν). The Pentecostal temple-offering by the priests consisted of two loaves of leavened bread, and the banquet of the ascetics also consisted of the leavened bread, which after the completion of the harvest was the natural diet of all men 'in their habitations' (Lev. 23. 17). Philo however most characteristically not only gives a Stoic reason (ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος 483. 12) for their plainness of diet, but a little below proceeds to give a Jewish reason for their eating *leavened* bread, which not only proves the scrupulous Judaism of the Suppliants, but shows that this treatise was written before the destruction of the temple. They eat leaven, he tells us, *out of respect for the unleavened bread* which together with salt *is laid up on the sacred table in the holy fore-temple.* As there has been no temple, nor any shewbread offered, since 70 A.D., this passage must have been written before that date. This bread without leaven and this salt without admixture could be eaten by the priests alone. It was the simplest and purest, and so reserved for the spiritual superiors of the Suppliants, i.e. for the priests as the reward of their service (λειτουργία) in the temple. The ascetics, Philo adds, aspired to a *like* holiness of spirit with the priests, but were careful to abstain from the *same* portion (τῶν αὐτῶν), namely from unleavened bread, in order not to trench on the privileges of their priestly superiors[1]

L. The use of the word παναγέστατον has misled those who, like Lucius, have confused it with παναγιώτατον, so deluding themselves into the idea that what was really nothing but the Pentecostal meal, of custom consumed by all Jews, was an early form of the Christian Eucharist. The two things have nothing to do with one another. In the first part of the D. U. C. we read that the ascetics commonly eat cheap bread. On the occasion of the

[1] Cp. also Iambl. Uita Pyth.

festival, however, they may have indulged themselves with *refined*[1] bread, σεμιδαλίτης ἄρτος. This they eat with hyssop, like the Egyptian priests described by Chaeremon, and salt. The latter however was not pure, being mixed with hyssop as ἡδυσμάτων. To this simple fact also Philo or his ἱκέται attach a religious and Jewish import. The salt which was put with the shewbread was ἄνευ ἡδυσμάτων and ἀμιγεῖς; therefore, out of respect to the priests who alone might eat the salt off the *holy table*, the Suppliants eat their salt μετὰ ἡδυσμάτων. It is from Philo's writings alone that we know that in his day the temple shewbread had salt put with it. He says it in two other passages which I have given in my testimonia, and he says it here.

LI. I have said that the common sanctuary at 476. 24, in which the Therapeutae met on the sabbath, was probably a synagogue. They sat down in it, no doubt on the ground, according to the custom of the Jews of the time (see Lightfoot, Horae Hebr. in Evang. Matt. 4. 23). It is however possible that the semneion was not a synagogue, but a school such as was commonly attached to the synagogue, and such as we have seen above, § XL, the heathen θίασοι or sodalitates had. In Acts 19. 9 we read that Paul was καθ' ἡμέραν διαλεγόμενος ἐν τῇ σχολῇ Τυράννου, which Lightfoot regarded as a Jewish school: 'In hisce magnis oppidis tum in Iudaea, tum alibi, ubi Iudaeorum magna erat frequentia, fuit synagoga, ut et schola theologica. Schola theologica *Beth Midrasch* appellabatur. Eo se receperunt quouis die sabbati, postquam synagogam reliquerant. . . . In synagogis preces fundebant, legem legebant, conciones perspicuas habebant doctrina, hortatione et solamine refertas: in schola theologica non sine disceptatione edocti fuerunt dogmata polemica de legis difficilioribus et aliis rebus abstrusis.' Such a school was often an upper room attached to the synagogue (cp. Acts 1. 13; Mark 14. 15; Luke 22. 12).

The Therapeutae may have first attended prayer and reading in the regular synagogue, along with other members of the Jewish community who were not of their ascetic order; and after that they may have betaken themselves separately to their own *school*. I prefer however to suppose that the common sanctuary was a synagogue. However this may be, the banquet would take place in the *Beth Midrasch*, unless indeed it was held in the open

[1] I do not, however, feel sure of this rendering of παναγέστατον. See below, § LXXXI, where I discuss the word more in full.

air in the garden. The latter is very likely; for on a warm summer's evening in Alexandria, it was the coolest place; and the passage 485. 43 implies that they danced in the open air or in an open loggia of some kind.

LII. The Suppliants first said grace standing up. It was an act of prayer which could not be performed in a recumbent position, though it was permissible to say grace when *sitting* up to the table (see Lightfoot in Evang. Matt. 26. 20)[1]. A moral and religious significance attached to the recumbent position, as Lightfoot rightly remarks, quoting the Talmud (Hieros. Pesachin, fol. 37. 2, R. Levi dicit) 'mos seruorum est, ut edant stantes: at nunc comedant recumbentes[2], ut dignoscatur exiisse eos e seruitute in libertatem.' And so Maimon 'tenemur ad accubitum dum comedimus, ut comedamus more regum et magnatum.' These references concern, it is true, the Paschal feast, which was originally ordained to be eaten standing and with loins girt. But the procedure would be *a fortiori* the same with regard to the Pentecostal meal to which no such ordinance had ever applied, but which was from the first a merry-making feast.

In the weekly sabbath meeting, we only hear of a single officiating personage ὁ πρεσβύτατος (476. 13). Several are named however in the description of the symposium. There are first the ἐφημερευταί who give the sign to the assembled Therapeutae, when to lie down (481. 32). The name is pure Greek, as is πρόεδρος, σεμνεῖον, μοναστήριον, for they were a society of Greek Jews and of converts. Of his functions we know nothing more than is said here.

The elders mentioned in 481. 42 do not seem to have had any official position. They were simply those who had been for the longest time given up to the study of the law and of contemplative philosophy, as Philo loves tocall it. The servers, however, who were chosen with careful regards to their personal excellence for these services, were, according to 482. 37, οἱ νέοι τῶν ἐν τῷ συστήματι,

[1] Berac. cap. 6. hal. 6 'Si sedeant ad comedendum, unusquisque pro se ipso gratias agit: si accumbant, unus gratias agit pro omnibus.' The Suppliants lay down, but satisfied the rule by first standing up to say grace.

[2] In the Talmud (see Lightfoot on Matt. 26. 20) is described the way in which the Jews reclined in terms identical with those of the D. U. C. (482. 20) 'Accubitus iste erat, cum inclinarent se in latus sinistrum in lectulis, atque ederunt ac biberunt sic inclinati.' And elsewhere 'Edere soliti sunt recumbentes in latus sinistrum, pedibus in terra positis, unusquisque super lectulum unum.' *Babyl. Berac.* fol. 46. 2.

the young among those who belonged to the guild. Perhaps the Armenian Version is right in omitting the τῶν in this passage, so as to mark the sense more definitely: those who are young in the guild, that is to say the *novices*. Just before we read that the elders who lay down and were waited upon, were not necessarily those who were older in years, but those who from their earliest age had grown up and matured in the contemplative branch of philosophy. What more natural than that the attendants or διακονούμενοι, the servers of tables, should be those who had more recently betaken themselves to the discipline? These need not all have been young men, but may easily have been some of them over fifty years of age. These νέοι stand up during the address of the πρόεδρος, whereas the elders continue to recline. It is they who, when the allegorizing discourse followed by hymns is concluded, bring in the simple repast of leavened bread and salt with hyssop and water, hot or cold (484. 22). We are given to understand that when the elders first lay down, the food and drink had not been yet brought in. Philo describes it as early as 483. 4 foll. for purely literary reasons. Had it been brought in and placed in front of the elders, before the allegorical discourse and hymn-singing began, the hot water would have grown cold before it was wanted. Neither was it fitting that the company should be lying looking at their food, while a solemn address was going on.

The πρόεδρος, who is mentioned twice, at 483. 18 and 484. 5, was probably the same as the ἀρχιτρίκλινος[1], mentioned e.g. in John Evang. 8. 31 and 10. 32. Priests, i. e. Levites, are twice alluded to, at 483. 11 and 484. 30, but not in such a manner that we can infer any of their order to have been present. The Suppliants themselves were laics. I have already remarked that the hymns sung during the symposium would include the great Hallel, which was sung at all the great Jewish festivals. Philo always calls the Psalms ὕμνοι. The singing would be conducted after the same fashion as at the Feast of Tabernacles. Lightfoot, in Matt. 21. 9, remarks that on

[1] I believe that in the Greek MSS. at 484. 10 there has dropped out after ὁ μέν the word προστάτης or προεστώς. The Armenian adds the word *awag*, equivalent to either of these; and Eusebius' reference (H. E 2. 17) to τὸν τῆς προστασίας τρόπον τῶν τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς λειτουργίας ἐγκεχειρισμένων, as distinct from the διακονίας and ἐπισκοπῆς προεδρίας, makes the conjecture still more probable. Such a προστάτης would be a pre-centor, and was perhaps identical with the ἐφημερευτής.

the latter occasion the words were sung by one only: 'Dumque ab uno occinerentur uel recitarentur uerba psalmorum, a toto coetu aliquando responsum est ad quasdam clausulas, *Halleluia* [1] (*ἀκροτελεύτια* 484. 19): aliquando repetitae sunt ipsissimae clausulae (*ἐφύμνια ibidem*) ab occinente recitatae: aliquando quassati atque agitati sunt fasciculi.' Of course the fasciculi would only be carried at the Feast of Tabernacles, but the word *παραβωμίων* 484. 14 is illustrated by the Talmudic extract given by Lightfoot (ibid.): 'Unoquoque die festi soliti sunt altare semel circumire cum fasciculis' etc. There was no reason why hymns sung by the Levites in their processions round the altar of the temple, should not be sung by the faithful of the *διασπορά*. The blending of men's and women's voices described at 485. 34, is to be illustrated from the Talmud and O. T. Ezra 3. 11. Lightfoot (Minist. Templi, cap. 7. 2) writes as follows: '*Et canebant simul per classes*, etc. *Gemara*: quia uox horum erat exilis, aliorum uero altior; hi *acutum tonum*, *alii grauiorem* sequebantur, qua ratione pleniorem et suauiorem efficiebant musicam [2].'

LIII. It may be asked, why did Philo choose the Feast of Pentecost for description rather than any other of the seven great Jewish festivals? I think, because in the first place, this was in his regard the greatest of them; and secondly, this one served better than another the literary purpose he had, of furnishing an analogue to, yet contrast with, the pagan revels he had just delineated [3]. The

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[1] Cp. also Lightfoot, Minist. Templi, cap. 12, § 5, II and III, especially the last words, quoted from Thalm. in Pesach. fol. 118 'Hallel quinque res memorat, exitum ex Aegypto, diuisionem maris, legislationem, resurrectionem et sortem Messiae.'

[2] Beveregius and other critics have pointed out how closely the later antiphonal singing of the Christians resembled that of the Therapeutae. Dommer, Handbuch der Musik-Geschichte, Leipsig, 1868, p. 26 f. (referred to by Lucius) rightly connects the two things. The singing and music of the synagogue would naturally, along with much else, have passed over into the Christian church.

[3] D. U. C. 477. 29 *Βούλομαι δὲ καὶ τὰς κοινὰς συνόδους αὐτῶν καὶ ἱλαρωτέρας ἐν συμποσίοις διαγωγὰς εἰπεῖν, ἀντιτάξας τὰ τῶν ἄλλων συμπόσια.* The Therapeutae kept the Feast of Tabernacles in the same way. Philo only selects the Pentecostal feast because it came first in point of time and precedence. Philo in his references to the Paschal meal often insists on the precept *μετὰ σπουδῆς δεῖν θύειν τὸ πάσχα* (1. 440, 11). So 1. 174, 28 *τὸ πάσχα τοῖς ἐκ παθῶν εἰς ἄσκησιν ἀρετῆς διάβασιν προστέτακται ποιεῖσθαι, τὰς ὀσφῦς περιεζωσμένους . . . . ἀκλινῶς καὶ παγίως ἑστῶσι τοῖς ποσί, καὶ τὴν παιδείαν διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντας ῥάβδον.* So in 1. 117, 34. Because Philo interprets the Passover and all its details as

Paschal meal was more austerely celebrated than that of Pentecost; and the Therapeutae probably ate it in the old way prescribed by Moses, i. e. standing, with their loins girt; this, even though the custom had grown up in Philo's day of reclining thereat. Then also the Feast of Pentecost came in the summer, when it was possible in Alexandria to remain out in the open air all night, singing and dancing (cp. In Fl. 2. 534, quoted among the testimonia at 484. 34).

LIV. One would like to know whether the main aim of these Suppliants was not to make themselves ready by fasting and praying for the coming of the Messiah. Philo does not say so, and as he is silent, we must not give rein to our own mere conjectures. Yet we would not be imputing to them a motive quite foreign to Philo's own beliefs and aspirations. For that he contemplated the appearance of a divine personage who should reunite the scattered faithful in a transfigured Jerusalem, is certain from a number of passages in his books. Thus in the De Praemiis et Poenis, 2. 427, he expresses his conviction, 'That God could easily, by a single call, bring together from the ends of the earth, into whatsoever place he will, men settled afar from their country in the recesses of the world.' And in the closing chapters of the book on curses, he describes at length the salvation of Israel which he himself looked for, and which was to come whenever the backsliders from the law and the violators of the sabbath should have turned from the evil of their ways and repented: 'But when they shall have won this unlooked for freedom, those who were but scattered in Hellas and barbarous lands over islands and over continents, shall rise up with one impulse, and from diverse regions flock together unto the one spot revealed to them, led on through strange lands by a certain apparition too divine to be esteemed merely human, unseen of others and only manifest to those who are saved (*ξεναγούμενοι πρός τινος θειοτέρας ἢ κατὰ φύσιν ἀνθρωπίνης* (?-*ην*) *ὄψεως, ἀδήλου μὲν ἑτέροις, μόνοις δὲ τοῖς ἀνασωζομένοις ἐμφανοῦς*) .... And there shall be a change of all things on a sudden. For God will turn the curses upon the

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symbolical of the *ψυχῆς κάθαρσις* (2. 292, 31), it is not the less likely that he would have prescribed its strict celebration according to the Mosaic precepts. Another reason for Philo's selection of Pentecost rather than the Passover is that the latter feast was not a *κοινὴ σύνοδος*, but was kept privately in each household, *ἑκάστη δ' οἰκία κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον σχῆμα ἱεροῦ . . . περιβέβληται*, *κ.τ.λ.* (2. 292, 35).

enemies of them that have repented, and on them that exulted in the calamities of our race, reviling and mocking at us,' &c.

LV. However this may be, it is certain that the Therapeutae were actuated by the same spirit of detachment from things earthly which characterized the better minds of the first century, which breathes through the pages of Epictetus and finds its noblest expression in the Sermon on the Mount. But, let it be owned, the Stoic slave and the Son of Man had a more practical and missionary aim than one of Philo's Therapeutae. These were preoccupied with themselves and plunged in inert contemplation of the letter of the Mosaic Law, feebly striving by means of allegory to adapt to the ampler spiritual life of their age the effete but sacred formulae which cramped and confined it. Their ascetic exercises had a purely mystic use and were intended to free the soul from the body which drags it down to earth. Ecstasy and visions were the aim and reward of their watches and fasting. Not so the Nazarene, who came eating and drinking, who mingled freely with men, calling sinners to repentance, and helping them by precept and example to become perfect even as his Father in heaven was perfect. Similarly Epictetus, who exhorted men to remember that they were sons of God[1], and to make their lives worthy of their Divine parentage. And in bk. 3, ch. 22 of the Dissertations, we have a picture of the true Cynic. He is one that esteems himself a messenger from God, sent to mankind to teach them what is good and bad, because they have lost their way and seek in vain to discover the true nature of good and bad in places where it is not to be found . . . . 'Wherein then is the good, since it is not in riches or power or glory? Tell us, O Lord messenger and explorer. Where ye little dream, nor are fain to seek it. For had ye been so minded, ye would have found it in yourselves; nor would ye be gone astray, nor be pursuing things that are not yours as though they were.'

That he may be free to deliver such a message to his fellow men, the true Cynic goes naked, homeless, houseless, without servant, without food. Like the Son of Man 'he hath nowhere to lay his head' (Dissert. lib. 3, cap. 22, §§ 62-66). He allows himself neither wife, nor child, nor friends, if only he may thereby bring others to a knowledge of themselves and of God. There is nothing

[1] Epict. Dissert. lib. 1. 9. 6 *διὰ τί μὴ υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, κ.τ.λ.*

which he does not deny himself in order to be able to devote all his energies to the service of God[1].

But it is perhaps unfair to contrast with these examples Philo's Suppliants, who were not apostles, but men who had spent the prime of life in active business, and retired from the noisy purlieus of Alexandria into the country in order to devote their declining years to prayer and study of the sacred law. Many of them had doubtless spent two or three decades of their life buying and selling papyrus, or shipping corn to Rome. Were they not entitled to their repose?

But although the Suppliants had not the missionary spirit of Jesus of Nazareth or of Epictetus, yet their asceticism had something in common with both. They have the same conviction that nothing really belongs to us except ourselves, and that riches are an impediment rather than an aid to virtue. There is the same voluntary renunciation of friends and family and home which is inculcated in the Gospel, and which springs out of the sense that here we have no abiding city. But every one is acquainted with the New Testament, and will recognize for himself the affinities therewith of Philo's thought. So I will only in conclusion cite a single passage from the Encheiridion of Epictetus, which seems to me to give in brief what I believe to have been the main motive of Philo's recluses. It is this:—*Καθάπερ ἐν πλῷ, τοῦ πλοίου καθορμισθέντος, εἰ ἐξέλθοις ὑδρεύσασθαι, ὁδοῦ μὲν πάρεργον καὶ κοχλίδιον ἀναλέξῃ καὶ βολβάριον· τετάσθαι δὲ δεῖ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπὶ τὸ πλοῖον, καὶ συνεχῶς ἐπιστρέφεσθαι μή ποτε ὁ κυβερνήτης καλέσῃ· κἂν καλέσῃ, πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἀφιέναι, ἵνα μὴ δεδεμένος ἐμβληθῇς ὡς τὰ πρόβατα. Οὕτω καὶ ἐν τῷ βίῳ, ἐὰν δίδωται ἀντὶ βολβαρίου καὶ κοχλιδίου γυναικάριον καὶ παιδίον, οὐδὲν κωλύσει· ἐὰν δὲ ὁ κυβερνήτης καλέσῃ, τρέχε ἐπὶ τὸ πλοῖον, ἀφεὶς ἐκεῖνα ἅπαντα, μηδὲ ἐπιστρεφόμενος. Ἐὰν δὲ γέρων ᾖς, μηδὲ ἀπαλλαγῇς ποτε τοῦ πλοίου μακράν, μή ποτε καλοῦντος ἐλλίπῃς* (Epict. Encheir. c. 7).

LVI. We have seen that in Philo's picture of the Therapeutae, so far from there being anything that conflicts with the strictest and most orthodox Judaism, stress is laid on the many features which agree with the strictest form thereof. In one point alone, that of the virginity of some of the female members of the community, is there any want of accord with ordinary Judaism. For to

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[1] Dissert. 3. 22. 69 *μήποτ' ἀπερίσπαστον εἶναι δεῖ τὸν Κυνικὸν ὅλον πρὸς τῇ διακονίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ;*

remain unmarried and to have no children is in the Old Testament a disgrace and not an honour; and on the subject of marriage there has, as a rule, prevailed among the Jews a thoroughly healthy feeling, that it is the highest and best estate both of man and woman. But it does not follow that among the Alexandrian Jews of the time of Philo there had not grown up, at least in certain religious circles, a superstitious reverence for virginity, such as up to the time of the European Reformation characterized the Christian church, and imprinted itself alike upon her beliefs and institutions. That such was actually the case we know from the passages in praise of virginity which are scattered broadcast up and down the works of Philo. It was a necessary accompaniment of his belief in the inferiority of the senses to that reason, pure and untinged with passions, which is in man the connecting link with the Deity. This distinction originally flowed from Plato; from a Plato misunderstood indeed; for at the bottom he is a concrete thinker, to whom the sensible and the ideal or rational are ultimately one and not two. Still it was in the first century a widespread and almost universal misapprehension of his system, not peculiar to Philo, but shared in by the new Pythagoreans and many other schools of thought. As the master of those who aspired to a life of pure reason, to which the body and the senses should contribute little or nothing, Plato was himself believed to have been born of a virgin mother, who conceived him by the god Apollo[1]. Such a myth grew up quite naturally about Plato, who is for a superficial reader the most abstract of thinkers; just as about Aristotle it could never have arisen; for he, though really the greatest of idealists, is yet at first sight the most matter-of-fact of thinkers.

LVII. It is true that Philo does not in his other writings anywhere tell us point-blank that there were around him women vowed to virginity; but where in any of his works, except in about three treatises of which the D. U. C. is one, does he condescend to tell us at all of what was going on around him? From his clouds of impalpable allegory it requires the most careful alchemy of inference to distil, perhaps once in a hundred pages, a single historical fact. Still, of all the metaphors which he employs in order to enforce and convey to the minds of his readers moral and metaphysical truths, those drawn from female virginity are the most common. In

[1] See my Commentary on 482.

this respect indeed he resembles the ecclesiastical and monkish writers of the fourth and later centuries, except that he never gives evidence in his references of anything but a perfectly pure mind. He is never morbid. It is as impossible to conceive that Philo would have penned so many such passages, unless he was familiar in his experience with the religious cult of virginity, as it is to suppose that the monkish writers would have written as they did except for their surroundings. Nor, in all probability, was the cult confined to Egypt, any more than were according to Philo the Therapeutae themselves. The references to it are too frequent in the New Testament and in the earliest Christian writings outside the Canon, for us to suppose that it was a new feeling first engendered by the teaching of the gospel; though it was one which well fitted in with the belief of the earliest Christians, that the Second Coming and the end of the world were to come 'before this generation passeth away.' Marriage was superfluous for those who held such a belief.

LVIII. It is time to turn from our examination of the contents of the D. U. C. to an inquiry into what may be called the literary and controversial fortunes of the book. The first trace we find of it is naturally in Christian literature, namely in Clement of Alexandria, who seems to imitate it as I have pointed out in my note on 473. 17. Clement does not name Philo; but he never does when, as here, he imitates him [1]. The passage however is of interest; for it proves that he at least saw nothing extraordinary in the work. Not so Eusebius, who is the next in chronological order of the fathers to mention it, and who has caused most other writers of the patristic and middle ages to fall into the same hallucination in regard to it, into which he fell himself.

Starting from the legend that Mark the Evangelist preached his gospel in Alexandria, and assuming that a saint must have made many converts, he next discovers that the ascetics described by Philo were these very converts. Fired with enthusiasm by his discovery, Eusebius can see no obstacles. The Therapeutae were

[1] There is also perhaps a reminiscence of 476. 35 in the following passage from the Stromateis, bk. 7 (Migne, p. 497 A = Paris 314), ἀλλ' ἐστὶ μὲν θεμέλιος γνώσεως ἡ τοιαύτη ἐγκράτεια. The works of Philo owe their preservation entirely to the church, and the fathers Clement, Origen, Eusebius, Ambrose in their Commentaries on the O. T. borrowed copiously from them, and always without acknowledgement. See Mangey's notes passim.

apostolic men and women, who practised the rules of Christian life (*κανόνας*) maintained by the church up to the very age of Eusebius. True they were of Hebrew stock, and continued to jealously maintain most of their national observances. They were, however, only not called by Philo Christians outright, instead of Therapeutae, because the name had not yet been everywhere proclaimed. Did they not like the Christians in the Acts resign their worldly goods, and forsake their homes, transported with fervent zeal and burning to follow the prophetic life? Could the compositions of those whom they called *ancient* men, be anything else than the gospels and the writings of the Apostles, the Epistle to the Hebrews and the letters of Paul? Was not their *μεγίστη ἑορτή* the Easter festival? If any one doubted it, let him, says Eusebius, read about their fasts and their continence and self-mortifying life. If he were still so hardy and obstinate as to feel a doubt, then let him read about the virgin Therapeutae. Their fasts and vigils and respect for the words of God everything about them was Christian and only Christian. The same with the officers of the community. Had they not over them Christian bishops and deacons? And Christian hymns? And so on to the end of the treatise. Philo had drawn all his information from the well-spring itself. He had associated with the Apostle Peter at Rome, and was the direct recipient of the earliest evangelic teaching.

LIX. As we read to-day the two amazing chapters, which I have printed above together with the Latin of Rufinus, we rub our eyes, and ask with astonishment: Is this the best that our greatest and earliest historian of the church has to give us by way of an account of the founding of the faith in the most important of its early centres? Yet such is the case, and nothing shows so clearly the absence of anything like records in the days of Eusebius of the early fortunes of the church; nothing better illustrates the uncritical eagerness of one of the most critical of the early fathers to catch at any document in the least suitable, and exalt it into a record of apostolic doings. We feel how impenetrable is the darkness which broods over the origins of Christianity as soon as we go outside the New Testament.

LX. Such an error once started on its path by Eusebius was not likely to meet with a check from any of the later fathers, who were all, each more uncritical than the other. Jerome of course, for he was always content to copy Eusebius, greedily devoured the bait,

and gave Philo a place in his list of ecclesiastical writers: 'idcirco a nobis inter scriptores ecclesiasticos ponitur, quia librum de prima Marci Euangelistae apud Alexandriam scribens ecclesia, in nostrorum laude uersatus est: non solum eos ibi, sed in multis quoque prouinciis esse memorans, et habitacula eorum dicens monasteria. Ex quo apparet talem primum Christo credentium fuisse ecclesiam, quales nunc monachi esse nituntur et cupiunt.' Here we have one stage in advance of Eusebius in error and bad logic. He only argued that the Therapeutae must have been Christians, because they resembled them so closely. Hieronymus, however, knows all about the early Christians. Why? Because they were Therapeutae, and because Philo had left a description of the latter. And he is evidently pleased to learn from so early a source that the earliest Christians were monks. Here we touch on a feature of this error which gave it life and vigour for many a century, and which sustains it in the Latin seminaries even at the present day.

LXI. Epiphanius also goes a stage beyond Eusebius in error. Eusebius had confused the great festival of the Therapeutae with Easter, the greatest of the Christian festivals. Epiphanius supplements the lacunae in the Eusebian account, and boldly informs us that Philo resorted to the monasteries of these early Christians, was catechized by them, spent Holy Week in their society, and acquainted himself thoroughly with their principles and mode of life, with their fasts prolonged all through the Paschal week, etc. Alas, that we should depend upon such an author as this for so much of our knowledge of the early Christian sects. For as we read his account of the Therapeutae in ch. 29 of his Panarium, we feel that if such a writer ever told the truth, at least of his enemies, it must have been by accident. The later historians of the church, as a matter of course, follow in the wake of Eusebius, namely, Sozomen. lib. 1, cap. 12; Cassianus De Coenobiorum Institutione, lib. 2, cap. 5; the Venerable Bede in the Exordium of his Commentary upon Mark; Cedrenus, Nicephorus, even it would seem, Suidas and Photius. These last two, however, do not vouch for the story, but introduce it by a λέγουσι or φασί.

LXII. It was only when we reach the Reformation that glimpses of the truth began to make their way into men's minds; and even then it was a practical interest that led to the discovery of the imposture. It was the age in which monkery was assailed, and its defenders required arguments. Here was a palmary one. The

converts of St. Mark had been monks, or as good as monks. Therefore monasticism was an institution of the apostolic age. All the fathers were agreed about it. Wherefore it must be so. But the opponents of the Novatores, as the party of superstition styled the Reformers, had after all chosen their ground unskilfully; and the learned Baronius himself in his Annales Ecclesiastici, under the year 64, can barely disguise his misgivings on the point. In his final summing up, however, he rejects every doubt: 'Satis ex his omnibus constare arbitror, ipsum Philonem, secundum Eusebii, Epiphanii, Hieronymi, et aliorum sententiam, nonnisi de Christianis esse locutum; ita tamen, ut licuit externo homini, rerum nostrarum secreta inexplorata habenti, et quae essent Iudaeorum Christianorum, Iudaeis prorsus adscribere cupienti.' 'Negant Novatores,' he says contemptuously of those who had called in question the patristic view.

LXIII. The first volume of Baronius appeared in the year 1588, and when therein Baronius referred to the Novatores, he must have had in view the work of Joseph Scaliger, De Emendatione Temporum, which had appeared a few years before in 1583. But the chief utterances of this giant among critics in regard to the question of the Therapeutae, will be found in a later work in which he defended his friend Johannes Drusius against the imputations of the Jesuit Nicolas Serrarius. These authors had both of them written concerning the Essenes, but on different sides; and their works, along with Scaliger's contribution to the controversy, were republished in a convenient form at Delft (*Delphis*) in the year 1619, with a dedication by the editor to Prideaux, then Rector of Exeter College in Oxford. In his work on the Jewish sects Serrarius had, like the other Latin church writers of his day, supported the Eusebian view of the D. U. C., and had dubbed Drusius a heretic and defender of the heresies of the Calvinists. He had also called in question some of the Hebrew etymologies which Scaliger had proposed in his De Emendatione Temporum, in connexion with the Jewish sects. In return Scaliger falls upon him with pitiless severity, convicts him of error after error both of reading and interpretation; but in assailing the Jesuit, he could not but glance at Eusebius who was the source of the error: 'Summa Summarum,' he says, 'solum nomen *μοναστηρίου* persuasit Eusebio reliqua omnia monachis Christianis, ut nomen monasterii eorum habitationi, conuenisse. Nihil est in toto libro Philonis, quod non instituto

uetustissimorum (monachorum) pugnans et contrarium sit .... unus Eusebius auctor est tam crassi, tam anilis erroris.' Scaliger's remarks on the D. U. C. cannot be surpassed for trenchant force and learning, and furnish in advance a sufficient reply to the critics of to-day, who pretend that the tract is, not indeed Philo's, but still a description of Christian monachism. Scaliger's arguments, if they told against Serrarius and his friends, tell against Lucius with double force.

LXIV. About the same time Bellarmine in his work De Monachis, lib. 2, cap. 5, took up the cudgels against the Protestant authors of the Magdeburgenses Centuriae, who roundly declared in their bk. 4, ch. 6, col. 464, that monkish institutions were no part of the original Christian religion, but had first arisen early in the fourth century with Antony, Macarius and other fathers of the desert. Bellarmine draws his fourth proof of the vanity of the Reformers' views from the writings of Dionysius Areiopagita, which he assumed to be genuine; although in his De Emendatione Temporum Scaliger had shown them to be forgeries later than the reign of Valentinian, and had even pointed out that the pseudo-Dionysius had derived his knowledge of the Therapeutae solely from the pages of Eusebius' History. Bellarmine's fifth proof of the antiquity of monkish institutions in the church is drawn from Philo: 'quinto probatur ex Philone Iudaeo qui etiam Dionysio Areiopagita fuit antiquior .... probemus igitur breuiter non dialectica ratiocinatione, sed testimoniis patrum, Philonem de Christianis esse locutum' etc. All through this controversy a modern reader is as much struck by the acuteness of the reformed critics, as by the blind deference on the part of really profound scholars, like Baronius, to the authority of the Fathers. Eusebius, Jerome, Epiphanius, had taken this view: therefore it must be true. That the view in question was very favourable to the pretensions of the Pope and of the monks, was no doubt an additional proof of its truth.

Bellarmine and Pamelius further went to the D. U. C. for arguments, wherewith to defend the ordinances of the Roman church with regard to fasting; and, in confuting these arguments, Johannes Dallaeus (Daillé) in the year 1654, in his work *De Ieiuniis*, bk. 2, ch. 4, once more subjected the Eusebian hypothesis to searching examination. 'Neque enim Eusebius quos Philo in animo habuerit, melius quam ipse Philo, sciuit, neque uero Eusebio, ut hallucinaretur, semel tantum contigit. Sunt eius alii

plurimi ac propemodum innumerabiles errores. Hieronymus et Epiphanius Eusebii hallucinationem, ut in aliis non paucis solent, ita hic quoque ἀνεξετάστως sequuti sunt.' Such is his summing up of the matter.

LXV. Dallaeus was answered toward the end of the same century by an English divine, William Beveridge, Bishop of St. Asaph's. His criticisms may be read in the twelfth volume, p. 249, of his works, as reprinted in the Library of Anglo-Catholic theology, where they form part of his tract *De Ieiunio Quadragesimali*. They are well worth reading on account of their learning, their temperate and dispassionate tone, and the apt and ample illustrations they afford of many points in the Philonean work. He weighs the evidence on both sides, and plainly would discard the view that the Therapeutae were Christians, except for the great respect he bears for Eusebius. Hieronymus and Epiphanius as witnesses to the institutions of the early church: 'qui omnes,' he says, 'quarto claruerunt seculo, ac propterea de nascentis ecclesiae, ad quam longe propiores accedebant, disciplina multo melius iudicare potuerunt, quam nos qui tot non annorum, immo uero seculorum, interuallo ab iis remoti sumus.' These are thoughtful words indeed, but they can only raise in the mind of the modern student of early Christian institutions a feeling of regret and disappointment, that he has not in the early fathers more reliable authorities to guide him in his studies.

In many ways the Fathers, in spite of their nearness to the first century, really understood it less than we do to-day; and rejected most of the sources that they might have utilized and handed down to a grateful posterity, because their eyes were jaundiced by their orthodoxy. For one reason, however, we may probably be grateful to Eusebius. If he had not originated and given vogue to his absurd hypothesis, the works of Philo might never have been transmitted to us. They might have been lost, as have been countless other works of the Alexandrine school. It is because Philo was regarded as the historian and apologist of the earliest monks and nuns, and of the Apostle Mark's first converts, that in subsequent ages monks were always found willing to undertake the arduous task of transcribing his voluminous works.

LXVI. In the year 1709, the great palaeographer Montfaucon appeared in the lists as the last serious exponent of the views of Eusebius. Montfaucon argued that Philo wrote the book late in

the reign of the Emperor Claudius, when Christianity was already twenty years old; and that he was thus able to make the references which we read at 475. 40 to the founders of the sect. He was answered, and very ably, by an adherent of his own religion, a Parisian magnate named Bouhier. This writer acutely points out that Philo could not possibly have written an apology for the nascent religion, because there are passages in his works which prove him to have been a passionate opponent of those who were lax in the matter of sabbath observance and of circumcision. These lax Jews could have been no other than the followers of Jesus Christ. Muratori, the discoverer of the famous Latin fragment on the Canon, can hardly be classed among the defenders of the Eusebian view, though by some writers he has been. For in his work De Primis Christianorum Ecclesiis Dissertatio, published at Arezzo in the year 1771, in vol. xii. of his collected works, he refuses to take a side in the controversy: 'equidem nullam in partem propendere uolo.' Nevertheless, the old leaven of his party still worked in him, and later in the same volume. p. 422, we find him writing in regard to the much-controverted question as follows: 'a nonnullis quidem eruditis uiris sententia haec (i.e. the opinion of Eusebius) in dubium uocatur. At nihil nobis eorum conatus efficiunt.' He at least admitted the learning of those who propounded the contrary view. His tone therefore contrasts favourably with that of the controversialists of the preceding century, and in particular with that of Petavius the Jesuit editor of Epiphanius, from whose Commentary published in the year 1622, I allow myself, by way of completing my review of this aspect and stage of the controversy, to quote the following. It is a note on the words of Epiphanius, Haer. 29 δι' ἣν αἰτίαν Ἰεσσαῖοι ἐκαλοῦντο, for Epiphanius considered the Therapeutae to be Iessaei: 'Christianos olim Iessaeos appellatos fuisse censet Epiphanius a Iesse Dauidis progenitore: aut ab Iesu, quod Hebraice θεραπευτήν sonat aut σωτῆρα. In quo a nonnullis uehementius agitari solet; sed haereticis ferme, quorum siue non immerito reprehendant, intolerabilis superbia; siue perperam accusent, uanissima ac ridicula impudentia est. Ex hoc igitur grege quidam: "profecto," inquit, "cum illum Epiphanii locum lego, satis mirari nequeo hominis inscientiam, et in linguae interpretatione, et in ueritate historiae."' But Joseph Scaliger was already dead when Petavius thus wrote of him; and there

was no one left to pillory the Jesuits as they deserved to be pilloried, both for their ignorance and their foulness towards him of word and deed. But after all 'securus iudicat orbis.' To-day there is not a single Jesuit who would not accept Scaliger's position.

LXVII. Towards the close of the seventeenth century we reach the age of the Encyclopaedists; and the controversy begins to rage along other lines; the Jesuit or patristic view, whichever we prefer to call it, being now turned round and made to furnish a basis of attack, not any longer on the Jesuits, but upon Christianity itself as a system of revealed religion. Justin Martyr, at a shift to account for the similarity which he observed between the Mithraic rites and the Christian Eucharist, took refuge in the supposition that his own rites had been supernaturally revealed to the heathen by the devil. In the same way the learned Lightfoot, puzzled by the exactness of the parallel which the Bath Kol of the Talmud afforded to the incident narrated in Matthew 3. 16 and 17, and confident that the Almighty would not so late in their history have deigned to speak from heaven to so irretrievably lost a people as the Jews, assumes that it was a trick played upon them by Satan: 'Tuto suspiceris uoces istas, quas coelestes existimarunt, atque insignierunt nomine *Bath Kol*, uel a diabolo in aere formatas, ut deciperet populum; uel a Magis diabolica arte, ut res suas promouerent' (Horae Hebr. in Matt. 3. 16). The mistake of Eusebius is better than such arguments as these. The resemblances between the Therapeutae and the Christians may not have been as real as Eusebius fancied; but once they were noticed, it was necessary to account for them either as the work of Christ or as the work of the devil. Third course there was none. We may congratulate ourselves that Eusebius chanced on the explanation which was both consistent with charity and favourable to the transmission to posterity of the writings of Philo. We may also regret that Justin was proof against a similar hallucination in regard to the rites of Mithras. But, asked Bolingbroke and Voltaire, if the Therapeutae and the Palestinian Essenes were so similar to Christians in their lives and self-discipline, as to have been actually considered to be Christians by the fathers of the fourth century, what became of the claims of that religion to be an entirely new revelation? If men had already by their unaided efforts made themselves so like

the primitive Christians, that the fathers themselves could not distinguish them therefrom, and if they had already reached this pitch of saintliness before ever Christ was born into the world, what became of the supposed necessity for an incarnation of God, and for the gift of the Holy Spirit? This was the line of argument which Bolingbroke and the English deists, followed by Voltaire and his friends in France, now began to pursue. It would not consist with the purpose of the present Excursus to trace out the history of this part of the controversy. It is enough to remark that the method of research implied therein, is capable, if used critically and in no contumelious spirit, of yielding us some knowledge of the process by which the new faith grew up out of the old.

LXVIII. No one in the present century has ventured to uphold the Eusebian view, though it still, like a great deal of other rubbish, finds a place in Latin Catholic Histories of Christian Institutions. But much that is very valuable has been written in this century in Germany and elsewhere by Dähne, Bellermann, Neander, von Wegnern, Gfrörer, Baur, Zeller, and our own Lightfoot. Most of these writers have pointed out that the life of the Therapeutae, as described in Philo, was no more than an attempt to practise the ideas and principles which are reflected in his every page. The same writers have dwelt on the relation of the Therapeutae to their Palestinian contemporaries and analogues, the Essenes, and on the connexion of both the one and the other sect with the Christians. In this Excursus I have of set purpose abstained from following them into these questions. To treat them in the least adequately, requires a separate treatise. My wish has been in this book to do no more than to supply others with the requisite data for forming a sound judgement upon the authenticity of the treatise.

LXIX. It has been reserved for a critic at the end of our own century, to invent an hypothesis as to the Therapeutae intrinsically less probable than that of Eusebius, and to have it adopted at once and ἀνεξετάστως by quite a number of distinguished scholars[1]. I refer to the work of Lucius, Die Therapeuten, Strassburg, 1880. I quote his hypothesis in the words in which he sums it up on p. 198 of this work: 'Wir haben es demnach in D. U. C. mit

[1] Professors Schürer, E. Zeller, Ad. Harnack, Hilgenfeld, Hatch, Robertson Smith, Cheyne, Drummond, Littledale, and many others.

einer Tendenzschrift zu thun, welche, da sie eine weit ausgebildete und in zahlreichen Ländern verbreitete Askese, sowie Zustände voraussetzt, genau wie dieselben nur im Christenthum des dritten Jahrhunderts vorhanden waren, kaum anders aufgefasst werden kann, als eine etwa am Ende des dritten Jahrhunderts, unter dem Namen Philos, *zu Gunsten der christlichen Askese verfasste Apologie*; als erstes Glied eines an derartigen Producten überaus reichen Litteraturzweigs der alten Kirche.'

In combating such a hypothesis as this, supported by a farrago of misdirected learning, one hardly knows where to begin. But as the whole superstructure of it rests on the premiss that at the end of the third century monachism stood in need of elaborate apologies constructed on the model of the apologies of Justin, Theophilus and Athenagoras[1], it may be asked

LXX. (1) Where did Lucius learn this? And I use advisedly the word monachism; because, if the D. U. C. delineates the life of Christians at all, it delineates, as Jerome saw, that of monks and nuns; and not of isolated hermits, such as were Paul and Anthony. This is proved by the use of the words *σύστημα* 482. 37, *εἰσκρίσεσιν* 481. 42, *πρόεδρος* 484. 5, of *κοινὰς συνόδους* 477. 29, *κοινὸν σεμνεῖον* 476. 24, etc., and also by the whole tenour of the treatise. However I need not labour this point, for of the numerous parallel types of fourth-century Christian societies which Lucius adduces,

[1] 'In wie viel höherm Maasse mochte nicht eine solche Absonderung den *nichtchristlichen Zeitgenossen* als anstössig und verwerflich erscheinen . . . . . Es hätte desshalb, angesichts solcher Anklagen, nichts befremdendes, wenn *am Ende des dritten oder in den ersten Jahren des vierten Jahrhunderts*, ein *litterarisch und philosophisch gebildeter*, und für die Askese seiner Zeit hoch begeisterter Christ auf den Gedanken gerathen wäre, die allenthalben und namentlich in seinem eigenen Lande Aegypten aufkommende Sitte der christlichen Asketen . . . durch eine panegyrische Schilderung zu verherrlichen, sie gegen die Angriffe, denen sie ausgesetzt waren, zu vertheidigen, und ihre Lebensart auf dieselbe Weise zu rechtfertigen, auf welche in viel höherm Maasse noch die Schriftsteller seiner Zeit das Christenthum vor Juden und vor Heiden vertheidigten . . . . *Kein anderer Name* aber hätte die Auctorität dieser Schrift besser schützen, ihr mehr Einfluss und Ansehn verleihen können, *als* der Name des gefeierten Alexandrinischen Philosophen *Philo*. Lucius, pp. 153–4.' (The italics are mine.) Lucius, p. 152, refers to the censures passed by Cyprian and Tertullian on the Christian custom conveyed in the words of Hermae Pastor, Sim. 9, § 11 (spoken by the *παρθένοι*) *μεθ' ἡμῶν κοιμηθήσῃ ὡς ἀδελφός, καὶ οὐχ ὡς ἄνηρ*, also to Clement of Alexandria (Strom. vii. 12, § 70 and Quis diu. salu., § 36) and Pseudo-Cyprian. But what have these writers to do with a *monastic* askesis which did not yet exist?

and of which he believes the D. U. C. to be an adumbration, there is not one which, not being an invention of his brain, was not what was technically called a *coenobium*. Now where are the writers, where the school of thought, which, at the close of the third or beginning of the fourth century, attacked the Christian coenobia, and necessitated a defence of them, elaborately modelled like this on the earlier apologies for Christianity itself of Justin and others? Were these enemies of the newly instituted monachism the old hermits? On the contrary, Anthony himself, in the life of Pachomius (s. 77), has nothing but praise for the latter's invention. 'At the beginning,' he says, 'when I became a solitary (μοναχός), there was no coenobium; but each of the monks of an older day after the persecution (namely of Decius) practised (the holy life) quite alone. And after that our father (i. e. Pachomius) constructed (ἐποίησεν) this blessing from the Lord.' All the early notices we possess of monachism are fulsome eulogies of it. That it was ever attacked by any Christian writers or thinkers of the late third or early fourth century, is the most gratuitous assumption. But, it may be objected, there were pagan critics who attacked it. Possibly, though in view of such works as Porphyry's De Abstinentia, I doubt it. But if there were, the case is no better for Lucius. For he would have it that the D. U. C. is an apology of monachism masked under the style and name of Philo, because the latter was a *persona grata*. With whom? With the pagans? But what pagans ever heard of Philo the Jew, or cared one whit for his opinion in regard to Christian monasticism?

LXXI. (2) Whence did Lucius get the second premiss on which his figments repose, that at the end of the third century and beginning of the fourth, Philo was a writer so widely known and so much respected in Christian circles, that it was worth the while to father upon him, rather than on the Apostle Paul or Dionysius of Athens, or on Peter or Clement or Ignatius or any others of the Christian ὑποβολιμαῖοι, an apology for monachism destined by its monkish forger to reconcile Christian readers to an institution, with which, however, they none of them had ever any quarrel? The truth is that Lucius confounds the Philo, who thanks to the hallucination of Eusebius has found his way into Jerome's list of Christian historians, with the Jewish or Pythagorean Philo of a former generation, before Eusebius had made his famous discovery. If we examine the references to Philo made by Christian writers

in this earlier time, we find that they were rather ashamed to quote Philo; or, if not quite that, at least not inclined to regard him as an authority, whose approval of an institution should at once command its acceptance by Christians. Let us examine a few of these references. Justin twice refers to Philo (11 B and 14 C), each time merely in support of an historical statement and not in support of a controverted institution. In each case he couples him with Josephus, as an historiographer worthy of respect. In each case also he is addressing himself to the pagans and not to Christians. Clement of Alexandria in his Stromateis (Sylb. 305 D and 403 D) alludes to Philo as ὁ Πυθαγόρειος. Did Christians of the late third century care for the authority of a Pythagorean? In two more passages he cites Philo's opinion, merely referring to him by name. But in a hundred passages he imitates his thought and language without mentioning his name. Origen three times refers to Philo by name in his Commentary on Matthew and In Celsum. In the former his reference concerns the practice of eunuchism, about which he had changed his mind. In the In Celsum, 4. 198 and 6. 289, he commends Philo's wisdom as to certain matters, but only because the pagan critic Celsus had assailed through Philo his own fellow Christians. Elsewhere in the In Celsum, e. g. bk. 7, ch. 20, Philo is referred to thus: ὡς καὶ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν τινες ἐδίδαξαν. On p. 475 of Origen's Commentary on Matthew, we have another reference which reveals to us how Philo the Jew stood in the estimation of the Christians for whom the Commentary was written. It is as follows: τῶν μὲν πρὸ ἡμῶν ποιήσας τις βιβλία, νόμων ἱερῶν ἀλληγορίας. Elsewhere Origen refers to him as ὁ Ἑβραῖος ὁ ταῦτα λέγων and ἄλλος δέ φησιν (see Wendland, Neu entdeckte Fragmente Philos, pp. 111 and 113). It is evident that it was prudent for a father of the church, when he quoted Philo, to conceal as much as possible the source of his quotations. When we come to Ambrose, who borrowed from Philo in a more wholesale way than even Clement or Origen, the anxiety to hide the source of his inspiration is equally marked. His loans are, according to the fashion of that age, usually unacknowledged. But where he does wish his readers to know that he is reproducing the thoughts of another, he is careful not to let them know that it is Philo. Thus in his De Fuga Saeculi, 4. 20, which is largely translated from the tract of Philo, De Fugitiuis, he mentions Philo thus: ut ante nos scriptum est. So in his De Noe et Arca, 13, n. 43 et aliqui ita acceperunt qui ante nos

fuerunt; ibid. n. 47 aliqui tamen ante nos sic interpretati sunt; ibid. n. 63 tamen nonnulli ante nos aestimauerunt, and so forth[1]. The fathers were very glad to borrow from Philo, but they did not wish their congregations to be aware of it. A more convincing proof of the futility of Lucius' hypothesis than these quotations from Ambrose afford could not be desired. It is true that Ambrose was writing perhaps fifty years after Eusebius made his discovery, but that makes no difference. If he did not know of it, his testimony against Lucius is damaging; if he did know of it, it is damning.

LXXII. (3) Nor is Lucius' hypothesis less in conflict with chronology than with common sense. Pachomius, the first founder of the coenobitic life, did not begin his work before the commencement of the fourth century. Is it possible that a spurious defence of his work should have been foisted into *all*[2] the copies of Philo, and have come into the hands of Eusebius through the medium of Pamphilus' library as early as the year 315[3]? The difficulty is

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[1] The following instances are given by Mangey in his notes on the pages specified: Clem. Alex. Strom. 1, p. 420 τινες, *ἀκολούθως δηλονότι τῇ χρηστῇ δόξῃ, λόγον ὄρθον τὸν μόνον ἔφασαν* (Philo 1. 456 : Strom. 1, p. 411 *ὡς δέ τινες* (Philo 2. 80) : Origen, Com. in Matt. p. 230 *ἐτήρησε μὲν οὖν τις πρὸ ἡμῶν . . . καὶ διηγήσατο* (Philo 1. 388) : Origen, Hom. 15 in Iosuam, Etiam *ante nos quidam* obseruantes notarunt (Philo 1. 393): Origen, Hom. 14 in Ierem. *τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ δέ τις* (Philo 1. 412) : Origen, c. Celsum, lib. 4 *οὐχ ἡμεῖς διδάσκομεν ἀλλ' ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ σοφῶν παρειλήφαμεν* (Philo 1. 619) : Origen, Hom. 9 in Numer. *Quidam* autem ex eis *qui ante nos* interpretati sunt hunc locum (Philo 1. 689) : Origen, c. Celsum. 6, p. 289 *περὶ ἧς* (sc. *Κλίμακος*) *καὶ τῷ Φίλωνι συντέτακται βιβλίον, ἄξιον φρονίμου καὶ συνετῆς παρὰ τοῖς φιλαλήθεσιν ἐξετάσεως* (Philo 1. 620). Here Origen is controverting one who assailed Jews and Christians alike. Ambrose, De Noa, c. 5 *Alii* habent (Philo 1. 294). De Parad. ch. 2 'in Graeco MS.' (Philo 1. 40). If Eusebius in his De Praep. Evang. often cites Philo by name, it is because the literary purpose of his book requires him to do so. Such examples as the above may be multiplied by any careful reader of the fathers, yet Lucius writes: 'Kein anderer Name (sc. als Philos) hätte die Auctorität dieser Schrift (sc. D. V. C.) besser schützen. . . können.'

[2] I say *all*, because, if it had not been so, it would not be found in *all* the Greek MSS. of Philo, as well as in the old Latin and Armenian Versions and in Eusebius' copies.

[3] See Diction. Christ. Biogr. art. 'Eusebius.' On p. 198 of his treatise Lucius says that the D. U. C. was forged 'etwa am Ende des dritten Jahrhunderts'; on p. 154 'Am Ende des dritten oder in den ersten Jahren des vierten Jahrhunderts.' The forger, therefore, could intercalate his work into *all* the copies of Philonean writings, between the Q. O. P. L. and the De Legatione where Eusebius found it, and where we find it in most of our Greek MSS.,—and all this within the short space of fifteen years! Credat Iudaeus Apella.

hardly less, if the D. U. C. be supposed to be a defence of St. Antony, while as to the Hierakitae and Ecetae and other dancing ascetics, male and female, whom Lucius puts forward (p. 190) as the originals of the Therapeutae, they were all either posterior to the writing of Eusebius, H. E. book 2, or not ascetes at all of the coenobitic type pourtrayed in the D. U. C. Of the date of Hieiax or Hieracas we know nothing except that he was later than Origen; that he had already died in old age when Epiphanius was writing his fifty-eighth heresy; and that his life must have overlapped that of Epiphanius, who was born in 320, by at least thirty years (see life of Epiph. ch. 27). Who will believe that there was time for an apology for institutions, which by Lucius' own admission only arose in the fourth century, to have been foisted into all the copies of Philo then existing, as early as the year 315; so deftly too as to impose upon Eusebius, who though in many ways sharing the want of critical faculty which characterized his age, is yet nearly always right in his ascription of works to their authors. Nor is this the only impossibility. In the Armenian Version we have a witness to the text of the D. U. C. not later than 420 A. D., and very probably made from a text much older. In the Latin Version we have another witness of the same age[1]. In the Eusebian

[1] I have advisedly put down the old Latin Version to as late a date as possible. When I printed the Latin Text in the foregoing pages, I was not aware that Pitra had published it in his Analecta Sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi, tom. 2, p. 298 foll. from the two Vatican MSS. which I also have consulted. He assigns to this version a higher antiquity than I ventured to do. For after alluding p. 298) to the circumstance of Ambrose having had in his hands the works of Philo including the lost Quaestiones he continues thus: 'Alterum est minus notum, ne penitus dicam sepultum in nocte et obliuione: exstitisse nimirum, fortasse ante Ambrosium, Philonis ueterem latinum interpretem, qui eiusdem plures libros tenuit, uertitque rudi sermone, quos mediolanensis Ambrosiana uestiuit elegantia, simul ac classici Armenorum scriptores haicano eos auro decorabant . . . quo uero liber est, scatetque uocabulis insolentioribus, eo uetustior interpres mihi est: ac nisi, rupto identidem Philonis sermone, scholia inserta essent, in quibus fit respectus ad Apollinarem (quod fortasse fuit ab alio recentiore interpolatum), parum abesset quin hic uiderem unum ex illis interpretibus, magis graecis quam latinis, qui statim ab Irenaei aeuo et inde ad Eucherium et Cassiodorum, nec sudori nec fastidio pepercerunt, ut thesauros Helladis qualicunque cum Latinitate communicarent. Multa enim noster habet quae ad Irenaei librarium Graeco-celticum, ad Melitonis interpretem, ad Commodiani et Tertulliani dialectum et indolem pertinent.' On p. 319 ibid. Pitra affirms the common authorship of the version of the D. U. C. with that of the Quaestiones and Pseudo-Chronicon on the same grounds on which

extracts we have excerpts taken from it before the year 315. Now, as I have pointed out above (p. 7), the Greek MSS. and the old Latin all flow from one archetype; the Armenian and the Eusebian texts from another and independent archetype. But the Greek text was already an old and much worn text when the Latin Version was made, for the Latin reflects many of the corruptions characteristic of its congeneric Greek texts; and on the other hand some of the Greek texts, especially Cod. Laurent. Plut. x, cod. xx, contain a tradition which in order of derivation is much older than that of the Greek text from which the Latin was translated. It follows that the text of our Greek MSS. had already had a long history before the year 400. But this is not all. There was a lacuna (see p. 7 above) in the archetype Σ at 483. 18; the Armenian Version supplies the lost words; therefore the Greek text which underlay it was genealogically older than Σ. Yet it also before the year 400 had contracted many errors of its own, such as can only have arisen from much copying and recopying. Lastly there had been time before A. D. 315 for the Eusebian text to contract errors, as at 483. 46, absent from Σ (see above p. 250). All this implies to a student of manuscripts that the text of the D. U. C. had, before the year 400, already had a long history, which cannot be crushed into the short period which Lucius' theory would impose upon it. The Eusebian and Armenian texts, the old Latin and existing Greek texts, can have converged only at a point in time long anterior to 300 A.D.

LXXIII. (4) Let us for a moment forget the absurdity of the premiss that either pagan or Christian readers would approve of an institution merely because the Jew Philo had stamped it with his approval. Then it still remains a nice problem for Lucius to solve, why the forger who wished his forgery to be attributed to Philo, did

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I have affirmed it (p. 144 above): 'ex singulari uidelicet scribendi genere, quod in triplici opusculo ita sibi cohaeret, uel in immanissima quorundam uocabulorum insolentia, ut omnino oporteat, cuncta ex uno et eodem calamo cecidisse.' I had already in the Expositor (1890) indicated the very ancient form of the Latin texts of Genesis contained in this version. If, as Pitra very justly surmises, the Latin Version of the D. U. C. belongs to the age of Tertullian, what becomes of Lucius' argument? The reference to the Apollinarists (see above p. 144) must be an interpolation, for it only occurs in one family of the text. It thus gives us a terminus ad quem instead of a terminus a quo in estimating the antiquity of the version.

not, like other forgers of his day, work into the body of his forgery an attestation of its Philonean authorship. But he has not done so. Like every other genuine work of Philo which remains to us the D. U. C. lacks such attestation. It was not Philo's way, to write thus: I, Philo say and think, or have seen, this or that. But this is just what a forger would have put into his forgery [1]. Some of the best manuscripts of the treatise do not even add the name of Philo in the title [2]. How then were the readers of the forgery to know that they were reading a work of Philo's? They could only have inferred its authorship as we to-day infer it, namely from its style and from its being written in the same roll of papyrus with other works of Philo. This being so, the forger must have limited his ambition. He can only have wished to impose on students and owners of Philo's works. But what forger ever so limited the range of his ambition? How, moreover, could he have intercalated his forgery among the genuine works of Philo on so widespread a scale, as that a copy of Philo in Caesareia should already contain it as early as the year 315, and an Armenian have it in his independent copy in Ararat, and the Latin translator find it in his by the end of the same century, if not before A. D. 300? The existing tradition of Philo's works is most manifold. How does Lucius explain the presence of the D. U. C. in every form of it? And not only is it uniformly present therein, but occupies pretty much the same position in all known texts.

LXXIV. (5) Writing about the year 300, this imaginary forger must have intended his forgery for the orthodox reader, since we find the book very soon afterwards in the hands of so many orthodox persons. For in those days an heretical book did not as a rule at once quit the circle of religionists for whom it was written. How then can the D. U. C. be a thinly veiled description of the Hierakitae, a sect of heretics whom Epiphanius, from whom alone we derive our knowledge of them, anathematizes with more than usual vigour? And in this connexion more formidable difficulties

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[1] Cp. e.g. Petri Euangelium, c. 60 ἐγὼ δὲ Σίμων Πέτρος. Pseudo-Pionius Uita Polycarpi, c. 22 Ἐγὼ δὲ πάλιν Πιόνιος.

[2] Yet Lucius, like his master Prof. Graetz, writes (p. 179) of the forger, 'der unter Philo's Namen schrieb'; p. 198 'unter dem Namen Philo's'; so p. 12 'der Verfasser . . . kein anderer sein will als Philo.' It is pretty certain that, in those codices in which the name Φίλωνος is added in the title, the addition was made by the scribes only, for τοῦ αὐτοῦ often stands instead.

than that present themselves. Forgers were careful not to offend the susceptibilities of those for whom they wrote. Yet this forger makes out his primitive Christian saints to be heretics of a type peculiarly offensive to the ordinary Christian of the third and fourth centuries, for he represents them as taking plain water instead of wine in their Eucharist, or rather in the meal which Lucius absurdly believes to have been the Eucharist. He also represents them as reclining at this Eucharist, an attitude which we never find in the pictures of the early Eucharist preserved in the catacombs. In all the pictures of the early Eucharist given in the works of De Rossi and Kraus we see the participants sitting up at table. The Christians no doubt sat up, although Jesus and his disciples had reclined at the last supper, in order to mark a contrast between the Eucharist and the banquets of the heathen [1]. The passage in D. U. C. 482. 13, if written by a forger, would have been lost except on an archaeologist. And there are other solecisms in the forgery, very remarkable as coming from one who was, as Lucius describes him, a 'literarisch und philosophisch gebildeter.' For example, he represents his early Christian saints as no less jealous of the Jewish sabbath than were the Pharisees. For Lucius' attempts to explain away the use of the word ἑβδόμαις [2] as a disguise for some other day of the week are puerile. Did the forger who, as I have shown, can on the hypothesis of Lucius have addressed his book to none but students of Philo, suppose that those students would interpret the word ἑβδόμαις in any other sense than that in which their favourite author invariably used it? The presence of women in a Christian monastery is another solecism. It may have been consonant with the feelings of the Hierakitae and of a few other of the obscure and late heretics, whom Lucius has

[1] Cp. Athen. Deipnosoph. 5. 4 (ed. Casaub. 191 F) and 1. 14 (18 A, B) ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐκπεπτώκαμεν ὡς κατακεῖσθαι δαινύμενοι. See Mangey's note on the De Iosepho, 2. 70.

[2] Lucius, p. 175: Sie (i. e. pseudo-Philo) hütet sich ängstlich davor, diesen Tag *als den Jüdischen Sabbath* erscheinen zu lassen und zu bezeichnen- ein Wort das, *wenn* die Therapeuten Juden gewesen wären, und *Philo der Verfasser von D. V. C., schwerlich fehlen würde*, wie dies Derenbourg, Jour. Asiat. 1868, p. 282, *richtig* hervorgehoben hat. Der Siebente Tag etc. Philo rarely uses any other word but ἑβδόμη for sabbath, and in my testimonia at 476. 8, I have given several instances. Lucius and Derenbourg consider a very slender knowledge of Philo to be necessary as an equipment for sitting in judgement on the genuineness of one of his most characteristic writings.

hunted up out of the repertory of Epiphanius; but it would not have been tolerated by the vast majority of Christians of the early fourth century, whether orthodox or no. Lastly the forger, though he lived in an age in which the word μοναστήριον meant a monastery in our modern sense of the word, deliberately used it to mean a single chamber in a house set apart for private devotion, used it namely in the sense in which the word ταμεῖον is used in the New Testament.

LXXV. (6) Let us then, before quitting this part of the subject, sum up the various characteristics which the readers of Lucius' pseudo-Philo must have possessed, in order that the forgery should appeal to them. Firstly, they must have been diligent readers of Philo; or they would not have been so well-acquainted with his style, as to realize that this, in all other ways unauthenticated, treatise was his. Secondly, they were to be sabbatarians of a pre-Christian and anti-Christian type, and were to be Μωϋσέως γνώριμοι and lovers of the Jewish law. Thirdly, they were to be archaeologists, or they would have been offended at the recumbent position in the Eucharist. Fourthly, they were to be Aquarii or Hydroparastatae. Fifthly, they were to be Hierakitae and approve of joint establishments of monks and nuns. Sixthly, to appreciate the forger's masterpiece, they must have been deeply tinged with Stoic thought, or they could not have understood the frequent references in the D. U. C. to the law of nature. Seventhly, they must have been moderately tinged with Pythagorean learning, or the passage at 481. 25 foll. would probably have annoyed them. Eighthly, they must have united with the above intellectual peculiarities a certain gift of clairvoyance, or they would not have seen that a sect, which could be described by Philo, a contemporary of Jesus Christ, as being already at the time of his describing them, a very old sect, with very old συγγράμματα written by their old-time founders, was no other than the early church, and the said founders no other than the apostles. Or are we to regard it as a proof of the extreme subtlety both of the forger and of his readers, that this touch was introduced into the pseud-epigraphon? Ninthly, these fourth-century readers, whom this forgery was destined to deceive, must have possessed extreme magnanimity; otherwise they cannot have cared to learn that the early church was a αἵρεσις. But after all, did not the forger take the Hierakitae for his model? Tenthly, these same readers must have

had some of Lucius' own insight, or they could not have realized at once that when Philo talked of the Law he meant the Gospel; when of Jews, that he meant Christians; when of the Sabbath, that he meant Sunday; when of the Pentecostal meal, that he meant the Eucharist. Did ever a forger look for so many requirements in his readers, or presuppose in them the union of so many various parts?

LXXVI. (7) Let us pass on to consider how Lucius treats of the Holy Symposion of the Therapeutae. I have already explained the passage in the text, 481. 22. It merely refers to the Day of Pentecost and its eve. Of course Lucius translates *διὰ ἑπτὰ ἑβδομάδων* in the sense of 'every seven weeks'; for he is not the man to pick himself out of a pit into which wiser men have fallen. 'Es alle neun und vierzig und fünfzig Tage wiederkehrte,' he says (p. 48 and passim). This, he says, was no Jewish feast (on p. 48); nor, he adds, did the forger mean his readers to regard it as such. 'Had he done so, he would not have called to his aid the symbolism of numbers in order to explain and justify it.' Does then Philo never resort to such symbolism in explaining and justifying the Jewish festivals? On the contrary, like Doctor Slop with his seven sacraments, Philo never misses an opportunity of doing so, and in my testimonia to 481. 23 and 28 I have given instances, a few out of many, of similar explanations of the Feast of Pentecost. Lucius' criticism displays a hopeless ignorance of the modes of thought of the author whom he so lightly condemns as spurious.

LXXVII. On p. 50 of Lucius we read, 'Der Alexandrinismus, resp. Philonismus, gibt also allein den schlüssel zur erklärung des *grössten festes*.' But on p. 96, he writes thus 'It remains quite inexplicable, how a man like Philo could have thrown the aegis of his authority over a sect . . . which in the eyes of a Jew must have seemed decidedly heretical, since in a scandalous way they kept non-Jewish feasts, and attached to them the greatest significance; as is proved by their calling this the *greatest feast*.' Nor is Lucius content to thus refute himself. He allows himself further extravagances; and on pp. 178, 179, we are informed that the recurring eve and festival of the Therapeutae were no other than the *Christian Sunday and its eve Saturday*. 'The seven times seventh day,' he says, 'is a transparent "*anspielung*" on the sabbath, and the fiftieth must have specially recommended

itself to him who wrote under Philo's name, as a mode of indicating the Christian Sunday[1].' And, he adds, just because it was Sunday they turned to the sun when they offered up their morning prayer. On p. 172, he tells us that the Therapeutae must have been Christians because they drank warm water on the sabbath, and quotes Justin, Dial. c. 29.

LXXVIII. All this nonsense comes of mistranslating *διὰ ἑπτὰ ἑβδομάδων*[2], which in the Greek of any age would naturally mean 'after seven weeks,' and not 'every seven weeks'; and in Philo's Greek could hardly mean anything else. The preposition *διά* with the genitive seldom gives the sense of recurrence, unless the context in some way indicates that it is to be so interpreted, as in Plato, Laws, 624 B *φοιτῶντος πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἑκάστοτε συνουσίαν δι' ἐνιαυτοῦ ἔτους*. Here are a few examples in which the mere lapse of a certain time is signified by *διά*: when Jesus said (Matt. 26. 61, Mark 14. 58) that he would raise up the temple *διὰ τριῶν*

[1] Lest I should be suspected of translating Lucius in an unfair manner, I venture to add the German text in which this exquisite bit of theorizing is contained: 'Die christlichen Parallelen, welche sich zur Schilderung des "grossten Festes" ergeben, könnten vielleicht desshalb als ungenügend erfunden werden, weil das therapeutische Fest nicht je am siebenten und darauf folgenden Tag wie am Sabbath und Sonntag bei den Christen), sondern je am siebenmal siebenten, dem neunundvierzigsten und dem darauf folgenden Tag gefeiert wurde. Aber dagegen liesse sich doch wohl bemerken, dass der Verfasser von D. V. C. unmoglicher Weise die christliche Sabbathfeier, genau so wie dieselbe zu seiner Zeit in Aegypten bestand, in die vorchristliche Zeit hätte versetzen können, ohne sofort den Zweck, den er verfolgt, und sich selbst zu verrathen; dass er unmöglich das Geniessen eines heiligen Mahles an einem jeden Sabbath bei seinen Helden hätte beschreiben können, ohne sie sofort, nicht als philosophirende Mosisjünger, sondern als wirkliche Christen zu documentiren. Desshalb musste er den Inhalt des christlichen Festes unter der Hülle eines von ihm erdachten therapeutischen verbergen. Er wählte hierzu den siebenmal siebenten Tag, was eine durchsichtige Anspielung auf den Sabbath ist, und den fünfzigsten, welcher sich ihm, der unter Philo's Namen schrieb, besonders empfehlen musste, um damit den christlichen Sonntag anzudeuten. Denn nach Philo, De nom. mut. 1080, C, war fünfzig die Zahl der Befreiung. Der fünfzigste Tag konnte desshalb nur der Tag der Befreiung sein. Nach der christlichen Anschauung aber galt gerade der Sonntag als der "Tag der Befreiung" ("Befreiung aus der Sclaverei des Irrthums," Const. App. VII, 30).'

[2] Cp. the way in which Josephus, Antiq. 3. 10. 6, speaks of the Pentecost: Ἑβδόμης ἑβδομάδος διαγεγενημένης *μετὰ ταύτην τὴν θυσίαν, αὗται δ' εἰσὶν αἱ τῶν ἑβδομάδων ἡμέραι τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἐννέα, [τῇ πεντηκοστῇ], ἣν Ἑβραῖοι ἀσαρθὰ καλοῦσι, σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο πεντηκοστήν κ.τ.λ.*

ἡμερῶν, he did not mean '*every* three days.' Nor when we read that the risen Lord was δι' ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα ὀπτανόμενος αὐτοῖς, are we to infer that he appeared *every* forty days. So Acts 24. 17 δι' ἐτῶν πλειόνων παρεγενόμην = 'I presented myself *after* many years'; Gal. 2. 1 διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν πάλιν ἀνέβην εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. So Mark 2. 1 δι' ἡμερῶν, 'after some days.

In writers other than Hellenistic it is the same, e. g. Plutarch, Cimon: ὁ Κίμων . . . τὰ ὀστᾶ (sc. Thesei) κατήγαγεν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ δι' ἐτῶν σχεδὸν ὀκτακοσίων (or ? τετρακοσίων), 'after 800 years.' Isocrates, Archid. 121 B complains that the Thebans ταύτην (sc. Plataeae) διὰ τριακοσίων ἐτῶν κατοικίζουσι, i. e. 'after a lapse of 300 years.' So Dioscorides: διὰ δυεῖν ἡμερῶν ἀποχέοντες τὸ πρῶτον ὕδωρ, ἄλλο ἐπιχέουσι, 'after two days.' Plato, Rep. 1. 328 C διὰ χρόνου γὰρ καὶ ἑωράκειν αὐτόν, 'it was a long time since I had seen him[1].' In the Latin version of Gelenius the phrase is rightly rendered: post septem hebdomadas elapsas. Joseph Scaliger seems to have begun the mistake, and connected the Suppliants with the Samaritan sect, mentioned by Epiphanius, of Σεβουαῖοι (Panarium, lib. I. xi). All subsequent writers have fallen into the same error, in spite of Leviticus, ch. 23. 15 and 16, and the passages of Philo which I give in my testimonia. But Scaliger only supposed that the Suppliants continued throughout the year in each seventh week to celebrate a *simulacrum* of the Pentecost, which is a reasonable, though superfluous and forced, interpretation. He was incapable of supposing that the eve of the Pentecostal feast always fell on a Sabbath; which is virtually the error of Lucius when he argues that the Therapeutae were Christians, because they drank hot water on that day. The eve of Pentecost only fell on a Sabbath when the Paschal day did so; and that cannot have been often, since Hillel was the first doctor found to decide which of the two in such a case should yield precedence to the other.

LXXIX. (8) Having with Kuenen and Graetz espoused this misinterpretation of διά, Lucius is, like them, well on his way to fall into the far more monstrous error of supposing that the 'holy symposium' of the Suppliants is to be regarded as an agape

[1] So in 476. 43 and 48 we should translate 'after three days,' 'after six days.' It does not necessarily mean that some of the Suppliants only tasted food once a week all the year round.

followed by an eucharist; though in order to so regard it he has to misconstrue the text. Philo starts by describing all the material circumstances and ordering of the feast: (i) how it was the Pentecostal festival 481. 22–30; (ii) how they dressed in white and were joyous (according to Jewish custom) 481. 30; (iii) how they said grace 481. 31–40; (iv) then how the elders lay down in the order of their election 481. 41–482, 2; (v) how the women, most of them aged virgins, participated in the Pentecostal feast (after the manner of Jewish women of that or any other age) 482. 3–13; (vi) how the sexes were separated 482. 13–15; (vii) how the furniture of the feast was coarse, but good, 482. 15–24; (viii) how the distinction of master and slave was forgotten on the occasion (in obedience to Deut. 16. vv. 11, 12) 482. 24–483. 1[1]. (ix) He completes this part of the description at 483. 2–15 by telling us what they were going to eat, to wit, clear water, warmed for the delicate ones, bread with salt and hyssop. Καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τοιαῦτα, he says 483. 15, for his readers have learned the *material* preliminaries of the banquet. It only remains to detail its *spiritual* preliminaries, to which accordingly he now directs his reader's attention.

LXXX. (x) When the elders have lain down, and while the servers still stand, there follows at once an allegorical exposition of the Holy Scriptures 483. 16–484. 8. (xi) When this is over, all clap their hands, and the precentor *stands up* and intones a hymn. Other individuals follow him in an appointed order, but only one at a time. The rest only break silence when they join in the refrains 484. 9–21. (xii) When they have all sung their hymns, the younger members bring in τὴν πρὸ μικροῦ λεχθεῖσαν τράπεζαν . . . ἐφ' ἧς τὸ παναγέστατον σιτίον, namely bread, leavened out of reverence for the shewbread which was still being offered on the holy table in the temple at Jerusalem; but which only Levites, the spiritual superiors but models of the Therapeutae, might eat 484. 22–23. (xiii) Then they eat the supper, thus

[1] In this particular Philo is also concerned to point out that the Therapeutic festival did not in the humanity of its arrangements fall short of the religious feasts of the Greeks. Cp. Athen. Deipnosoph. 5. 4 (=192 B) πᾶσα δὲ συμποσίου συναγωγὴ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τὴν αἰτίαν εἰς θεὸν ἀνέφερε, καὶ στεφάνοις ἐχρῶντο τοῖς οἰκείοις τῶν θεῶν καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς· καὶ δοῦλος οὐδεὶς ἦν ὁ διακονήσων, ἀλλ' οἱ νέοι τῶν ἐλευθέρων ᾠνοχόουν.

at last brought in (*μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον*) [1], and after it proceed to celebrate the holy *παννυχίδα* 484. 33–485. 40.

LXXXI. Could there be a clearer, more straightforward and self-consistent account than this, of the Pentecostal feast? Yet Lucius misunderstands and mangles it to fit it to his theory, and Harnack following suit declares Philo's account to be very obscure. Philo's mention (in ix = 483. 2–15) of what the Therapeutae *were going to eat* is declared to refer to a Christian agape, which they set to work and consumed before the *πρὸ μικροῦ λεχθεῖσα τράπεζα* was brought in. The way is thus prepared for pretending that the latter is the Christian Sacrament [2]; and, to complete the bungle, *παναγέστατον σιτίον* is (p. 113), with a strange ignorance of the Greek language, rendered as if it were *πανάγιον* [3]. 'Philo und die vorchristlichen Schriftsteller kennen das Wort nicht. Es findet sich erst bei den christlichen Schriftstellern, die mit demselben *παναγέστατον σιτίον* ausschliesslich die allerheiligste Speise bei *ihrem* heiligen Mahle bezeichnen.' Could error be more reckless? Liddell and Scott, under *παναγής*, refer to profane writers alone, e.g. Dion. H. (three times), Plutarch, Camill. 20, Corp. Inscr. 380. 6, Poll. 1. 33, Max. Tyr. 30. 4 (= 121, 3), Aelian, Julian, p. 160. Pseudo-Dionysius is the only Christian writer who uses it in the same sense as the preceding. In the Christian fathers it is used but rarely, and then only in the sense of 'all-accursed'; a nice epithet to apply to the Christian Sacrament! Suicer, from whom Lucius claims (p. 113) to derive his knowledge of the word, does not give it at all. Lucius looked out *πανάγιος*! Now as to the sense of the word. Dionys. Hal. uses it of magistrates = sacrosanctus. Proclus (Theolog. Platon. bk. 1. ch. 1) as 'all-sacred,' *τὰς παναγεστάτας περὶ τῶν θείων ὑφηγήσεις*. Plutarch uses it of Vestals, probably as = 'all pure'; Pollux as an epithet appropriate to a religious festival of any sort: *ἱεροφάνται, δαδοῦχοι, κήρυκες, σπονδοφόροι, ἱέρειαι*, **παναγεῖς**, *πυρφόροι, ὑμνῳδοί, ὑμνητρίδες*.

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[1] Yet Lucius, p. 183, asserts that it cannot be demonstrated 'durch klare und entscheidende Belegstellen . . . dass die Therapeuten, nachdem sie sich zu Tische gelegt, auch gegessen hätten.' However, he gives them the benefit of the doubt, and argues that they were all Christians because they had consumed both an agape and an eucharist!

[2] p. 186 'was anders könnte man in dieser Feier erkennen, als die Feier des christlichen Abendmahls?'

[3] e.g. so Lucius, p. 167, 'die allerheiligste Speise,' so p. 186 and passim.

Either of the latter senses suits this passage: 'all pure,' if Philo means to contrast the better bread made of fine flour which the Jews ate at Pentecost, with the coarse article of which they usually partook (on the differences of Alexandrian bread see Pollux, 1. 248 and 6. 72): 'all sacred,' if we reflect that at Pentecost wave-offerings were made of leavened loaves, and that in this way a consecration was imparted to the leavened bread, which, now that the harvest was in, all men eat 'in their habitations'; though the laymen did not of course eat the two wave-offerings any more than they did the shewbread. Or lastly, it may simply be a natural epithet to apply to food, which they had prayed to God to find *θυμήρη καὶ κατὰ νοῦν* (481. 40)[1].

LXXXII. Moreover the agape was separate from the Christian eucharist; whereas the text specially identifies the *σιτίον* or *δεῖπνον* in (xii) with that in (ix). In a lucid moment Lucius sees this fatal objection to his theory. 'De Uita Contemplatiua scheint zwar nur von *einem* (the italics are his) Tisch zu wissen (*τὴν λεχθεῖσαν τράπεζαν* 902, A = 484. 21); aber die von den Jünglingen herbeigebrachte *τράπεζα* kann gar nicht mit der 900 E (= 483. 7 and 8) erwähnten identisch sein' (p. 29). But if it was not identical, why does the forger so expressly declare that it was? But Lucius knows better even than his forger; 'quos Philo in animo habuerit, melius quam ipse Philo, sciuit,' as Dallaeus put it. No wonder that after this Lucius talks (p. 184) of the 'wohlüberlegte Zweideutigkeit, unter welcher sie (i. e. pseudo-Philo) ihre wirkliche Tendenz zu verbergen suchte.' This tendency, he continues, 'tritt am klarsten in dem absonderlichen Einwand zu Tage, welchen sie sich 900, E (= 483. 18), stellen lässt: nachdem die Gäste sich gelagert, dann geht doch wohl das Trinken an? wird Mancher fragen,' &c. Had he consulted a decent text, he would have known better than thus to rely on a passage which obviously makes nonsense, and where in consequence Mangey marked a lacuna.

[1] In any case it is difficult to see how any one not under an hallucination could identify the *παναγέστατον σιτίον* with the eucharist, for we are especially informed in 484. 29 that, in spite of its purity or sanctity (whichever way we render the word), this *σιτίον* of the Suppliants was far below the shewbread reserved for the Levites both in 'simplicity and purity.' The shewbread was *ἁπλούστατα καὶ εἰλικρινέστατα*. How could the eucharistic bread, which already in Ignatius is called a *φάρμακον τῆς ἀθανασίας*, fall short of any others in these qualities of purity and simplicity?

LXXXIII. (9) It is necessary to examine thoroughly Lucius' book, for do we not read in Prof. Emil Schürer's History of the Jewish people (Div. 2, vol. 3, p. 358 of English translation) that, 'it is by his (i.e. Lucius') thorough and methodical investigation that the spuriousness of its authorship has been definitely decided'? And was not Prof. Zeller converted by it from his old sound view[1]? Let us then glance at the passages in the D. U. C. which Lucius selects as especially un-Philonean. For the exigencies of his theory demand that the forgery should be so Philonean as to deceive readers of the fourth century, yet so un-Philonean as that Lucius can easily expose the trickery. Accordingly on p. 134, as we saw, Lucius describes his forger as 'Ein litterarisch und philosophisch Gebildeter.' That is when he wishes to account for his marvellous power of writing with the very pen of Philo. But on p. 95, we read that 'sein Geist ist geradezu mönchisch bornirt'; and on p. 96, we read of 'der gereizte gehässige Ton, den D. U. C. gegen alles nicht therapeutische, und namentlich die griechische Philosophie anschlägt, die geradezu kindisch absurde Polemik, in welcher sie sich gegen die heidnische Gesellschaft ergeht, und überhaupt der enge, bornirte Gesichtskreis innerhalb dessen ihr Verfasser sich bewegt. Es bleibt, &c. (for continuation see above, § LXXVII. on p. 336). Lucius is in a dilemma. If the tone and style of the forgery be so unlike Philo as this, then how should its fourth-century readers, who were *ex hypothesi* students of Philo, suppose that in it Philo was addressing them? For, except in the Philonean character of the piece, they could have no evidence of its Philonean authorship; the tract being, as I have pointed out, virtually akephalous, and destitute of any internal attestation of its origin. However, let us consider the passage in the D. U. C. which is 'geradezu mönchisch bornirt,' and such as no one could mistake for Philonean writing. It is no other than 477. 32–43. I must beg my readers to look back at the passage and to compare it with the testimonia adduced. On p. 117 he returns to this same passage and cites it in the Greek, and says: 'So hat diese unnatürliche, gekünstelte, ja für sich betrachtet, geradezu absurde Darstellung,

[1] In the third edition of his History of Philosophy (p. 307, note 1), Zeller writes as follows: 'muss ich doch einräumen, dass es ihm (sc. dem Lucius) in der Hauptsache gelungen ist, einen, wie mir scheint, überzeugenden Beweis für die Unechtheit und Unglaubwürdigkeit unserer Schrift (sc. D. U. C.) herzustellen.'

doch sicherlich irgend einen Zweck. . . . Es gilt den heidnischen Vorwurf, dass die Christen bei ihren heiligen Mahlen *θυέστεια δεῖπνα* begehen, gegen die Heiden selbst zu kehren.' Another phrase to which Lucius (p. 109) takes exception is *τινος δημιουργοῦ τελειοτάτου* in 472. 19. Had he troubled himself to read the De Praem. et Poen., which in his edition of Philo almost immediately precedes the D. U. C., he would have found Philo using the identical phrase in 2. 415, 7. (See my testimonia on 472. 16.)

LXXXIV. (10) In his search for other un-Philonean expressions Lucius resorts to the unfortunate guidance of Prof. Nicolas[1] (Revue de Théologie, Strassbourg, 1868, pp. 25–42). Here they are: *τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων* 471. 25; *τὰς τοῦ προφήτου Μωϋσέως ἱερωτάτας ἰφηγήτεις* 481. 21; *νόμους καὶ λόγια δεσπισθέντα* (sic) *διὰ προφητῶν καὶ ὕμνους* (or is it the printer's error religiously retained by Lucius from the Paris text, which is repugnant to Philo's style?) 475. 25; 'so wie seine ausschliessliche Bezeichnung des Moses als *προφήτης*' 485. 29. I need but refer my readers to the testimonia to these passages to convince them that all these expressions are thoroughly Philonean[2].

Lucius (p. 108) also instances the passage 474. 7, where the number of the rhapsody, whence the citation of Homer is drawn, is specified. I have already discussed the passage in my commentary. I need only say here that if such a peculiarity proves the work not to be Philo's, it does not prove it to be by any one else. It tells neither for nor against the Philonean authorship.

LXXXV. (11) A chief argument with Lucius, as with Grätz and Nicolas, for rejecting the D. U. C., is this. The D. U. C. is a mere appendix of the Q. O. P. L.; but the Q. O. P. L. and the lost treatise, 'That every bad man is a slave,' formed a single literary

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[1] Prof. Nicolas has made two other discoveries in regard to the D. U. C.: first, that the word *πεντηκοντάς* 'Pentecôte' (see testimonia on 481. 26) nowhere else occurs in Philo; second, that the attitude depicted in 476. 10–13 (where also see the testimonia) was a Buddhist attitude! 'Quelle était l'attitude des Thérapeutes dans leurs assemblées? Précisement celle qui est particulière aux religieux Bouddhistes . . . Cette pose, qui était évidemment obligatoire chez ces anachorètes, n'a jamais été ni recommandée ni usitée chez les Juifs ou chez les Chrétiens.'

[2] 'Ce sont là évidemment des habitudes de langage qui trahissent deux écrivains différents,' writes Prof. Nicolas after giving the examples reproduced by Lucius.

whole, and therefore wanted no appendix. Therefore the D. U. C. which 'gibt sich aus als Fortsetzung von Q. O. P. L.[1]' is not wanted; therefore it is spurious. But where does the D. U. C. *declare itself to be* a continuation of the Q. O. P. L.? True it begins Ἐσσαίων πέρι διαλεχθείς, and of the Q. O. P. L. a single chapter or twelfth part is a description of the Essenes. But Philo's lost Apology for the Jews also contained an account of the Essenes. It might have occurred to Lucius, who detects in the methodic ordering of the D. U. C. a resemblance (p. 114 foll.) to the Christian Apologies, that it was part of Philo's Apology for the Jews. Because in the MSS. it follows upon the Q. O. P. L. it need not be an appendix thereto; and indeed the title it bears, περὶ ἀρετῶν τὸ τέταρτον, makes Lucius' assertion very unlikely; inasmuch as the Q. O. P. L. does not bear the title περὶ ἀρετῶν α′ or β′ or γ′. As to his assertion that where the two treatises resemble each other 'das Ursprünglichere immer auf Seiten von Q. O. P. L. liegt,' it simply contradicts the facts; and I may refer my reader to § XXIII of this Excursus, where I have shown in a crucial passage that, if the two works are by different authors and one imitated from the other, then it is the D. U. C. which is the model of the other, and not *vice versa*. In reality however the affinities between the two pieces are hardly more numerous and striking than those between the D. U. C. and many other works of Philo; and all alike are inexplicable, except as flowing from the same hand and the same mind. The assertion of Lucius (p. 121) that the D. U. C. is made up out of Philonean floscuti, as the Sibylline poems are tesselated out of Homer and Hesiod, can hardly be serious. A rapid glance over my text and the testimonia will convince any one of the absurdity of such a suggestion. The assumption of course lies in the background, that a Christian forger of any age would have concerned himself to mimic the diction and thought of the author whose authority he wishes to secure for his forgery. Among all the multitudinous forgeries of the first six centuries not a single example of such mimicry can be adduced. 'Dans la vaste littérature pseudépigraphique,' says Renan, 'des siècles qui précèdent et qui suivent immédiatement notre ère, nous ne connaissons pas un seul exemple où l'on soit allé à ce

[1] So also Lucius on p. 95: 'denn D. U. C. will ja αὐτίκα nach Q. O. P. L. geschrieben sein.' Gratuitous assumption is not argument.

raffinement.' A theory of authorship which is based on such an assumption stands self-condemned.

LXXXVI. (12) On p. 18, Lucius asserts the Judaism of the Therapeutae to be 'Ein abgeblasstes Judenthum, so sehr mit philosophischen und anderweitigen Elementen zersetzt,' &c. Again p. 46: 'Sie sind zwar Juden, aber die alttestamentliche Religion kommt bei ihnen in den Hintergrund zu stehen, und ist vielfach mit philosophischen und anderweitigen fremdartigen Elementen zersetzt.' The fact is that the admixture of Judaism with Stoic and Pythagorean and Cynical elements is just the same in the D. U. C. as in the rest of Philo's works; as any one who will take the trouble to read them together will discover.

LXXXVII. (13) On p. 117, Lucius argues in regard to the passage 478. 35–39, that it must have taken the Greeks and Barbarians at least two hundred years to imitate the luxury of Rome, 'which first reached its acme under the empire.' Yet Alexandria was but a few days' sail from Rome, and no two ports in the Mediterranean held so much intercourse with one another. He appeals to Clement's Paedagogus to prove that the picture of luxury drawn in the D. U. C. may have belonged to an age as late as Clement, and he finds particular confirmation of this view in the mention (478. 48) of the use of Thericleian cups. It is quite true that Clement's description closely resembles that of the D. U. C. But it would relate, even were it Clement's own, to a period at least a hundred years before the D. U. C. was, according to Lucius, forged. But unfortunately for Lucius' argument, Dr. P. Wendland has shown in his Quaestiones Musonianae (Berlin, 1886) that Clement simply transcribed his descriptions of vice and luxury, along with much else in his Paedagogus, from the pages of Musonius Rufus, a first-century Stoic writer. We do not hear of Thericleian cups later than Pollux and Athenaeus. The latter, who lived early in the third century, treats of them from a purely archaeological point of view, and refers to Theophrastus and other old writers for information of what they were like; from which we may infer that they were in his day no longer in use. Clement certainly copied out his mention of Thericleian cups from Musonius, so that Lucius' argument really proves the opposite of what he supposes[1].

[1] It is also to be remarked that the denunciation of Greek vice which occupies 480. 20–481. 3 was, like the kindred denunciations of St. Paul, appropriate to

LXXXVIII. (14) On pp. 118 and 166, Lucius argues that the D. U. C. is spurious, because in the passage 482. 5–13 we have depicted a feminine ideal peculiar, as he imagines, to the age of Tertullian and Methodius. I need only refer my readers to the testimonia of this passage and to §§ XLIII and XLIV of this Excursus, to convince them that, if this ideal was Christian, it was yet none the less Philonean. On p. 192 Lucius affirms that 'das Ausbreiten der Arme beim Gebete . . . war nur bei den Christen üblich.' Let me refer him to my testimonia on 481. 34 foll. In the same place he asserts that in the prayer at dawn 'das Wenden des Gesichtes gegen die aufgehende Sonne war also nur bei den Christen üblich.' To such a criticism I need but quote his own words, p. 44 of his work: 'Nur am Morgen ihres "grössten Festes" beteten sie, das Gesicht nach Osten gewandt, aber im Osten lag ja auch für sie Jerusalem, nach welcher Richtung hin alle Juden ihre Gebete verrichten sollten.' Cp. Dan. 7. 10: 'Daniel . . . went into his house (now his windows were open toward Jerusalem); and he kneeled upon his knees three times a day, and prayed, and gave thanks before his God.' As Lucius rightly says, there is no need to connect the Therapeutae with the Essenes in the matter of this observance.

LXXXIX. (15) I will in conclusion touch on the argument *a silentio* which Lucius expounds in his third chapter. Tourists, he says (p. 76), abounded in Egypt, yet none of them speak of the Therapeutae there or elsewhere! Even if there remained to us the works of Lucius' ancient tourists in Egypt and they said nothing about the Therapeutae, I should not be surprised. For how many of our consuls have there not been in the East, during the last fifty years, who knew nothing of the Babiism which was spreading around them; and what should we know of it now, except for the labours of Mr. E. G. Browne?

But, argues Lucius, Josephus says nothing about it. Is he not also silent about the Christianity which was growing up under his eyes? Perhaps he ignored Christianity and Therapeutism for the same reason, namely, that he disliked Jews whom he regarded as

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the first century, but not to the end of the third. For a decree of the emperor Philippus Arabs had made it a capital offence fifty years before. See Aurel. Victor de Caesar. 28 'usum uirilis scorti remouendum honestissime consultauit,' and Lampridius Alex. Sev. 24; also Pistis-Sophia, p. 311, and Harnack's comments thereon.

visionary and unpractical. The opening words of the D. U. C., 471. 3: ἢ τὸ γοῦν ἀφορητότερον εἰπεῖν κ.τ.λ.—inexplicable on any theory of the spuriousness of the treatise—assure us that there was in Philo's day a party which considered Essenism, the *practical* sect, to be, above all question or dispute, the more perfect form of life and discipline[1]. Josephus was perhaps one of these partisans of Essenism, and disliked the allegorizing school of Alexandrian Jews. Ritter in his 'Philo und die Halacha' has remarked that there was already in Philo's day a strong reaction[2] against this school; and it is significant that whereas Philo relates that the Essenes philosophized most things in the Bible διὰ συμβόλων ἀρχαιοτρόπῳ ζηλώσει, Josephus is in his very full account of the Essenes silent on the point. He regarded his Bible as history, not as matter for far-fetched allegory. In similar words Philo in the D. U. C. 475. 40 refers to the συγγράμματα παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν κ.τ.λ.; and we may almost infer that the allegorizing method was already losing favour in his day, and had its roots more in the past than in the present. We must also bear in mind that the troubles[3] which

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The phrase τέλειον ἀγαθόν, under which in 474. 36 and in his other works (see § XVII of this Excursus p. 272) Philo refers to the Life of the Suppliants, has an obvious bearing on 471. 2, 3. The perfection which he ascribes to the Suppliants and to their contemplative life, many of his contemporaries ascribed to the Essenes. Philo is willing to concede that the latter excelled in most parts of life, but not in all. But even this concession would not satisfy the partisans of the Essene or active life.

[2] Philo refers in unfavourable terms to the literalist school of interpreters in the Quod Deus Immut. ch. 11, vol. 1. 280. Also De Sobrietate, 1. 397, ch. 7 ἀλλ' ἐσκέψαντο μὲν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἴσως οἷς ἔθος ἀκριβοῦν τὰς ῥητὰς καὶ προχείρους ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ἀποδόσεις· ἡμεῖς δὲ πειθόμενοι τῷ ὑποβάλλοντι ὀρθῷ λόγῳ τὴν ἐγκειμένην ἀπόδοσιν διερμηνεύσομεν, ἐκεῖνα ἀναγκαίως προειπόντες. De Confus. Ling. c. 38, vol. 1. 433 ταῦτα μὲν ἡμεῖς. Οἱ δὲ τοῖς ἐμφανέσι καὶ προχείροις μόνον ἐπακολουθοῦντες οἴονται κ.τ.λ. How differently he speaks of the allegorizing school, e.g. De Sp. Leg. 3. ch. 32, vol. 2. 329 ἥδε μὲν αἰτία ἡ παρὰ πολλοῖς εἴωθε λέγεσθαι. Ἑτέραν δὲ ἤκουσα θεσπεσίων ἀνδρῶν, οἱ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ὑπολαμβανόντων εἶναι σύμβολα φανερὰ ἀφανῶν καὶ ῥητὰ ἀρρήτων. The θεσπέσιοι here were no doubt Therapeutae, cp. 483. 43 foll. So De Circumcisione, ch. 2, vol. 2. 211 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἰς ἀκοὰς ἦλθε τὰς ἡμετέρας, ἀρχαιολογούμενα παρὰ θεσπεσίοις ἀνδράσιν, οἳ τὰ Μωϋσέως οὐ παρέργως διηρμήνευσαν. Cp. De Anim. in Sacrif. idon. ch. 7, vol. 2. 243. In the De Migr. Ab. 1. 450, which I have cited at 483. 43, Philo speaks of the literalists still more sternly than in the two passages above quoted. The author of the book of Jubilees may have been one of the literalists whom Philo disliked.

[3] These troubles but served to narrow, while quickening, Jewish patriotism. A reaction would follow against Greek learning and even against the use of the Septuagint, which was never popular among strict Jews. Now, as Scaliger

overtook the Jews of Palestine and Egypt, in the reigns of Caligula and of Vespasian, would lead to the disappearance of a dreamy, contemplative and over-ascetic sect, whose allegorizing methods moreover must have tended to undermine the reverence of the Jews for their national Scriptures, and slowly but surely to enfeeble their patriotism. Philo himself laments (De Spec. Leg. lib. 3, ch. 1, vol. 2. 299) that he is forced by the former troubles to abandon his solitary life of peace and contemplation, and plunge into the vortex of politics. It is more than likely therefore that when Josephus wrote, the sect had almost faded away. Philo (loc. cit.) sighs for a brief *εὐδία καὶ γαλήνη θορύβων τῶν ἐκ πολιτείας*. He little dreamed of the death-struggles of his race which were so soon to ensue, and rob his fellow Suppliants of that contemplative leisure which they had enjoyed during the two peaceful reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, rulers to whom Philo in the De Legat. ad Caium looks back with mingled regret and gratitude.

XC. (16) As for Strabo's silence, it imports nothing. In his long and full description of Egypt he only once glances in a single line at the Jews, to say that the papyrus trade was in their hands. From his account of Alexandria you could not infer that there was a single Jew in the city. The silence of Pliny imports still less. Of Apion's Polemic against the Jews we know too little from Josephus to say whether he mentioned the Therapeutae or not. The dislike of the Jews in Egypt was connected with commerce; and as the Therapeutae renounced the commercial life (481. 37 *τὰς δὲ χεῖρας, ὅτι καθαραὶ λημμάτων ὑπ' οὐδεμιᾶς προφάσεως τῶν εἰς πορισμὸν μιαινόμεναι*), they may have escaped the rancour of Apion. The silence of Porphyry also goes for nothing. So far as we can judge he never had a book of Philo's in his hands.

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remarked, all the technical terms of the Therapeutae, *μοναστήριον, ἐφημερευτής, πρύεδρος*, &c. are Greek, and the sect consisted largely of Greek converts. To an Aramaic-speaking Jew the allegory of Philo and of the Therapeutae was an overlaying of God's word with the detestable Gentile learning, a violation of the literal truth; e. g. even Philo 1. 226, 5 writes thus: *τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασι προχείρου φαντασίας πολύ τ' ἀληθοῦς ἀποδεούσης*, about Gen. 4. 16 and about Gen. 2. 21 *τὸ ῥητὸν ἐπὶ τούτου μυθῶδές ἐστι* (1. 70). So 1. 315 of Gen. 49. 17 he writes: *ταῦτα δ' οὕτω λεγόμενα φάσμασιν ἔοικε καὶ τέρασι*. Jewish fanaticism, which culminated with the taking of Jerusalem by Titus, would hardly tolerate such a school of criticism as the Therapeutic, of which works as represented in Philo have accordingly survived to us only through the patronage of the Christians.

On p. 80 Lucius remarks on the silence of Clement of Alexandria with regard to the Therapeutae. But Clement may have read the D. U. C., and in one passage seems to imitate it. We have after all comparatively little left of Clement and Origen, and not a line of Pantaenus; so that it is a bold thing for Lucius to say that no Christian writer ever noticed them. Lastly, on pp. 81, 82 Lucius dwells on Philo's own silence: 'Ausser D. U. C. werden sie nirgends in seinen Schriften erwähnt, noch wird auf irgend welche Weise ihre Existenz vorausgesetzt.' This is not so. Philo's glances at contemporary things and events are, except in the Leg. ad Caium and the In Flaccum, very few and far between; but still a goodly proportion of these references concern the Suppliants; and I have enumerated several of them in §§ IV–XXI of this Excursus.

XCI. (17) But no one who reflects how fragmentary our knowledge is even of those ages of antiquity which we know best, will be surprised that no memorials of these recluses have survived to us, save in the pages of Philo, whose entire philosophy and way of looking at things must have led him to take a profound interest in such a sect. Ancient history is like a night-landscape, over which we grope, vaguely discerning a few outlines in the general gloom, and happy if here or there the works of a particular author or a ruin or work of art momentarily illumine, like a lightning flash in the dark, the particular field which we are exploring. How little do we know of the planting of Christianity in Rome, the city of whose first-century history we know most: or of the Judaism passing into Christianity of Bithynia and Pontus! All on a sudden a letter of the younger Pliny, preserved by a mere accident, reveals to us a strength of Christianity in those regions, of which we otherwise have no inkling. What do we know of the spread of Christianity in Africa before the age of Tertullian, or in Spain before the letters of Cyprian reveal it to us full-grown? It is the same with the conversion of the Copts. We know nothing about it, till suddenly we hear of the vast numbers of their monks in the fourth century. In the fifth and succeeding centuries up to the tenth there were races, like the Goths and Bessi, and the Albanians of the Karabagh, who had entire Christian literatures, of which nothing or next to nothing remains to us.

XCII. But Lucius had a predecessor in his peculiar line of research. Dr. H. Graetz, in vol. iii. of his Geschichte der Juden, Leipzig, 1863, p. 463, had passed judgement on the Therapeutae:

'Our information (Nachrichten) about whom,' he wrote, 'has misled inquirers, and even led the competent critic Zeller[1] to form false conclusions.' Prof. Graetz knows all about the book which has caused so much confusion: it is 'Ein Werk *eines Christen*, welcher die Tendenz hatte, einen Panegyricus auf asketisches Mönchsleben zu halten und das höhere Alter desselben durch Philo's Autorität zu bestätigen.' The evidence of this is clear and obvious, says Graetz, to any careful reader of the D. U. C. However, he condescends to give us a few reasons. They are as follows (the italics are always his):

(α) 'Josephus and Pliny say nothing about the Therapeutae.' This objection I have already discussed.

(β) 'The dislike of feminine intercourse is put forward by Josephus as a characteristic of true Essenes, whereas *the Therapeutae must have lived in the closest intimacy with their feminine fellows* (*θεραπευτρίδες*).' Where, one may ask, did Graetz learn that the Therapeutae were Essenes? I have already pointed out that the references in the D. U. C. to the zeal and presence at the feast and in the Sabbath meeting of the female Therapeutae, are by way of contrast with the misogynist tendencies of the Essenes, whom Philo had described in the first part of his *πραγματεία*.

(γ) 'The exordium of the D. U. C. reveals the spuriousness of the work so plainly that the writer must have intended thereby to warn us that it is not Philonean.'

On reading this one feels inclined to ask: Did Prof. Graetz ever read any other work of Philo's? Did he ever do more than glance carelessly over the D. U. C.? He continues thus: 'It (i. e. the D. U. C.) coheres with the Q. O. P. L. which described the practical Essenes, as it pretends to characterize the speculative Essenes . . . But the Q. O. P. L. only mentions the Essenes incidentally, a twelfth part thereof being devoted to them. It is not as a whole occupied with the Essenes. 'Wie komisch nehmen sich daher die Eingangsworte der Schrift über die Therapeuten aus: *Ἐσσαίων περί* (sic) *διαλεχθείς, κ.τ.λ.*'

Where did Graetz learn that the D. U. C. is an appendix to the Q. O. P. L.? All that is really comic is his blind trust in his own untested assertions.

(δ) 'The proofs advanced by Eusebius in favour of the Thera-

[1] Prof. Zeller however has subsequently changed his mind and given his assent to the hypothesis of Lucius.

peutae being Christians are so striking, that it is inconceivable that people should for so long have regarded them as a Jewish sect . . . obwohl in deren Leben nicht ein einziges jüdisches Moment hervortritt.' Graetz then gives the *pièces justificatives* of this last assertion :

XCIII. *a*. 'The Therapeutae were not merely round Alexandria, but πολλαχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης, i. e. in Greece and Babylonia. Who,' he asks, 'can doubt for a moment dass hier nur von *Christen* überhaupt die Rede ist, for there were Christians everywhere in the second and third century, though not in Philo's day?' This is not to prove but only repeat his first assumption.

b. 'The cells of the Therapeutae were called monasteries. Here is an unmistakable reference to the monks' cells, which existed long before Anthony of Thebes, the founder of the monkish order.' Philo's use of μοναστήριον I have already discussed in my commentary. If the thing existed 'long before Anthony of Thebes,' why may not the name also have existed? Prof. Graetz might as well argue that the passages of Philo's L. A. C., in which the schools of the Jews all over the empire are spoken of as φροντιστήρια, must be spurious, because the fourth-century monks appropriated this name to their coenobia.

c. 'The Therapeutae had not only common meals, sondern nahmen nach dem Mahle eine Art *Abendmahl* (παναγέστατον σιτίον) ein, bestehend aus ungesäuertem (=unleavened!) Brode, woran jedoch nicht alle Theil nahmen, sondern nur die Bessern, die solches als besonderes Prärogativ genossen haben: ἀπέχεσθαι δὲ τῶν ἄρτων (ἀζύμων οἱ ἄλλοι) ἵνα ἔχωσι προνομίαν οἱ κρείττονες (484). Ist das nicht christlich?'

Professor Graetz can neither quote nor translate nor understand aright the text he is in such a hurry to reject as spurious.

(1) Philo does not say that the Therapeutae partook of a sacrament or of anything else *after* their meal. He speaks of one single meal, which can by no stretch of the imagination be identified with either agape or eucharist.

(2) The Therapeutae ate *leavened* bread out of respect for the unleavened shewbread which was offered on the holy table in the Jerusalem temple, which must yet have been standing when the Greek text, which Graetz cannot translate, was written.

(3) The κρείττονες, whose privilege was to be respected, were the Jewish Levites (as a historian of the Jews should know), and not

the Therapeutae; none of whom, so far as we know from the text, reserved anything to themselves. Probably the *νέοι* ate their meal when the elders had finished.

d. 'The Presbyters had a higher rank not dependent on their age . . . we therefore have here the Presbyters or Bishops of the Christian communities.'

Is it necessary to remind Prof. Graetz that among the Jews the title of Presbyter implied not so much age as skill in the law? They too were laics. In Paul 1 ad Tim. 5. 17 we read: *οἱ καλῶς προεστῶτες πρεσβύτεροι διπλῆς ἀξιούσθωσαν, μάλιστα οἱ κοπιῶντες ἐν λόγῳ καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ.* In the earliest Christian communities the rank of a presbyter depended as much on his character and wisdom as on his age; but that does not prevent its having also been the case in the Judaism out of which Christianity took its birth. In my testimonia accordingly, on 481. 42, I have given a number of passages from Philo of similar import.

e. 'The Therapeutae observed vigils (*παννυχίδες*) and fasted, some a whole day, others three days, others six. Eusebius rightly sees herein the Christian rites observed "vor dem Ostersonntag."'

Clearly Graetz sees no difference between Easter and Pentecost. As to the *παννυχίδες*, has he never read in the Talmud of how the Feast of Tabernacles, and no doubt other Feasts also, were celebrated? As to the Feasts of the Therapeutae, has he never heard of the Pharisees, who were not content to fast on the second and fifth days of the week, but, as Lightfoot, Horae Heb. in Ma. 9. 14 informs us, 'indixerunt sibi ipsis non raro ieiunia eo fine, ut felicia adipiscerentur insomnia. . . . Hinc Phraseologia ista usitatissima תענית חלום, Ieiunium pro insomnio. . . Permissum est hac de causa ieiunare Sabbato, quod alias prohibitum.' In the *askesis* of the Therapeutae there is a hint of the same connexion of fasting and dreaming dreams (cp. 475. 22–25 and 30–33).

f. 'Most of the women were aged virgins. These were the *ἀδελφαί* of the Christian church, who gave rise to such scandals.' I venture to think that the deaconesses, whom Cyprian found so obstinate, were young women, not old ones. In the latter case the triumph of Christian chastity would have been too easily won. However that may be, Graetz' criticism is irrelevant; for a score of passages in Philo are inexplicable, except on the supposition that in his religious circle the estate of virginity was as much reverenced, as it was a very few years later among the early Christians; who

were after all very often Jews and Jewesses. Cp. Acts 21. 9; 1 Cor. 7. 25–37; Apoc. 14. 4; Clem. Rom. 38; Hermes Pastor, Sim. 9. § 11; Ignat. ad Polyc. ch. 5; Justin M. Apol. 1. 15 (p. 62); Athenag. Suppl. 33. Ignatius also ad Smyrn. 13 refers to *τὰς παρθένους τὰς λεγομένας χήρας* which Lightfoot ad loc. explains from Clem. Alex. Strom. 7. 12 (p. 875) *καθάπερ ἡ χήρα διὰ σωφροσύνης αὖθις παρθένος*, and Tertull. de Exh. Cast. 1 'secunda [species] uirginitatis a secunda natiuitate, id est a lauacro, quae aut in matrimonio purificat ex consensu. aut *in uiduitate perseuerat* ex arbitrio.' In precisely similar language Philo asserts that a woman can regain her virginity by devoting herself to God in the passage already quoted from De Cherub. 1. 148 *ὅταν δὲ ὁμιλεῖν ἄρξηται ψυχῇ Θεός, πρότερον οὖσαν γυναῖκα παρθένον αὖθις ἀποδείκνυσιν*, and ibid. of Sarah, *ἀναδραμεῖν εἰς ἁγνευούσης παρθένου τάξιν*. Perhaps therefore, in the D. U. C. 482. 4, the *γηραιαὶ παρθένοι* included widows.

g. 'The proof of the Christian character of the Therapeutae lies also in their peculiar liturgy, metrical hymns, typische Auslegungsweise der Propheten, but the above suffices to prove Eusebius' position. . . . Der Verfasser (of the D. U. C.) gehörte wahrscheinlich entweder dem enkratitisch-gnostischen oder dem montanistischen Kreise an, der die asketische Lebensweise idealisiren wollte . . . The Therapeutae are Asketen einer häretischen Richtung.'

I would answer that not a word is said in the D. U. C. about the Liturgy of the Therapeutae. All that we do learn of their prayers and *διηγήσεις* is to be paralleled over and over again from Philo's other works. Their 'typical mode of interpreting the prophets' only exists in the imagination of Graetz. The references to hymns, old and new, are fairly numerous in Philo; we read, e. g. De Sept. ch. 18, vol. 2. 299, that the Passover is kept *μετ' εὐχῆς τε καὶ ὕμνων*. M. Massebieau (Le Traité de la Vie Contemplative, p. 33) gives a list of ten such references.

XCIV. In the concluding sections of my excursus I would draw attention to some of the peculiarities of the language of the D. U. C. In the Testimonia to the text I have given such of the parallelisms of thought and phrase as seemed after carefully reading twice through the whole of Philo to best illustrate it. In my commentary I have added several more such parallels, which presented themselves in the course of a third perusal, or which seemed after all worthy of notice. The chief aim however of my commentary was to illustrate the diction of Philo in the D. U. C.

from nearly contemporaneous writers, such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Polybius, Strabo, *Dio Chrysostom, *Alciphro, Diodorus Siculus, Epictetus, *Erotian, *Pollux, *Plutarch (Moralia), *Musonius Rufus, *Onosander, *Philostratus, Lucian, *Clement of Alexandria, *Galen (Scripta Minora), *Iamblichus (Protrepticus), *Porphyry (De Abstinentia), Josephus, *Oracula Sibyllina, *Ignatius, *Polycarp, and *Justin Martyr. With this end in view I read through almost the whole of such of the above as are marked with an asterisk. And the result was to convince me that the language of the D. U. C. bears exactly the same relation to that of these writers, as does that of the rest of Philo's works. That is to say, it thoroughly belongs to what Liddell and Scott term the Roman Period of Greek Literature. But of all these writers, it is with Plutarch that the language of the D. U. C. as of the rest of Philo, has the closest relations, as Siegfried has already remarked. I have also made free use of the lexicons of Sophocles, of Liddell & Scott, and above all of the great French Thesaurus.

XCV. It is needless to repeat from my commentary the many points of connexion between the Greek of the D. U. C. and the Greek of all these authors. It is not however superfluous to indicate some of the more striking agreements which it presents with Philonean diction in general.

And firstly we should note the occurrence in the D. U. C., of a large number of words and uses which according to the lexicons are almost, if not quite, peculiar to Philo, and occur in no other writer. The following list does not claim to be complete: *θεραπευτρίδες*: *ἀνθρωποβόρα*: *ἐμβόσκεσθαι*: *ὑπαλλαγή*: *ἰχνηλατεῖν*: *ἐπιφημιστέον*: *ἀραχνοϋφῆς*: *ἐπανίσωσις*: *πρωτογένεια*: *περιλιχνεύω*: *σκληραγωγία*: *πανέορτος*: *προεόρτιος*: *πανίερος*: *στείρωσις*: *ἀνορθιάζω*: *ἐνθύμια*: *ἐπιχειρονομέω*: *ἀπεικονισθείς*. Here are nineteen words within the short compass of this treatise, all or nearly all of them peculiar to Philo; though of course the lexicology of the Greek fathers, who inherited the works of Philo and of other Hellenic Jews, is so little explored, that we cannot say offhand that later patristic Greek did not contain them. A vast number of words occur in Philo, but are not met with again except in the Greek fathers of the third and fourth centuries. Of words used in the D. U. C. and in the rest of Philo, but otherwise rare, except in contemporary authors, a long list may be made. I adduce the

following: διαθλητέον: οἴκοθεν: ἀρχεγονώτερον: προσάπτειν='attribute to': ἀμέτοχοι: ἀθεράπευτος: παρευημερέω='excel': μονάγριον: πλευνάζω='be numerous': φαντασιοῦσθαι: ἀοίδιμα: χαράττω='write': παρεπιδεικνύμενοι: ἐφιζάνω: προκαταβαλόμενοι: ἐνευφραίνομαι: ἐξευμαρίζω: λιπαίνω: ἀκαλλώπιστος: ἀλέξημα: ἐμφοροῦμαι: ἀποτρώγω: μανιῶδες='maddening': ἐμπαροινέω: κακοτέχνως: ὑπερβλύζω: προευτρεπίζω: ἀνθοβαφῆς: περικαλλέστατα: σφηκούμενοι: ἔκλευκος='very white': ἀπαιωρέω: ἐφεδρεύειν='to wait in relays': διαλλάσσειν='excel': ἐπιδειπνίδας: ἀκροθώρηξ: κατοψοφαγοῦσιν: λωβήσαντες: ἄθυρμα: προσαναρρήγνυμι: μείωσις: σημειώδης='famous': παρείληπται: δισωμάτους: ἀποτέλεσμα: ἰοβόλος: μείωσις: περίττωμα: σωματικός: δύναμις='multiplicatio': εὐπαράγωγα: γνώριμοι='disciples': ὑφηγήσεις='praecepta': τεθηπότες: ἀειπάρθενος: πολυετεῖς: ἐνηβάω: ἐνακμάζω: εἰκαῖος='cheap': ἀπέχθεσθαί τινι='repugnare alicui rei': ἀρχέκακον: καταζεύγνυμι: διερεθίζω: γρύζειν: ἐπιλύομαι: ἐγχαράττω: γυμνός metaphorically (Diod. Lucian): συνομαρτεῖν: διαπόρησις: ἐναπόκειμαι (Plut. Aemil. 14): ἐφερόμενα='contained': ἐπιβολή (as in 484. 7): προσῳδίων: ἐξηχεῖν: παναγέστατον: προσύψημα: προνομία: ὑποσύρω: ἀνακόπη: εὐχαριστήριος: προφῆτις: ἀνακιρνάμενος: εὔμορφος: ἀνὰ κράτος: ἀνεξιπάτητος (Arrian Epict.: Pollux: Sextus E.: Arist. Pol. 8): φθάνειν ἐπί τι: χορηγεῖν: ἐντυγχάνειν='to read': some of these words are found in the poets of an earlier age; but in their prose use they are so many links by which the D. U. C. coheres, not only with the rest of Philo, but with the Attic writers who belonged to the same epoch of Greek literature.

Thirdly the D. U. C. contains a fair number of words found nowhere else, even in Philo, e.g. προκληρονομούμενοι: δυσάρεστος='distasteful, unpleasing': σεμνεῖον: μοναστήριον=ταμεῖον in N. T.: παραρτύω: παρακινηματικόν: καταπλαστῶν: περίκλινα: ἐπαναζωσάμενοι: ἐπιδιπλώσεσι: ἐπεντραγεῖν: ἐφημερευτῶν: εἴσκρισις='election': ἐπανάληψις: παρασπόνδειος (ὕμνος): ἄντηχος. These twelve words are virtually ἅπαξ λεγόμενα, though examples of them may well lurk in the Greek fathers, and even in writers of the Roman epoch; so much neglected is the lexicology even of the latter.

Lastly we must indicate some of the syntactical and other usages, which, being characteristic of Philo in general, are also found in the D. U. C. We may instance the following: πάσχουσιν οὐκ ἐλάττονα ὧν διατιθέασιν, a phrase to be exactly paralleled from Philo only, and from him often: the plural use of abstract substantives, e.g. αἱ οὐσίαι, κάλλη νοημάτων, ποικιλίαι, παρασκευαῖς,

εὐσαρκίας, ὑπηρεσίαις, ἀδικίαι, πλεονεξίαι, ἀφροσύναι, συγγενείας, περιουσίαις, ἐπιμέλειαι, γειτνιάσεις, φόβοι, ἡδονάς. Dr. L. Cohn (De Opificio Mundi p. l) points out how in this respect Philo imitates Plato and certain other Attic writers. The same writer notices how often the substantive verb is omitted by Philo after a relative or interrogative pronoun. In the D. U. C. we have examples of such omission in 472. 30; 473. 29, 30; 473. 43. It occurs also in simple enunciations, as 472. 37; 474. 21; 478. 34; and after *εἰ* in 477. 34.

'Adiectiuum quod uocatur praedicatiuum de nomine masculino uel feminino pendens frequentissime formam induit neutram' says Dr. Cohn (p. li). Of this we have examples in the D. U. C. 475. 11, 12; 480. 51, cp. 477. 25. In 472. 33, somewhat similarly, the verb *γεγόνασι* is plural by attraction to the predicate *λουτροφόροι*.

As in the rest of Philo, so also in the D. U. C. we may note peculiar uses of *αὐτός*, e. g. *αὐτὸ μόνον* (see Cohn, p. liii), and *ὀστέων αὐτῶν*.

'Particula *τε* non solum ad singula uocabula uerum etiam tota enuntiata adiungenda Philo usus est' (Cohn, p. lvii). So in D. U. C. 475. 5; 479. 10.

'Imprimis uerbis mediis pro actiuis uti solet' (Cohn, p. liv). So *ποιούμενοι στροφάς—διαπεράνηται τὸν ὕμνον—διακονουμένους* in 483. 17 (so Orig. in Matt. 799 C *διακονουμένους τῇ κλήσει*)—*ἀνεγράψαντο—ἃ πονοῦνται—ποιούμενοι παρασκευάς—προευτρεπιζομένους πότον—ἀνερευγόμενοι—προκαταβαλόμενοι—ὀνειροπολούμενοι—προιδέσθαι* (so Plato and Xen.)—*ἐπανορθωσάμενοι—προκληρονομούμενοι*.

'Pronomen *ὅσος* apud scriptores posteriores in simplicis relatiui notionem abiit amissa notione generali; itaque uocabulum *πᾶς* saepe cum eo coniungitur' (Cohn, p. liv). So in D. U. C. 479. 28 *ἁπάντων ὅσα*.

Dr. Cohn also notes as characteristic of Philo the use of the substantive verb with a participle, instead of a finite verb. So in the D. U. C. 480. 19 *μεγαφρονοῦντες εἰσί*, on which passage see my commentary.

Dr. Cohn further notices (p. lii) *ἐμφαγεῖν τοῦ καρποῦ* as a peculiarly Philonean use. So in D. U. C. *ὀστέων αὐτῶν ἐπεντραγεῖν*, 'to eat bones and all.'

'In deliciis Philo habuit dissolutam orationem qua plura deinceps uocabula *ἀσυνδέτως* sese excipiunt' (Cohn, p. lvii). So in the D. U. C. 479. 30; 478. 43–45; 478. 3, 4; 477. 37; 474. 18, 19; 484. 14, 15; 472. 5; 472. 16.

'Omnino chiasmi structura Philo usus est' (Cohn, p. lviii). So D. U. C. 478. 14; 479. 21, 22; 479. 41. But this device of Philo's fully developed style is rare in this treatise.

'Synonymorum uocabulorum cumultatio' (Cohn, p. lvi). This device is common in the D. U. C. Here are examples: *ἐζήλωσαν καὶ διεπόνησαν—διαθλητέον καὶ διαγωνιστέον—χαλεπαῖς καὶ δυσιάτοις—αἱρεσθαι καὶ μετεωρίζεσθαι—μακαρίαις καὶ θείαις—ἀνήμερα καὶ ἀτίθασσα—ἄρχοντες καὶ δεσπόται—ὑπήκοα καὶ δοῦλα—βακχευόμενοι καὶ κορυβαντιῶντες—ἔνδειαν καὶ πενίαν—ἀλυσιτελεῖς καὶ βλαβεράς—ὀχληρὸν καὶ δυσάρεστον—αἰσθήσεων καὶ αἰσθητῶν—λογισμοῦ καὶ φρονήσεως—ζῆλον καὶ προαίρεσιν—ἐνευφραίνονται καὶ τρυφῶσιν—πλουσίως καὶ ἀφθόνως—πανέμπορον καὶ πανέορτον—ἐχθρόν τε καὶ ἐπίβουλον—ἀκαλλώπιστος καὶ αὐτοσχέδιος—παρακινηματικὸν καὶ μανιῶδες—ἄοικοι καὶ ἀνέστιοι—εὐμορφότατα καὶ περικαλλέστατα—στείρωσιν καὶ ἀγονίαν—πολυετεῖς καὶ παλαιούς—ἐνηβήσαντας καὶ ἐνακμάσαντας—περιβόητα καὶ σημειωδέστατα—κάλλιστον καὶ θειότατον—κλαυθμῶν καὶ θρήνων—ζῆλον καὶ πόθον—ἀδικίαι καὶ πλεονεξίαι—σπουδῆς καὶ προθυμίας—ἀστείους καὶ εὐγενεῖς—διαμέλλων καὶ βραδύνων—εὐτρόχως καὶ ἀπνευστί—ὑστερίζει καὶ ἀπολείπεται—συνιέναι καὶ κατειληφέναι—διαπτύξασα καὶ διακαλύψασα—ἁπλούστατα καὶ εἰλικρινέστατα—ἰδόντες καὶ παθόντες—ἐμπορευσόμενοι καὶ γεωργήσοντες.* There are few of these combinations which are not met with in other parts of Philo.

'Aoristo gnomico frequentissime Philo usus est; nec raro perfectum usurpauit pro praesenti' (Cohn, p. lv). So in the D. U. C. *κατέσκηψαν* 471. 20—*ὥρισται* 474. 15—*ἠξιώκασιν*—*ἐπέστησε* 477. 10—*ὑποβεβλύκασι* 478. 19—*ἐζημίωσε* 480. 36—*διανενέμηται* 482. 13—*ἀνῆψαν* 482. 30—*ἤρξατο* 483. 46.

'Imperfectum et aoristum paene promiscue usurpauit' (Cohn, p. lv). So in the D. U. C. *εὑρύνετο . . . ἐπέζευσεν.*

Philo is fond of a circumlocution formed of a preposition with substantive instead of an adjective or more direct expression. So *τὴν περὶ τὸν ἀέρα εὐκρασίαν* 475. 1—*τὴν περὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ μέλλον μέθης ἐλπίδα* instead of *τὴν τῆς μελλούσης μέθης ἐλπ.*—*τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἡδονῶν* 482. 8 for *τῶν σωματικῶν ἡδονῶν*—*τῶν εἰς κολακείαν οὐδέν* for *τῶν κολακικῶν οὐδέν* 477. 11.

Lastly Philo often uses *οὐ* where Attic idiom would require *μή* and conversely. Such laxity of usage is characteristic of post-classical Greek in general. In my Index Graecitatis I have noted a few passages where *μή* is used without, as it seems to me, being required.

In 478. 25 we have a bit of loose construction, a confusion of one construction with another: *οἶδα τινας οἳ ἐπειδὰν . . . γένωνται . . . προεντρεπιζομένους*, κ.τ.λ. Philo is seldom so careless of his Greek.

It would be possible to add to this list of parallelisms, in making which I have been guided by Dr. Cohn's admirable chapter in his edition of the De Opificio Mundi, entitled Obseruationes de Sermone Philonis.

INDEX GRAECITATIS.

The following list contains all the words contained in the D. U. C. For sake of brevity, and as the whole treatise is comprised in pp. 471–486 of vol. I of Mangey's edition, the references are made to those pages with the omission of the 4.

Words in thicker type have been noticed either in the Testimonia or in the Commentary, or in the supplementary references given after the word in the Index itself, as occurring elsewhere in Philo's works.

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GLOSSARY OF THE OLD LATIN VERSION.

ABSCONSAE naturae *ἀποκεκρυμμένης φύσεως* 150. 28.
quorum absque *ὧν ἄνευ* 152. 10.
abundat *πλεονάζει* 149. 25.
pro accendendo *παρὰ τὴν ἔξαψιν* 146. 24.
actibus ipsis non uerbis . . . uitam *τὸν πρακτικὸν βίον* 146. 3.
ad quantum *παρ' ὅσον* 146. 27.
pro corona adipiscenda *ἕνεκα νίκης καὶ στεφάνων* 153. 6.
adipiscere (*or* adipisci) = *ἐκπορίζω* 149. 16.
admittunt 151. 26.
admittunt = give up 148. 12.
ne mediocrius adseram *τὸ γοῦν ἀφορητότερον εἰπεῖν* 146. 4.
aduersarii *πολέμιοι* 148. 22.
adunantur *συνέρχονται* 151. 15.
aeris absconsio *ἀπ' ἀέρος κρυμός* 150. 5 (? as if from *κρύπτω*).
in sua sede atque albo *ἐν τῷ ἑαυτῆς συνεδρίῳ καὶ βουλευτηρίῳ* 150. 24.
aliquoties 152. 27.
altera *ἑτέρας* 146. 24.
altera uero quae 'other things which' 147. 2.
alteram *ἑτέραν* 149. 14.
alteri *οἱ ἄλλοι* 151. 12.
alterutro auxilientur *ἀλλήλοις ἐπιβοηθῶσιν* 150. 9.
amatores maximae solitudinis *οἱ ἐρημίαν μεταδιώκοντες* 150. 7.
amicitiarum societates *φιλικὰς ἑταιρείας* 149. 12.
amphibolo 152. 16.
quid amplius *τί πλέον* 148. 21.
aptissimos saltus *χωρίον ἐπιτηδειότατον* 149. 27.
De arida *χερσαίων* 147. 17.
armoniae sonis 150. 33.
artifex *τεχνίτης* 147. 1.
aspernantur *ἐκτρεπόμενοι* 152. 12.
assidue *or* assiduo 152. 23.
attamen *δέ* 148. 20.
aucellam = bird 147. 19.
per auditum *δι' ἀκοῆς* 151. 11.
auriculas *ὦτα* 152. 27.
auscultantes *ἀκροῶνται* 151. 13.
auscultatio *ἀντίληψις* 151. 21.

Barbariae partes *τὴν βάρβαρον* 149. 25.
perfecta beatitudo *τελεία εὐδαιμονία* 148. 4.
beneuolentia *προαίρεσις* 146. 12.
pro blandimento *εἰς κολακείαν* 152. 9.

Caecum sensum 148. 13.
caelesti amore rapiuntur 148. 6.
qui adhuc mente caligant *τοῖς ἔτι τὰς διανοίας τυφλώττουσιν* 148. 13.
cantica et hymnos *ἁσματα καὶ ὕμνους* 150. 32.
castella uicina *ἐπαύλεις* 150. 1.
causidici *ῥήτορες* 151. 9.
causidicis *λογογράφοις* 146. 8.
cautela habitantium *ἀσφάλεια* 149. 30.
cautius penetrans 151. 12.
cellulae *οἰκίαι* 150. 4.
limen cellulae *αὔλειον* 151. 2.
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cernere *βλέπειν* 148. 1.
cibantur *σιτοῦνται* 152. 5.
cibantur 152. 11.
cibantur *ἀπογεύεσθαι τροφῆς* 151. 31.
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dexteram coelantes 151. 5.
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comedunt 152. 29.
commeantes *ἰόντες* 148. 5.
dei commemoratio *θεοῦ μνήμη* 150. 16.
pro commendatione meliori *ἕνεκα τοῦ βελτιῶσαι* 146. 6.
commonentur ad escam *ὑπομιμνήσκονται τροφῆς* 151. 28.

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pro uoto suae communionis δι' ἣν ἀσπάζονται κοινωνίαν 150. 8.
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compotem boni (esse) ἀγαθοῦ μετασχεῖν 149. 23.
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ex inopia copiosos ἐξ ἀπόρων εὐπόρους 148. 18.
ueritati copuletur ἀλήθειαν ἰχνηλατεῖν 150. 24.
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corporales oculos τὴν ψυχῆς ὄψιν 147. 29.
more Corybantum 148. 7.
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tertio cubitu ἐπὶ τρεῖς πήχεις 151. 18.
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curat corpora σώματα θεραπεύει 146. 15.

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decantant ᾄδουσιν 148. 14.
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dedicantes pro fundamento cordis abstinentiam ἐγκράτειαν . . . προκαταβαλλόμενοι 151. 23.
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describunt χαράττουσιν 154. 1.
dentibus desecantes degustant ἀποτρώγουσι 152. 28.
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desolati μονούμενοι 150. 11.
omnino despiciunt ἀπομειλίσσονται 152. 9.
detentas κεκρατημένας 146. 16.
detenti somno ἐν ὕπνοις 150. 19.
detondentes ἀποτρώγουσι 152. 27.
differentiores διενεγκόντες 146. 5.
dignum est, w. infin. to render the Greek imperative 147. 28.
diiudicant (*or* adiudicant) κρίνουσιν 151. 25.
diligentiam, animae ψυχῆς ἐπιμέλεια 152. 4.
diluendarum lectionum τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἀλληγορουμένοις ἰδέας 150. 30.
dimisere substantias χαρισάμενοι τὰς οὐσίας 148. 29.
dimisere ἀπολείπουσι 148. 9.
possessiones dimiserunt τὰς κτήσεις ἀνέντες 148. 17.
directo (*or* -te) cognoscitur γνωρίζεται 147. 30.
discernuntur ἀποκριθείς 151. 16.
disciplina ἐπιστήμη 147. 5.
disciplinae amor πόθος ἐπιστήμης 151. 28.
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non ad dissipandum μὴ διαφθείραντες 148. 29.
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e diuerso ponendo ἀντιτάξας 152. 23.
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diuitiae περιουσίαι 152. 20.
dominas δεσποίνας 152. 8.
dominii immutationem δεσποτῶν ὑπαλλαγήν 149. 16.
dum 'because' 149. 21.
dum = δέ 146. 12.
dum simulat et καὶ . . . δέ 152. 15.
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escae egentia τροφῆς χρείαν ἔχοντα 147. 20.
ne esuriant 152. 11.

esuries ἔνδεια 152. 1.
qui semel amori sapientiae deditus euigilauerit τις ἅπαξ ὑπὸ σοφίας ἀχθείς 149. 18.
tertio uel quarto cubitu exaltatus ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἢ τέσσαρας πήχεις εἰς τὸ ἄνω 151. 19.
excessum animi ἔκστασις 152. 25.
exercitii ἄσκησις 150. 25; 153. 7.
existere γενέσθαι 146. 11.
pro existimatione ἐν ὑπονοίαις 150. 27.
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pro expeditione uerae religionis ἐν τῷ φιλοσοφεῖν 148. 30.
exquisitum πολυτελές 152. 5.
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Famulosa δοῦλα 147. 25.
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festiuissimam πανίερον 152. 2.
figura σχῆμα 147. 2.
ueritatis (*or* deitatis) figuras explorant 150. 32.
pro foedere ἐν σπονδαῖς 153. 3.
pudori foeminini sexus αἰδῶ τῇ γυναικείᾳ φύσει 151. 20.
perturbationis fons est γέμει θορύβων 149. 17.
fons (*or* frons) unionis praecipua μονάδος ἀρχεγονώτερον 146. 20.
fontanea aqua ναματιαῖον 152. 7.
friuolus amictus ἐσθῆς εὐτελεστάτη 152. 15.
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Gemina species διττὸν εἶδος 152. 13.
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gerentes connubia 153. 4.
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Ignominia χλεύη 147. 6.
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immanissima ἀγριώτατα 147. 16.
ab se immobilis ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ἀκίνητος 147. 1.
immorantes = ἐπιμανέντες 147. 10.
immorantur 152. 17.
immutationem dominii δεσποτῶν ὑπαλλαγήν 149. 15.
latronum impetus λῃστῶν ἔφοδος 150. 9.
impoenitibiliter ἀμεταστρεπτί 149. 10.
in hoc . . . suos laesere τοῦτο εἰργάσαντο 148. 24.
in w. abl. of motion to, e.g. transmigrant in altera ciuitate 149. 14.
incessabilem ἄληστον 150. 16.
incisa 147. 12.
incitamento furoris παρακινηματικόν τι καὶ μανιῶδες 152. 24.
inconstantia ἀκρασία 147. 8.
philosophiae indaginem 151. 25.
indeliciantur sapientiae gremiis ἐνευφραίνονται ὑπὸ σοφίας 151. 29.
indicabo λέξω 146. 6.
indomiti canes κυνῶν ἀτιθάσων 152. 26.
indumentorum σκέπης 152. 12.
inexplicabilis congeries ἀνήνυτον πλῆθος 146. 18.
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inhonestis usibus τῶν ἀτιμοτέρων 147. 14.
inordinantiam 148. 3.
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insidia ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς 148. 25.
insidiosa δελεάσαι δυνατώτατον 149. 3.
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intuentes ὁρῶντες 147. 19.
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inuicinissimum ἐγχώριον 147. 18.
inusitatum φυσικόν 152. 25.
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irrogantes, omnem speciem nequitiarum 153. 4.

Morsibus laniantes δάκνουσιν 152. 27.
ipsos lares τὰς πατρίδας 149. 12.
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lauacrum λουτροφόροι 147. 13.
pedum lauandorum ποδόνιπτρα 147. 13.
lenire ἐξευμαρίζειν 152. 2.
leniter lumbis remissam ὑπεσταλμένην παρὰ τῇ λαγόνι 151. 6.
leuando παρὰ τὸ αἴρεσθαι 146. 25.
in ipso mensarum libamini 153. 2.
libidines ἡδοναί 146. 16.
ligero (*or* liero) 151. 6.
locupletes massas τὰς οὐσίας 148. 15.
locupletissimis ἀφθόνως 151. 30.
e longinquo ἐξ ἀπόπτου 151. 2.
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Magistros ἀρχετύποις 150. 30.
magnificantur τελειοῦνται 150. 15.
magnitudo uirtutis μέγεθος ἀρετῆς 146. 10.
magnopere ἀναγκαίως 150. 33.
malitiarum κακιῶν 146. 18.
manant ῥέουσι 152. 19.
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mansionis 152. 15.
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manufacta pauperies χειροποίητος ἔνδεια 148. 24.
maritimo situ adhaerente 150. 2.
locupletes massas τὰς οὐσίας 148. 15.
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boni melior ἀγαθοῦ κρεῖττον 146. 20.
pecuniarum meliores χρημάτων κρείττους 148. 16.
meminisse w. acc. 147. 15.
mendacio 152. 14.
mendacium τὸ ψεῦδος 147. 30.
mendositas *or* mendacitas ψεῦδος 152. 18.
de meo οἴκοθεν 146. 6.
meraculo ἄκρατον 152. 23.
merito ἐτύμως 146. 13.
miluum ἴκτινον 147. 19.
ministerio cedunt πρὸς τὰς χρείας ὑπηρετεῖ 152. 25.
minus planetarum = ἀπλανεῖς 147. 4.
minus rationabilia = ἄλογα 147. 23.
mitiori aspectu καθεστῶτι βλέμματι 151. 6.
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modestissimae uitae σεμνοῦ βίου 150. 11.
modicum noctis νυκτὸς βραχύ τι μέρος 151. 27.
momenta oratoriae interpretationis τὰ τῆς ῥητῆς ἑρμηνείας 150. 27.
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moras διαγωγάς 152. 22.
multimodis metris διὰ παντοίων μέτρων 150. 33.
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munitionem ἀσφάλειαν 150. 1.
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corporis necessitudinem σώματος ἀνάγκας 151. 26.
corporis necessitudo σώματος χρείας 150. 12.
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Obiicere προσάπτειν 147. 9.
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obstrusi πεπηρωμένοι 147. 29.
solis occasum ἡλίου δύσεως 151. 24.
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oculatas diuitias τὸν βλέποντα πλοῦτον 148. 12.
offendente ἐμποδίζοντος 151. 22.
omissis possessionibus 149. 9.
omittam δίχα τοῦ 147. 7.
operantur ἀπεργάζεται 150. 4.
nefando operantur ἐργασάμενοι 153. 3.
operata, ad hoc tantum—152. 14.
oppido enim 146. 14.
oppressi πιεσθέντες 148. 23.
orare εὔχεσθαι 150. 20.
oratoriae ῥητῆς 150. 27.
ordinantur considentes ἐξῆς καθέζονται 151. 4.
origo ἀρχή 147. 7.
sine ornamento ἀκαλλώπιστος 152. 13.
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Pallium χλαῖνα 152. 16.
paratissima 152. 14.
parentelae συγγενεῖς 148. 11.
iniurias parturire ἀδικίαν γεννώσης 149. 7.
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patria *συγγενῆ* 147. 13.
ante paullulum *πρὸ μικροῦ* 147. 12.
penuriis subuenerunt *ἐνδείας ἐπανορθωσάμενοι* 148. 18.
per w. acc. = *ἐπί* w. dat. 152. 25.
per omnia *συνόλως* 152. 17.
perdurant 151. 3.
perfectissimus *τελειότατος* 147. 5.
perfoederata legibus ciuitas *πόλις εὐνομωτάτη* 149. 17.
permaneo *διατελέω* 147. 28.
permiserunt massas *εἴασαν* 148. 15.
permittunt *δικαιοῦσιν* 146. 11.
pernicie, non sine—*οὐκ εὐαγῶς* 147. 8.
perturbationum *θορύβων* 149. 17.
pignora *μνημεῖα* 150. 30.
pinnis aurium *ἄκροις ὠσιν* 151. 11.
placatio *εὐημερία* 150. 21.
plantatorum *φυτῶν* 146. 27.
plurifariae *πολύτροποι* 152. 20.
pluriuaria *πολυάνθρωπος* 149. 11.
ponderosa (*ὄγκος*) 149. 13.
portenta 147. 15.
sensuum portus 147. 28.
praecipua fons *ἀρχεγονώτερον* 146. 21.
praecipue 151. 22.
praecipuus *ἀναγκαιότατος* 147. 28.
praedicari, rem optimam ubique — *μηδὲν καλὸν ἡσυχάζεσθαι* 146. 11.
curae praediorum *κτημάτων ἐπιμελείαι* 148. 31.
praefert *ἐθαύμασεν* 148. 20.
ante tempus praehaereditati *προκληρονομούμενοι* 148. 10.
dignis destinata praesagia = *θεσπισθέντα* 150. 14.
praesagientes *or* praesagantes 148. 7.
praesentiori priuilegio *ἐξαιρέτου γέρως* 152. 3.
praesidens = *παρελθών* 151. 6.
praesonantia uocis *τῆς φδῆς* 152. 2.
principes *ἀρχηγέται* 150. 29.
pro w. abl. = *πρός* w. acc. 150. 5; 150. 12.
pro w. abl. = *διά* w. acc. 150. 8.
pro with gerund = *παρά* 'because of' 146. 24, 25.
pro = *ὡς* 152. 12.
pro fundamento *καθάπερ θεμέλιον* 151. 23.
pro potando *διὰ τὸ ποτόν* 146. 26.
ut aliis prodessent *ἵνα ἑτέρους ὠφελήσωσι* 148. 30.
uerba proferunt religiosa *ἐκλαλοῦσιν* 150. 19.
proinde *μὲν γάρ* 147. 15.
promitto *ἐπαγγέλλομαι* 146. 14.
pronomina *ἐπωνυμίας* 146. 23.
per choros prophetarum *διὰ προφητῶν* 150. 13.
propinquitas *συγγένεια* 147. 24; 149. 12.
propositi *προαίρεσιν* 151. 17.
propositi melioris est 149. 8.
prosternantur *ἐνδῶσιν* 148. 23.
prouenit (*or* conuenit) *ἔδει* 149. 23.
prouiderunt *κατέσκηψαν* (as if from *κατασκέπτομαι*) 146. 16.
proximantes *πλησιάζοντας* 147. 27.
puerilis *μειρακιώδης* 147. 8.
pro pulmentis *ὄψον* 152. 6.
philosophiae cupidine pulsati *φιλοσοφίας ἱμέρῳ πληχθέντες* 148. 14.
puritatem disciplinae *ἐπιστήμη* 150. 14.

Qualitas *ποιότης* 147. 2.
quam optimum *καλόν* 149. 1.
quam plurima *πολλά* 150. 29.
quicquam 152. 9.
quidem . . . uero = *μὲν . . . δέ* 149. 3.
quidem *μέν* 147. 17.
quodlibet *μηδέν τι* 150. 12.

Rabientes inuicem 153. 3.
rapacissima *ἅπληστα* 147. 20.
raritate *σπάνει* 148. 23.
rationabiles *λογικοί* 147. 23.
minus rationabilia *ἄλογα* 147. 23.
cum rationabilitate *μετὰ λογισμοῦ* 151. 8.
rea conditionibus *γέμει ταραχῶν* 149. 17.
rea silentii *αἴτιον ἀφωνίας* 146. 10.
recedunt *φεύγουσι* 149. 10.
referunt *παραδηλοῦντες* 151. 14.
reficit *θεραπεύει* 146. 15.
corpus reficiunt *τὸ σῶμα λιπαίνουσιν* 152. 4.
religionem *θεωρίαν* 146. 5.
ad uota religionis *ἐπὶ θεραπείαν* 148. 4.
religiosum *ἱερόν* 150. 9.
religiosum genus *θεραπευτικὸν γένος* 148. 1.
remissior 152. 14.
remunerantur *ἠξιώκασιν* 152. 3.
repleuerunt *ἀναπιμπλᾶσι* 147. 27.
requirentes *ἐπιφέροντες* 152. 9.
resilit *ἐφιζάνει* 151. 11.
responsis locupletissimis *ἀφθόνως τὰ δόγματα* 151. 30.
resurgunt aduersus se *ἐπανιστάμενοι* 152. 26.
reuera 152. 29.

Sacramenta *μυστήρια* 150. 11.
sacratissimam *πανεόρτου* 152. 2.
saginare, coelestis luminis largitate *φωτὸς οὐρανίου ἀναπλησθῆναι* 150. 22.
saltus *χωρίον* 149. 27.
saluberrima *ἀοίδιμα* 150. 19.
salutatio nominis *πρόσρησις* 146. 12.

sanabilem statum *ὑγιεινοτάτην κατάστασιν* 150. 4.
sapientia *φρόνησις* 151. 8.
satiati 152. 24.
satietatem 152. 11.
scientes *νομίζω* 150. 27.
scientes *εἰδότες* 152. 18.
scrutantes 150. 26.
secant aut excidunt *κείρουσι καὶ δενδροτομοῦσι* 148. 22.
sectantur eiusdem propositi fructum 151. 17.
sectarum peritissimus *δογμάτων ἐμπειρότατος* 151. 7.
semideos *ἡμιθέους* 147. 6.
semnium *σεμνεῖον* 150. 10.
semoti *μονούμενοι* 151. 1.
unus senior *ὁ πρεσβύτερος* 151. 7.
sensualitatis huius mundi libera *τῶν αἰσθήσεων καὶ αἰσθητῶν ὄχλου ἐπικουφισθεῖσαν* 150. 23.
sequentes uirtutes *τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετάς* 151. 23.
sermocinatur 151. 8.
silentii *ἀφωνίας* 146. 10.
simplicitas 152. 18.
sine anima *ἄψυχος* 147. 1.
sine arte *ἀτεχνῶς* 146. 8.
sine medela *ἀθεράπευτος* 147. 27.
ne sitiant *ὥστε μὴ διψῆν* 152. 11.
eiusdem societatis *τοὺς ὁμοφύλους* 147. 26.
solitudinem imitari *ἐρημίαν μεταδιώκειν* 149. 20.
sollicitudo domesticarum rerum *περὶ βίον σπουδῆς* 149. 6.
spatiositas mimia *σφόδρα εὐκαίρως* 149. 30.
species *ἰδέα* 147. 2.
spectiores 153. 7.
imagines speculentur *φαντασιοῦσθαι* 150. 18.
spissiores *παχεῖαι* 150. 3.
splendores *κάλλη* 150. 17.
spontanea uoluntate *ἑκουσίᾳ γνώμῃ* 148. 10.
stabilita = *γενομένη* 150. 24.
super stagnum *ὑπὲρ λίμνης* 149. 29.
De statu Essaeorum *Ἐσσαίων πέρι* 146. 3.
stercoris *περιττωμάτων* 147. 21.
duplici structura munitum *διπλοῦς ἐστι περίβολος* 151. 15.
subiecta *ὑποβεβλημένη* 147. 1.
sublunaribus auris *τῶν κάτω σελήνης* 147. 17.
substantiae carentia *γεννώμενα* 147. 20.
substantialis culminis *τοῦ ὄντως ὄντος* 148. 1.
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NOTE.—An asterisk is prefixed to works which have not been directly consulted.

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Basnage, Histoire de l'Eglise (Rotterdam, 1699), bk. ii, ch. i, pp. 53, 54, refutes the Eusebian view.

F. Ch. Baur, Drei Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der alten Philosophie (Leipzig, 1876), S. 216; also in his Geschichte der christlichen Kirche (Tübingen, 1863), 3rd ed. p. 19 foll.; also in his Comment. de Ebionitarum origine et doctrina ab Essenis repetenda (Tübingen, 1831), p. 30 foll.

Beer, Peter, Geschichte, Lehren u. Meinungen aller bestandenen u. noch bestehenden religiösen Secten der Juden (Brünn, 2 Bände, 1822, 23, 8), 1. Bd. pp. 84–87. He summarises the D. U. C.

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Bellarmine. *See* Excursus, p. 322.

Beveregius, or William Beveridge, D.D., Bishop of St. Asaph, De Ieiunio Quadragesimali, lib. iii, ch. v in vol. xii of his Theological Works, reprinted by J. H. Parker (Oxford, 1848). *See* § lxv of my Excursus, p. 323.

Joseph Bingham, 1708. Collected Works (Oxford, 1855), vol. i, p. 2; Antiquities of the Christian Church, bk. i, ch. i; accepts the Eusebian view, appealing to the authority of Beveridge.

Anton Joseph Binterim, Denkwürdigkeiten der Kirche (Mainz, 1826), vol. iii, p. 408. 'The Therapeutae were in all probability Jewish monks, ... who to the punctilious observance of the Law added other virtues.'

David Blondel, in his work, Des Sibylles célèbres (Paris, 1649), l. 1, ch. vii, pp. 26, 27, rejected the Eusebian view.

Bouhier. *See* under Montfaucon and Excursus, p. 324.

Jacobi Bruckeri Historia Critica Philosophiae, editio altera (Lipsiae, 1766), tom. ii, pp. 764 and 779–787. Regarded the Therapeutae as heretical Jews, independent of the Essenes. 'Etsi vero, quam philosophiam secuti sint, non indicat Philo, immo credi uult, domesticam eos patriamque coluisse doctrinam, Graecanica longe superiorem, ... certum tamen putamus esse, ex collatis Therapeutarum et Graecorum opinionibus, multa ex Aegyptiaca et Platonica philosophia ad eos peruenisse; nec erraturos putamus eos, qui coniiciunt Cabbalisticam quoque metaphysicam inter eos viguisse.'

Thomas Bruno, Diss. de Therapeutis Philonis adversus Henricum Valesium, a Colomesio post Epist. Clem. Rom. edita, pp. 185–205 (London, 1695). Th. Browne was a canon of Windsor. He sent this work before he died to D. Voss. He argues that

the Therapeutae became at a later day the monks of Palladius, but were first converted by St. Mark.

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[**Louis Bultian**], Essai de l'histoire monastique (Paris, 1680), pp. 10–13, rejects the Eusebian view.

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Will. Cave, 1676, Vit. App. in Vita D. Marci, n. 3, rejects the Eusebian view. *See* also his Antiq. Apostolicae (London, 1676), p. 215 foll.

Martinus Chemnitius, Exam. Concil. Trid., written 1573, part iv, p. 120 foll. of edition of Francfort, 1596. In his chapter entitled de Essaeorum Abstinentia et quomodo illa in Ecclesiam inrepserit, this writer remarks how the error of Eusebius olim ualde multos seduxit et nunc a pontificiis tanquam caput Gorgonis praetenditur. He compares the D. U. C. with Chaeremon's account of the Egyptian priests, and concludes that in Philo's Essenes (i.e. Therapeutae) we have a mixture of the traditions of Judaism and Paganism. He compares Paul's language in Col. ii, and concludes that the Therapeutae represent the heresy assailed for its ἀφειδία σώματος, ἐθελοθρησκεία, its false show of humility (ταπεινοφροσύνη), for its δογματίζεσθαι, its precept of μὴ γεύσῃ, &c. No other writer of that age is more suggestive than Chemnitius, except perhaps Scaliger; and it may be noted that the late bishop Lightfoot virtually espouses his suggestion as to the nature of the Colossian heresy; though without seeing so clearly as Chemnitius, that St. Paul's censures fit the Therapeutae rather than the Essenes of Palestine.

T. K. Cheyne, The origin of the Psalter, 1889, p. 445, refers with approval to the works of Lucius, and sets down the D. U. C. to be 'a glorification of the Ἐσσαῖοι or Θεραπευταί.'

Leopold Cohn, in the Jewish Quarterly Review, Oct. 1892, pp. 38–42. A short but lucid defence of the genuineness of the D. U. C.

J. B. Cotelerius, Ecclesiae Graecae Monumenta (Paris, 1677), vol. i, p. 760, regards the Therapeutae as a branch of the Essenes.

Conybeare and Howson, Life of St. Paul, vol. i, ch. 2, allude to the Therapeutae as 'a widely-spread community in Egypt, who lived even in greater seclusion than the Essenes in Judaea.'

Credner, Über Ebioniten, &c. in Winer's Zeitschrift für wissenschaftl. Theologie, Heft 2 (1827), p. 211 ff., Heft 3 (1829), p. 277 ff.

Dähne, August Ferdinand, Geschichtliche Darstellung der jüdisch-alexandrinischen Religions-Philosophie (Halle, 1834), vol. i, pp. 439–470. A comprehensive account based upon genuine study of the rest of Philo's writings. The following paragraph gives his main conclusion: 'Dass nun aber diese Askese der Therapeuten auf denselben dogmatisch-philosophischen Grundsätzen ruhe, die wir bei Philo kennen gelernt haben und sie also in Wahrheit als treue Pfleger unsrer Alexandrinischen Philosophie anzuschen seien, würde sich schon dadurch empfehlen, dass man nicht leicht andere Principien selbst auffinden oder gar historisch begründen könnte, aus welchen jene Handlungsweise entsprungen sein möchte.'

Johannes Dallaeus. *See* Excursus, p. 322.

S. Petri Damiani (died 1072) Op. ed. Migne, tom. 2, Sermo xv de S. Marco Evangelista. Repeats the Eusebian view.

Delaunay, Revue archéologique, new series, vol. xxii (1870–71), pp. 268–282; xxvi (1873), pp. 12–22. Also 'Moines et Sibylles dans l'antiquité judéo-grecque' (1874), pp. 11–51. He writes in the latter work, p. 11: Les Thérapeutes se sont donc affranchis du sacrifice sanglant. Philo does not say so. But he recognises the Judaism of the Therapeutae and

holds by the genuineness of the D. U. C. He works out some of the hints of the sect contained in other Philonean writings, neither confuses them with Essenes, nor yet fails to see the affinities they had with the latter. M. Delaunay has also consulted the MSS. of Paris and Florence. In the Revue archéologique, vol. xxii, M. Delaunay discusses the Eusebian view of the D. U. C. In vol. xxvi he refutes Prof. Graetz.

*Claudius Delle, L'histoire ou l'antiquitez de l'état monastique ou religieux, lib. iii, cap. xiii.

J. Derenbourg, Journal Asiatique (1868), pp. 282–3, and Revue des Etudes Juives (1888), no. 31 (a criticism of M. Massebieau's work). He decides against the Philonean authorship of the D. U. C., and inclines to the views of M. Nicolas.

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J. J. I. Doellinger, Heidenthum und Judenthum, English translation (London, 1862), p. 317, recognises in the Therapeutae to have been orthodox Jews. 'They were nothing more than a body of Jewish ascetics, who neither wished to separate themselves from religious communion with the rest of their brethren, nor were expelled by them from its pale.'

*Dorscheus Indic. iniqu. p. 83.

The Rev. James Drummond, Philo-Judaeus (London, 1888), note on p. 24 of Introduction. 'The genuineness of the treatise De Vita Contemplativa, ascribed to Philo, can no longer be assumed. It has been rejected by Grätz, Kuenen, and others, and has been attacked with especial force by Lucius.' Ibid. p. 179: 'According to Philo (or rather the unknown author of the De Vita Contemplativa),' &c.

Joannes Stephanus Durantus, De ritibus ecclesiae (Romae, 1591), lib. iii, cap. iv, p. 302 adopts the Eusebian view.

Heinrich Ewald, History of Israel, translated by J. Estlin Carpenter (London, 1874), p. 375 foll. 'The highly enthusiastic description of Philo . . . rests unmistakeably upon an historical basis. . . . The essential features of the Essenes reappear among them.' Ewald also supposes that the Greek book of Wisdom may have been among their *συγγράμματα παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν*. As to the presence of women he notes p. 376: 'There could be no lack of proofs from the Scripture for the admission of godly women, both maidens and those who lived as maidens, and also for their partnership with men in sacred dance. Acc. to Philo ii, p. 485, they appealed for their authority for the latter to Ex. xv. 20 sqq.'

Dr. Edersheim (1887), in Art. on Philo in Wace's Dictionary of Christian biography. He rightly sees that the Therapeutae were Jews, 'neither heretics nor yet seceders from the synagogue, but rather an inner, esoteric circle in it, where the principles which underlay Alexandrian Judaism found their outward expression.' His remarks afford a good refutation of Lucius.

J. A. Fabricius, B. G. l. iv. ch. iv (Hamburg, 1717), recognised that the Therapeutae were Jews.

Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique (Paris, 1769), tome 1r, pp. 150–153, inclines to the view of Eusebius, but will not commit himself. Inaccurately locates the Therapeutae near Lake Moeris.

Franck, Séances et travaux de l'Académie des sciences morales et politiques, t. xxvii, 5e Série. p. 699 and foll.

Otto Frisingensis, Chronicon (Basileae, 1569), lib. iii, cap. xiii, p. 53, follows Eusebian view.

Nicolas Fuller, Canon of Salisbury, Miscellaneorum Theologicorum (London, 1617) lib. i, ch. iii. Follows Scaliger in rejecting the Eusebian view.

Gfrörer, Krit. Gesch. des Urchristenth. Bd. i, Abth. ii. pp. 280–299. A most valuable review of the D. U. C., which Gfrörer, like Mangey, considers to have been a youthful work of Philo's. He recognises that the Therapeutae are referred to in the De Profugis.

He concludes thus: 'Offenbar haben wir hier dieselben Grundansichten, die sich in Philos Schriften finden, nur dass sie von dieser Sekte bis zur Uebertreibung thätig angewandt wurden. Die Therapeuten sind die ersten Mönche.'

Antoine Godeau, Hist. Eccles. 4th edition (Paris, 1672), liv. i, an. 64, p. 203 foll., confuses the Therapeutae with the Essenes, and mixes all of them up together as the disciples of Mark in Egypt.

Thomas Godwinus, Ritus Antiquorum Hebraeorum, ed. quarta (Ultrajecti, 1698), lib. i, ch. xii. The Therapeutae are considered in connexion with the Essenes, and stress laid on the Pythagorean characteristics of both sects.

J. C. I. Gieseler, Ecclesiastical History, English translation (Philadelphia, 1836), vol. i, p. 32 (Introd. ii. Jews, § 17), regards the Therapeutae as platonizing Jews.

Prof. Graetz. *See* Excursus, § xcii.

Martini Hankii De Romanarum Rerum Scriptoribus, lib. ii (Lipsiae, 1675), pp. 71–89. As part of a fairly thorough notice of Philo, he examines and rejects the Eusebian view, holding the Therapeutae to have been Jews, though not Essenes. He sums up thus: 'Ex facili cadit Philonis opusculo innixa Christianorum Monachorum antiquitas temporibus Apostolorum aequalis.'

Ad. Harnack, in Herzogs Real-Encyklopädie, vol. xv (Leipzig, 1885), art. Therapeuten. He begins with a summary of the D. V. C. and apparently renders διὰ ἑπτὰ ἑβδομάδων 'every seventh week' (Ausser dem 7. Tag feiern sie auch noch den 49. und 50.). He then sketches the history of the controversy up to the time of Lucius' work of which he remarks: 'Es ist das Verdienst von Lucius, in einer musterhaften Untersuchung die Frage an dem richtigen Punkte angefasst und in der Hauptsache gelöst zu haben. Das Ergebniss ist folgendes: die Schrift De Uita Contemplatiua ist nicht lange vor Eusebius von einem litterarisch und philosophisch gebildeten und für die Askese seiner Zeit begeisterten Christen geschrieben, der den Zweck verfolgte, die allenthalben, namentlich in seinem eigenen Lande, Ägypten, aufkommende Sitte der christlichen Asketen, d. h. das mönchische Leben, durch eine panegyrische Schilderung zu verherrlichen und sie namentlich dadurch zu rechtfertigen, dass er im Namen und unter der Maske des allgemein hoch angesehenen Philo sie als etwas Altherkömmliches und in seiner Vorzüglichkeit längst Anerkanntes darstellte. Die Beweisführung von Lucius ist eine umfassende und siegreiche, . . . Philo ist weitherzig und ein Freund der hellenischen Bildung, jener (i.e. Pseudo-Philo) ist mönchisch bornirt. . . . Dass sie aber eine christliche, um das Jahr 300 abgefasste Schrift sei, ergibt sich aus folgenden Erwägungen . . . Daher darf man dabei bleiben: die "Therapeuten" sind christliche Mönche in Ägypten um die Wende des dritten Jarhunderts zum vierten.' Which result Harnack regards as having a hohe Bedeutung für die Geschichte des Mönchtums.

Hippolyte Helyot. Histoire des ordres monastiques (Paris, 1714) Dissertation Préliminaire, pp. 1–18. He upholds the views of Montfaucon.

Dr. L. Herzfeld. Geschichte des Volkes Jisrael (Leipzig, 1870), fünfzehnter Abschnitt, caps. 5 and 6. He considers that the Therapeutae were a Jewish sect, more recently founded than the Essenes, from whom they imitated some traits. Some features of their askesis were drawn from Pythagorean and native Egyptian sources. He also discusses the various kinds of hymns composed by the Therapeutae in his brief but well-considered notice.

*Chr. Aug. Heumann in Act. Phil., vol. iii. p. 512.

Joachim Hildebrand, De Precibus Veterum Christianorum (Helmstadii, 1655), lib. ii. cap. 27, p. 75, assumes the D. U. C. to be evidence of the practice of the early Alexandrian Church.

Hilgenfeld, Zeitschrift für wissenschaftl. Theol., 1880, pp. 423–440. In regard to Lucius' work, he writes: 'Haben wir nun endlich die Lösung des alten Therapeuten-Räthsels? Nach reiflicher Ueberlegung muss ich Ja sagen.' He then goes on to swallow Lucius' absurdities in detail. He does not seem, before writ-

ing his article, even to have read the D. U. C., or he would not write thus of p. 484. 22, 'Nach dem Hymnus bringen die Jungen den (Gott weiss wo?) vorhergenannten Tisch,' &c. He concludes thus: 'Erst Grätz und Lucius haben den Schwindel aufgedeckt.' In the eighteen pages which Hilgenfeld contributes on the subject, he gives no sign of having read the D. U. C. intelligently, while the rest of Philo he cannot have read at all, or he would not write (p. 426): 'Solche Askese ist auch dem Philo, abgesehen von dieser Schrift, noch ganz fremd.'

Lucas Holstenius. Codex Regularum (Romae, 1661), diss. cap. i. Denies that the Therapeutae were monks.

*Horn, Bibl. Gnosis (Hannover, 1805,8), p. 357 ff. Not in the Bodleian Library.

Rodolphus Hospinianus, De Origine Monachatus (Tiguri, 1588), cap. v, p. 8, gives an account of the Therapeutae in connexion with the Essenes, and following Chemnitius rejects the Eusebian view.

P. E. Jablonsky (c. 1740), Opuscula (Lugduni Batauorum, 1804), vol. i, p. 278 foll., suspects that Philo 'longe plurima, quae Therapeutis suis tribuit, ex institutis sacerdotum Aegyptiorum depromsisse'; and he appeals to the account of Chaeremon preserved in Porphyry, De Abstinentia, lib. iv. His 'Disputatio de Therapeutis' has never been edited. His posthumous editor Iona Guil. Te Water had not seen it, but asserts that in it Jablonsky contended that the Therapeutae were neither Jews, nor Christians, but Egyptian priests.

Jahn, Biblical Archaeology, translated by T. C. Upham (Andover, U.S., 1832), associates the Therapeutae with the Essenes.

Jost, Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Secten (1857), Bd. i, S. 214, Anm. 2: 'Die philonische Beschreibung der Therapeuten ist ein spätes Machwerk, wie Grätz, iii. N. 10, vollkommen überzeugend bewiesen hat.'

B. Jowett on St. Paul's Epistles (London, 1855), vol. i, p. 408, in Essay on St. Paul and Philo, remarked acutely that Philo 'seems to stand to the Therapeutae and Essenes in nearly the same relation as Basil or Chrysostom to St. Antony and the Christian Hermits.'

Ittigii, Thom., Select. Hist. Eccles. (Leipzig, 1711), Sc. i. c. 4, § 16, p. 240. Rejects Eusebian view.

Dr. Th. Keim, The History of Jesus of Nazara, English translation (London, 1876), vol. i, p. 384. He remarks that the 'opinion' (that the D. U. C. is spurious) 'does great violence to history, for the treatise breathes not only the spirit of Philo, but also that of pre-Christian and indeed Essenic Judaism.'

Dr. A. Kuenen, Religion of Israel, English translation, vol. iii, ch. ii (1875); p. 204, and notes pp. 217-223. He confuses the Therapeutae with the Essenes, yet holds that the D. U. C. is a *romance*, composed in Philo's name by a later writer, presumably of the third century of our era. . . . 'I entirely agree with Nicolas' main idea' (p. 222). '. . . Even should it be thought that their silence' (i. e. of Josephus and Pliny) 'may be accounted for, does it not still remain very strange that Clemens Alexandrinus also makes no mention at all of the Therapeutae?' Kuenen mistranslates δι' ἑπτὰ ἑβδομάδων, '*every* seven weeks,' and remarks (p. 221): 'The repeated observance of every fiftieth day has nothing in common with the Jewish feast of Pentecost. . . . Therefore we emphatically repeat the question, Is this true?'

Stephanus Le Moine, Varia Sacra (Lugd. Batav. 1685), vol. ii. 1097, rejects Eusebian view, but considers that the Christians inherited their hymns from the Therapeutae.

*Lenormant (Ch.), De la divinité du christianisme (Paris, 1869), upholds the Eusebian view. Not in the Bodleian Library.

Richard Le Quien. Oriens Christianus (Paris, 1740), vol. ii, p. 332, stoutly upholds the Eusebian view, following Montfaucon.

J. B. Lightfoot, in his essay on the Colossian Heresy (Epistle to the Colossians, seventh edition, 1884, p. 94), mentions briefly the Therapeutae as an 'ascetic sect,' which may have had an independent origin, but whose members exhibit substan-

tially the same type of Jewish thought and practice as the Essenes of Palestine.

Similarly in his essay on the Essenes in the same volume.

R. F. **Littledale**. Encyclopaedia Britannica, 9th edition. Art. on Monachism. Accepts Lucius' theory.

Lucius. *See* Excursus, p. 326 foll.

Magdeburg, Centuriae, I. lib. 2, cap. 11 of Ed. Basil. (1564). *See* Excursus, p. 322.

Thomas **Mangey**, in the Preface of his edition of Philo (London, 1742), rejects the Eusebian view on chronological grounds. He denies that the D. U. C. was a work of Philo's extreme old age, as Montfaucon's view assumed it to be. On the contrary, it bears internal signs of being a youthful work, libellum iuveniliter si quis alius conscriptum.

H. L. **Mansel**, The Gnostic heresies (London, 1875), p. 31, traces in the Therapeutae an union of Buddhist precepts and modes of life with Alexandrian Judaism.

M. L. **Massebieau**, Le traité de la Vie contemplative. Extrait de la Revue de l'histoire des Religions (Paris, 1888). A valuable analysis of the D. U. C. with parallels adduced from the rest of Philo and from contemporary writers. The author writes with a profound and first-hand knowledge of Philo's writings, and upholds the genuineness of the D. U. C. See also Le Classement des Œuvres de Philon, by the same writer, Extrait du tome i. de la Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Section des Sciences religieuses, pp. 59-61.

Reichlin-Meldegg, Theolog. Abhandl. (Greiz, 1829–8). Erste Abhandl.: Die Ursachen der Entwickelung des Mönchthums von s. Anfange bis zur Stiftung des ältern Benediktinerordens im Jahr 529, § 7 ff.

Jacobus **Middendorpius**, Historia Monastica (Coloniae Agrippinae, 1603), cap. 4, pp. 45–66, translates the D. V. C. and urges the Eusebian view.

Dictionnaire d'Ascéticisme publié par M. l'Abbé **Migne** (Paris, 1853).

The Eusebian view as upheld by Montfaucon and Hélyot, is upheld in the discours préliminaire. So in art. Moines, vol. i, p. 1038, and Thérapeutes, vol. ii, pp. 804–811.

H. H. **Milman**, History of Christianity (London, 1840), vol. i, p. 162, remarks that 'the Therapeutae, or Contemplatists of Egypt, were the lineal ancestors of the Christian monks and hermits.'

The Count de **Montalembert**, The Monks of the West, authorized translation (Edinburgh, 1861), vol. i, p. 292, rejects the Eusebian view, but sees 'in these solitaries the direct precursors of the monastic order.' He inaccurately locates them on Lake Moeris.

***Montague's** Acts and Monuments, ch. 7.

*Bernard de **Montfaucon**, Le livre de Philon de la Vie Contemplative, etc., traduit sur l'original grec, avec des observations, où l'on fait voir, que les Thérapeutes dont il parle étoient Chrétiens (Paris, 1709). This work is not in the Bodleian or British Museum Libraries, and I have not been able to see a copy of it. Also, Lettres pour et contre, sur la fameuse question, Si les Solitaires, appellez Thérapeutes, dont a parlé Philon le Juif, étoient Chrétiens, by Montfaucon and le Prés. Bouhier (Paris, 1712). I have only seen the work of 1712.

Bouhier's two luminous letters are the best commentary on the D. V. C. ever written. He conjectured *ἱερέων* for *ἱερῶν*, and on that account Montfaucon blamed him for altering the text to suit his theory. He also noticed the affinity of the Therapeutae to some sects of Pharisees.

J. L. **von Mosheim** (1737), Institutes of Ecclesiastical History, edited by William Stubbs, M.A. (London, 1863), p. 27, repudiated the Eusebian views and held that the Therapeutae were Jews, not Christians or Egyptians. 'In reality they were wild and melancholy enthusiasts, who led a life equally removed from the law of Moses and right reason.'

Muratori. *See* Excursus, p. 324.

John Mason **Neale**, History of the Holy Eastern Church, vol. i. on the Patriarchate of Alexandria (London, 1847), p. 5, speaks with strange inaccuracy of 'the celebrated passage in Philo Judaeus, in which he mentions the Therapeutae, who inhabited the

mountain and valley of Nitria (!), on the western side of the Nile.' He accepts Eusebius' view, and in his note says, 'A summary of the arguments on both sides may be seen in Mangey's (!) "Lettres pour et contre, Paris, 1712."'

Dr. Aug. Neander (1842), in his General History of the Christian Religion and Church (London, 1850), vol. i, pp. 81–85, gives a lucid and sober account of the Therapeutae, following the lines of Gfrörer and Dähne.

Michel Nicolas, in the Revue de Théologie, troisième série, sixième volume (Strasbourg et Paris, 1868), art. Les Thérapeutes, pp. 25–52. *See* above, p. 343.

Ohle, R., Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte, I. Die pseudo-philonischen Essæer und die Therapeuten (Berlin, 1888); and Theologische Literaturzeitung (1888), no. 20 (a Review of Prof. Massebieau's work). M. Ohle explodes Philo's account, not only of the Therapeutae, but of the Essenes as well.

*J. A. Orsi (Hist. Eccl. i. 77).

Papebrochius in diss. praevia ad acta S. Pachomii, tom. iii, Sanctorum Maji, p. 293, and ibid. Parergon, fol. 5. Allows the Eusebian view, but denies that the Therapeutae were Carmelites.

Samuel Parker, D.D. A Demonstration of the Divine Authority of the Law of Nature, and of the Christian Religion (London, 1681). Part 2, § 18, p. 245 foll. Upholds Eusebian view.

Gabriel Pennottus, Generalis totius sacri ordinis Clericorum canonicorum historia (Romae, 1624), lib. i. cap. i. p. 1, follows the view of Jerome.

Petauius. *See* Excursus, p. 324.

E. de Pressensé, Histoire des trois premiers siècles de l'Église Chrétienne (Paris, 1858), p. 302 foll. 'Nous avons dans l'existence des Thérapeutes en Egypte une preuve frappante de l'influence exercée par les idées orientales à cette époque.'

Prideaux (1715), The Old and New Testament connected, &c., part ii. bk. 5 (ed. Clarendon Press, 1838), vol. ii, p. 382 foll., refutes the Eusebian view. In reference to Bellarmin and Baronius, he writes pithily as follows: 'It is true Eusebius hath said that these Therapeutae were Christian monks, instituted by St. Mark, and so he hath said many other things without judgement or truth: and had these two great men been free from the interest and the influence of the party they were of, they would never have said this after him. In other particulars they are forward enough to condemn him, especially Baronius; but for the sake of their beloved monkery they follow him in this, which is the absurdest of all.' Prideaux also condemns the use made of the D. U. C. by the 'infidel deists' of his time.

E. Renan, Journal des Savants, 1874, p. 798, 'La question est toute philologique. Le traité de la *Vie Contemplative* offre-t-il le style de Philon, ses tours favoris, ses expressions habituelles? Si oui, la question est tranchée, car de dire avec certains critiques que le faussaire aurait pu imiter le style de Philon, c'est ce qui nous arrête très-peu. Dans la vaste littérature pseudépigraphe des siècles qui précèdent et qui suivent immédiatement notre ère, nous ne connaissons pas un seul exemple où l'on soit allé à ce raffinement. M. Delaunay affirme que, si le livre de la Vie Contemplative nous était parvenu sans nom d'auteur, l'historien, le critique, le philologue et le philosophe tomberaient d'accord pour l'attribuer à un Juif, à un Alexandrin, à Philon lui-même. La démonstration aurait gagné à être faite dans une forme plus technique.'

In regard to M. Nicolas' hypothesis that the D. U. C. was forged by a third-century Jew, M. Renan writes, p. 799, thus: 'M. Nicolas nous paraît avoir manqué de son tact critique ordinaire, quand il a osé rabaisser le livre jusqu'à la seconde moitié du IIIme siècle. Au IIIme siècle, les Juifs étaient plongés dans le talmudisme; ils ne connaissaient pas Philon, et sûrement il n'y avait pas chez eux un seul écrivain capable de composer un pareil traité en grec à l'imitation de Philon.

Prof. Réville. Revue de Théologie. Troisième Série, v. 228 foll.

Joh. Richardson, Praelection. Eccles. (Londini, 1726), Praelect. v, under

the title: Philonis Therapeutae an Christiani, pp. 87–104, urges the arguments of Valesius, along with others of his own, against Parker's Demonstration.

*Jos. **Sauer**, De Essenis et Therapeutis disquisitio, quam scripsit Jos. Sauer, (Vratisl. 1829. 8.). Not in the Bodleian Library.

W. **Robertson-Smith**, Religion of the Semites (Edinburgh, 1889), note on p. 284, refers to Lucius' work, it would seem, only through Schürer. He writes: 'On the supposed case of the Essenes see Lucius's books on the Essenes and Therapeutae, and Schürer, Gesch. des Jüd. Volkes, ii. 478. The Therapeutae, whether Jews or Christian monks, appear in Egypt, and most probably they were Egyptian Christians.'

Joseph **Scaliger**. *See* Excursus, p. 321.

Ph. **Schaff**, History of the Apostolic Church (Edinb. 1854), vol. i, p. 214. He places the Therapeutae 'on Lake Moeris (!), not far from Alexandria,' but does not dispute their existence.

Schürer, Prof. Emil, A history of the Jewish people in the time of Jesus Christ, vol. iii, p. 358, of the English Translation published by T. & T. Clark (Edinburgh, 1886). For Schürer's views, *see* above in Excursus, § lxix.

Also *see* Schürer's notice of Lucius' book in the Theol. Literaturzeitung, 1880, pp. 111–118.

*Heinrich **Scharbau**, Judaismus detectus (Lübeck, 1722), p. 142.

J. **Serrarius**. *See* Excursus, p. 321.

*D. Christ. **Sonntag**, Enneas Periocharum Philoniarum de Therapeutis' diss. (Altdorf, 1713).

Edmund **Stapfer**, art. Therapeutes in Lichtenbergers Encycl. des Sciences Religieuses (1882). Follows Nicholas and Lucius.

D. F. **Strauss**, Das Leben Jesu, dritte Auflage (Leipzig, 1874), § 28, p. 174 foll., regards the Therapeutae as a branch of the Essenes, and—quite wrongly — assumes that they were dissatisfied with, and held aloof from, the national service of Temple and Sacrifice. The D.V.C. hints at the very contrary.

Thomas, Waldensis, Doctrinale Antiquitatum Fidei (Venetiis, 1571), Lib. 3, art. 1, cap. 7, urges the Eusebian view against 'Witcleff.'

Tillemont, Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire Ecclésiastique (Bruxelles, 1732), tom. ii. pp. 43, 96, 236, follows the authority of Eusebius and Jerome. He accounts for the paralogisms besetting the view by supposing qu'il puisse estre vray que Philon n'avoit pas une entiere connoissance de la verité. On p. 96, he illustrates—and very sensibly—the account of the antiphonal singing of the Therapeutae from the picture of the Christians of Bithynia which Pliny the Younger gives, Ep. 102.

Joannes **Trithemius** et Joannes de **Carthagena**, De ortu et progressu Ordinis de Monte Carmelo (Colon. Agrippinae, 1643), pp. 330–333. An exposition of the popular fable that the Carmelites were founded by Elias, and that the Essenes and Therapeutae belonged to that order.

Dr. B. **Tideman**, Het essenisme, Leiden 1868, pp. 67–73, refutes the views of Grätz.

Robert **Turner**, A Discourse of the pretended Apostolical Constitutions (London, 1715). The work is a refutation of Whiston. The Therapeutae are written of in a scholarly way in ch. ii. pp. 3–16.

Henricus **Valesius** in his edition of Eusebius H. E. (Camb. 1720), rejects the Eusebian view.

Isaaci **Vossii**, Variarum Obseruationum Liber (Londini, 1685), cap. x. p. 46: 'Sive praedicatione Evangelistae Marci et discipulorum eius, ut Eusebius et alii scripsere, sive sponte sua sola miraculorum Christi fama facti fuerint Christiani, non iam quaero; illud constat, aeque eos ac alios Essenos magna ex parte iam a principio Christianam suscepisse religionem. Si quis enim Philonis et Paladii de hoc monte conferat uerba, certo certius inveniet illum ipsum Nitriae montem, quem Iudaeorum tenuere monachi, Christianos postmodo tenuisse monachos.'

Vossius dwells on the very large population of Jews settled to the S.W. of Alexandria, so large, indeed, that Vopiscus, in his Life of Aurelian, terms that region Palaestina Libyca. On p. 43, in describing the great extent of Alexandrian suburbs, he writes:

'Taceo iam reliqua suburbia, et illa praesertim, quae *ultra fossam per quam Mareotis Palus in mare effluebat*, in littore olim fuere Libyco.'

Wegnern (D. August Friedrich Victor von), Ueber das Verhältniss des Christenthums zum Essenismus, in Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie (Jahrgang, 1841), p. 13 foll., deals chiefly with the Essenes. He regards the Therapeutae as allied to, but not identical with these.

H. Weingarten, Article on Mönchtum in Herzog's Real-Encyclopädie (Leipzig, 1882). The first three sections of this article, pp. 759–774, are an important contribution to the discussion of the D. U. C.

(1) He demonstrates that Hierakas, on whom Lucius and his patrons rely as the first founder of monastic institutions, did not in any true sense found them at all. Harnack embraces Lucius' hypothesis, yet admits that Hierakas was only born in the year 275 (Art. on Hierakas in Herzog, vol. vi. p. 100). How then could the D. U. C. have been forged and have come into Eusebius' hands at Caesarea before A. D. 315?

(2) He proves that though in the H. E. ii. 17, and elsewhere, Eusebius speaks of the τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀσκητῶν, he did not yet know of regular coenobia as an appurtenance of Christian life. Eusebius was therefore still ignorant of the institutions in praise of which the D. U. C. was forged, for the excellent reason that those institutions had not yet been created.

(3) He points to a whole series of ideas dominant in the D. U. C., and incompatible with its supposed Christian origin. He concludes that the D. U. C. was written nur innerhalb der so mannigfach religiös und philosophisch bewegten jüdisch-hellenistischen Welt, nich lange nach der Zeit Philos . . . in ähnlichen Kreisen, wie die, aus welchen die jüdischen Interpolationen der Heraklitischen briefe desselben ersten Jahrhunderts hervorgegangen sind. Weingarten has not considered the philological affinities of the D. V. C., which would constrain him to go one step further back and ascribe the work to Philo himself

William Whiston, Primitive Christianity Reviv'd. An Essay on the Apostolical Constitutions (London, 1711). This writer assumes (i) that the Therapeutae were Christians, (ii) that they had in their hands the Apostolical constitutions, between which and the D. U. C. he detects certain similarities. Thus, he imagines, is proved the genuinely Apostolic origin of the Constitutions.

Chr. Wordsworth, D.D., A Church History, &c. 4th ed. (London, 1889), p. 31: 'The ascetic communities of Jewish Essenes on the west of the Dead Sea, and of the Therapeutae at Lake Moeris (!), near Alexandria, were witnesses in the same way as some purer minds in Gentilism were, which dwelt as it were apart, and loved to live lives of spiritual contemplation in the hope of some better future.'

Universal Lexicon, Heinrich Zedler (Leipzig, 1745). Article Therapeuten. A valuable résumé of the subject, giving a bibliography.

Zeller, Dr. Eduard, Philosophie der Griechen, dritter Theil, zweite Abtheilung, dritte Auflage (Leipzig, 1881), pp. 302–308. In these pages, Zeller, renouncing his old view that the D. U. C. is a genuine work of Philo's, adopts Lucius' conclusions.

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THE END.

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